ENE LECTION

GEN

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 1833 01753 6977

GENEALOGY
973.006
AM3529A
1911,
PT.2

AMERICANA

VOL. 6 pt. 2

1911

July-December

Copyright, 1910, by
THE NATIONAL AMERICANA SOCIETY

All rights reserved.

F 636274

JULY, 1911

AMERICANA

Vol. 6 pt 2

CONTENTS

	PAGE
The Story of the Key of the Bastile. By William M. Van der Weyde	625
Henry White and His Family. By John Austen Stevens	630
Nicholas Herkimer and the Battle of Oriskany. By Josiah C. Pumpelly, A. M., LL.B.	638
The Little Wars of the Republic. By John R. Meader. XI. The Window-Tax War.	647
History of the Mormon Church. Chapters L and LI. By Brigham H. Roberts	653
General William Eaton, the First American Imperialist. By Forrest Morgan. (Conclusion)	697
Is Grain Contraband of War? By Harley W. Nehf	714
Historic Views and Reviews	725

JOHN R. MEADER, *Editor.*

Published by the National Americana Society,
DAVID I. NELKE, *President and Treasurer,*
154 East 23rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

AUGUST, 1911

AMERICANA

CONTENTS

	Page
Mine La Motte, the Oldest Lead Mine in America. By Birdie Haile Cole	733
Cave and Cliff-dwellings of the Southwest. By Katherine Sumner	738
The Little Wars of the Republic. Part XII. Some Negro Insurrections. By John R. Meader	744
Nathan Hale, Yale's Martyr Patriot. By Josiah C. Pumpelly	753
History of the Mormon Church. Chapter LII. By Brigham H. Roberts	760
Hinton Rowan Helper and His Book. By William S. Pelletreau	801
Historic Views and Reviews	809

JOHN R. MEADER, *Editor.*

Published by the National Americana Society,
DAVID I. NELKE, *President and Treasurer,*
154 East 23rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

SEPTEMBER, 1911

AMERICANA

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Early Days of Niblo's Garden and Theatre. By Albert W. Davis	823
French Opinion of the American Civil War. By Lindsay Rogers	834
Forts Along the Ohio. By Delia MacCulloch	851
Little Wars of the Republic. XIII. The Patriots' War. By John R. Meader	867
History of the Mormon Church. Chapters LIII and LIV. By Hon. Brigham H. Roberts	875
A Sidelight on Conservation. By D. W. Wood	911
Historic Views and Reviews	915

JOHN R. MEADER, *Editor.*

Published by the National Americana Society,
DAVID I. NELKE, *President and Treasurer,*
154 East 23rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

OCTOBER, 1911

AMERICANA

CONTENTS

	Page
P. T. Barnum and Jenny Lind. By Albert W. Davis	929
The War on the Lords and its Outcome. By Lindsay Rogers	938
De Witt Clinton's Descendants	950
Was St. Brendan America's First Discoverer. By Thomas S. Lonergan	953
Empire State. By Desire Stanton	965
The Little Wars of the Republic. By John R. Meader. Part XIV. The Christiana Riot	967
Lincoln's Last Laugh. Extracts from book "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln," By Dorothy Lamon Teillard	977
History of the Mormon Church. Chapter LV. By Brigham H. Roberts	993
Historic Views and Reviews	1029

JOHN R. MEADER, *Editor.*

Published by the National Americana Society,
DAVID I. NELKE, *President and Treasurer,*
154 East 23rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

NOVEMBER, 1911

AMERICANA

CONTENTS

	Page
The Closing Month of the Buchanan Administration. By Howard T. Lewis, M. A. University of Wisconsin	1035
The First Presentation of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." By Edgar W. Ames, Head of the Department of History, Troy High School, Troy, N. Y.	1045
The Little Wars of the Republic. By John R. Meader. Part XV. The Revolt in New Mexico	1053
Dickens in America. By May C. Ringwalt	1062
The Work of Harriet Tubman. By Charles Dennis	1067
More Keys of the Bastile	1073
History of the Mormon Church. By Brigham H. Roberts. Chapters LVI, LVII	1075
Historic Views and Reviews	1109

JOHN R. MEADER, *Editor.*

Published by the National Americana Society,
DAVID I. NELKE, *President and Treasurer,*
154 East 23rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

DECEMBER, 1911

AMERICANA

CONTENTS

	Page
Some Yesterdays of the Stage. By Albert W. Davis	1125
Continental Agents in America in 1776 and '77. (Part I). By Alice Goddard Waldo, A. B.	1137
James Riker, The Historian. By William S. Pelletreau	1152
The United States Senate in 1860-'61. By James W. Dixon, Bat. Captain U. S. Army	1157
The Little Wars of the Republic. Part XVI. By John Meader	1166
The Naming of America. By Henry Ludin	1174
History of the Mormon Church. Chapter LVIII. By Brigham H. Roberts	1177
Historic Views and Reviews	1200

JOHN R. MEADER, *Editor.*

Published by the National Americana Society,
DAVID I. NELKE, *President and Treasurer,*
154 East 23rd Street,
New York, N. Y.

AMERICANA

(Formerly THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL MAGAZINE)

is a monthly magazine of history, genealogy and literature. The subscription price is four dollars per annum. Subscribers failing to receive their copies should notify the publishers within thirty days after publication. The contents of each number are protected by copyright. Permission to reprint any article or illustration must be obtained from the publisher.

To Agents:—AMERICANA offers the most liberal commission of any high class monthly to agents. For special terms and inducements, make application to the Subscription Bureau. In their leisure moments school girls and boys will find it exceedingly profitable to work for us, and may easily reap a rich harvest for a little effort.

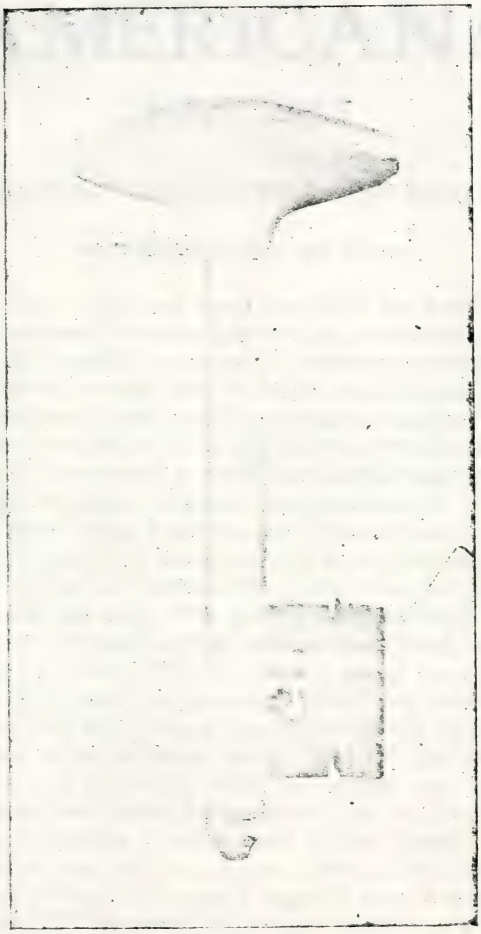
Manuscripts on all subjects of an historical, biographical or literary nature are welcome, and will be read and decided upon with as little delay as possible. It is preferred that articles should be not less than two thousand nor more than eight thousand words. Authors should write their address on the MS. itself, and not merely on an accompanying sheet; and put the number of words their paper contains plainly in sight.

All editorial communications should be addressed to the Editor.

All business communications should be addressed:

THE NATIONAL AMERICANA SOCIETY

154 East Twenty-third Street, New York City



THE KEY OF THE BASTILE

This key is now on exhibition at the old home of Washington in Mount Vernon

AMERICANA

July, 1911

THE STORY OF THE KEY OF THE BASTILE

BY WILLIAM M. VAN DER WEYDE

ONE of the very great events in the world's history occurred just one hundred and twenty-two years ago this month—an event so significant and far-reaching in its results that to-day a nation largely owes its very character and spirit to the happening of that day.

The fourteenth day of July, 1789, saw the French people arise in their might and crush to earth the Bastile, notorious plague-spot for the vengeance of kings upon the innocent.

Four French kings used the Bastile as a means of wreaking their personal spite and gratifying their animosities against those men, women and children whom either they did not favor or wished out of the way. The Bastile afforded ready means of satisfying the whims, caprices and personal grudges of Louis XIII, XIV, XV and XVI. No person whom the king wished to keep behind prison bars ever again knew any other life. Little children who might some time in the future perhaps prove troublesome to the reigning family, died old men and women behind the bars of Bastile cells. No prison walls erected by human hands ever witnessed scenes of grosser or more scoundrelly and malignant injustice than did the Bastile.

The Bastile was built in the year 1369 and was designed for a military fortress. For some years it served this purpose. Then Louis XIII conceived the idea of using it as a prison for his own personal ends. The very first prisoner to be incarcerated was the builder of the fortress, Hugues Aubriot. He had built too well, so the story goes, and the king feared his knowl-

edge of constructing fortifications might some day be used to the crown's disadvantage. Poor Aubriot was not long without company. The king found many persons whose presence outside prison bars he could well dispense with, and in a few weeks the jailer had a score of "guests." In the beginning the greater number of persons committed to the Bastile cells were writers whose pens were devoted to exposure of governmental wrongs. It was a matter of notoriety that the writer who attacked royalty or the reigning power would find himself a "guest of the King" at the "Chateau de Bastile" minus trial or opportunity for trial. The Bastile became the emblem of tyranny and despotism.

The prison achieved its highest record of horror in the days of the profligate Louis XV. Louis XV inaugurated the "lettres de cachet." The "lettre de cachet" was nothing more nor less than a commitment paper directing the jailer at the Bastile to throw into a cell until further orders—which never came—Monsieur ——— ———. Louis worded the letters courteously and sanctimoniously. And Louis, munificent soul, always thinking of his friends, conceived the idea of handing out "lettres de cachet" in blank to all his intimates, his court, the ladies upon whom he smiled and even the servants in his palaces. He made a practice of signing these polite commitments in blank on rainy afternoons, when he had no other diversion on hand, one or two hundred at a time.

Mirabeau, writing of the prisoners in the Bastile under "lettres de cachet" said they remained permanently behind prison bars "not because anybody in particular is anxious that they should remain, but because they happen to be there. They have been forgotten and there is nobody to ask for their release."

Louis's neat little "lettre de cachet" ran as follows:

"Monsieur le Marquis de Jumilhac: This letter is to tell you to receive into my chateau of the Bastile ———————— and to these detain him (or her) until new order from me, ———.

"Monsieur le Marquis de Jumilhac: I pray God that he will have you in His holy keeping.

"Written at Versailles the — day of —.

(Signed) ——— Louis."

Long suffering as are any people, there comes a time when the human spirit will no longer tolerate tyranny, arrogance and oppression.

The people of France, inspired by the success of the American revolution against British tyranny, determined to take matters into their own hands. The writings of Thomas Paine, founder of the American republic, were already familiar to all Parisians and popular passages from his works found echo at every street corner. Certain paragraphs from "Common Sense" and "The Crisis" were re-printed in hand bills and circulated through the city. Quotations pointing out the absurdity and criminality of government by kings became popular slogans of the people.

The horrors of the Bastile had become common knowledge. On July 14, 1789, a general movement was made toward the the Bastile. "Down with royalty's prison" was heard on all sides. An army of liberty assailed the old fortress. Within an incredibly short space of time the detestable structure was demolished, the prisoners inside helping as best they could their liberators on the outside.

Thus ended the horrors of one of the vilest prisons the world has known.

The anniversary of the fall of the Bastile was made a French national holiday. The fourteenth of July is to the people of France what the fourth of July is to Americans. Both are days set apart to commemorate deliverance from tyranny.

In token of the nation's appreciation of American principles of liberty, as exemplified in the writings of Paine, France sent to America the key of the demolished Bastile, and to emphasize her esteem for the author himself commissioned him to convey the trophy to General Washington.

The following letter from Paine to Washington announces the gift:

LONDON, May 1, 1790.

"*Sir*:—Our very good friend, the Marquis de la Fayette, has entrusted to my care the key of the Bastile, and a drawing handsomely framed, representing the demolition of that de-

testable prison, as a present to your Excellency, of which this letter will more particularly inform. I feel myself happy in being the person through whom the Marquis has conveyed this early trophy of the Spoils of Despotism, the first ripe fruits of American principles transplanted into Europe, to his great master and patron. When he mentioned to me the present he intended, my heart leaped with joy.

It is something so truly in character that no remarks can illustrate it, and it is more happily expressive of his remembrance of his American friends than any letters can convey.

That the principles of America opened the Bastile is not to be doubted, and therefore the key comes to the right place.

I should rejoice to be the direct bearer of the Marquis's present to your Excellency, but I doubt that I shall be able to see my beloved America till next spring. I shall therefore send it by some American vessel to New York. I have permitted no drawing to be taken here, though it has been often requested, as I think there is a propriety that it should first be presented. But Mr. West wishes Mr. Trumbull to make a painting of the presentation of the key to you.

THOMAS PAINE."

Washington received the key in New York and on August 10, 1790, wrote acknowledging Paine's "agreeable letter."

Washington took the key to his home in Mount Vernon and there it was proudly exhibited to all visitors.

Dr. Moncure Conway, the eminent biographer of Thomas Paine, discovered in French archives several amusing paragraphs concerning the key, in despatches addressed to his government in Paris by Louis Otto, Chargé d'Affaires. Otto wrote:

"August 4, 1790. In attending yesterday the public audience of the President, I was surprised by a question from the Chief Magistrate, 'whether I would like to see the Key of the Bastile?' One of his secretaries showed me at the same moment a large Key, which had been sent to the President by desire of the Marquis de la Fayette. I dissembled my surprise in observing to the President that 'the time had not yet come in

America to do iron-work equal to that before him.' The Americans present looked at the Key with indifference, and as if wondering why it had been sent. But the serene face of the President showed that he regarded it as an homage from the French nation."

Another despatch of the French Chargé d'Affaires, dated December 13, 1790, says: "The Key of the Bastile, regularly shown at the President's audiences, is now also on exhibition in Mrs. Washington's *salon,* where it satisfies the curiosity of the Philadelphians. I am persuaded, Monseigneur, that it is only their vanity that finds pleasure in the exhibition of this trophy, but Frenchmen here are not the less piqued, and many will not enter the President's house on this account."

Paine, as Conway remarks, saw farther than these distant Frenchmen, when he wrote Washington in sending the key: "That the principles of America opened the Bastile is not to be doubted, and therefore the Key comes to the right place."

The key of the Bastile is now on exhibition at the old home of Washington in Mount Vernon, and is treasured as one of the most valuable of the relics there displayed. Hanging on the wall next to the famous key is a framed copy of the letter from Paine to Washington that accompanied the key. Both deservedly attract much attention from visitors.

HENRY WHITE AND HIS FAMILY

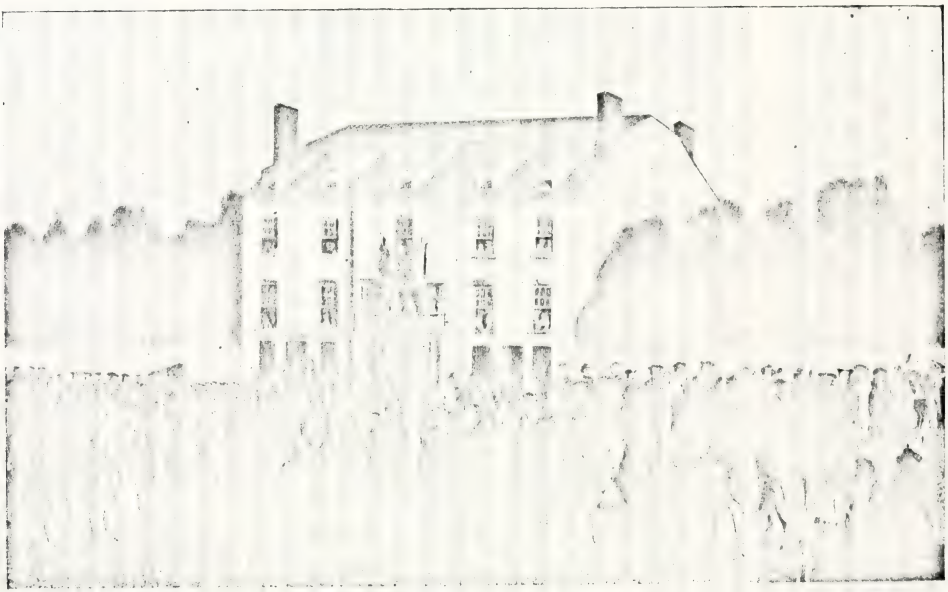
BY JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

TRADITION assigns to the family of White a Welsh origin. The earliest record of it, however, locates it at Denham, near Uxbridge, Buckinghamshire, England. The archives of the Herald's office contain a grant of arms to the family in 1584. They are thus blazoned: Shield, azure, three roses argent, two above and one below. Crest, a lion's head couped, argent.

The American branch of the family settled in the province of Maryland at quite an early period; the father of Henry White, the subject of this sketch, who was a Colonel in the British army, joined his uncle in that colony, emigrating from England in 1712.

Henry White, according to the family account, was born in America but received his education in England. He later returned to this country and established himself as a merchant in Newark, and his kinsmen in Maryland dying out, he fell heir to their property. He first appears on the busy scene of Colonial trade in a petition dated May 8, 1756, for leave to ship bread to South Carolina for the use of the navy. He was then acting as agent of Samuel Bowman, Jr., and Joseph Yates, of Charleston. The war with France, after a hollow truce of several years, had just broken out afresh and the authorities had imposed restrictions on the export even of home products to neighboring colonies. The trade in English goods between them was never permitted. The next year he was engaged in the importation of the usual varieties of European goods from London and Bristol, his store being in King street.

On the 13th May, 1761, he married Eve Van Cortlandt, daughter of Frederick and granddaughter of Jacobus Van Cortlandt, the founder of the younger branch of that family. The Van



Review in 1700 by Gov. Earl of Bellomont of Regiment of Militia (Burgher-Guard or Schutterije under the Dutch) Horse and Foot, of and in the City of New York, Com'd'd by De Heer Col. Abraham de Peyster in front of his Mansion in Pearl (then Queen) Street; Opp. Cedar

From original oil painting in possession of Gen. J. Watts de Peyster.

Cortlandt family was one of the wealthiest and most important of the colony, and the branch with which young White connected himself had largely added to its wealth and influence by intermarriage with that of Philipse, whose extensive manor of Philipsborough, in Westchester county, extended from the Harlem river on the south nearly to the south line of the manor of Cortlandt on the north, and from the Hudson on the west to the Bronx on the east. He is now found extending his commercial operations and the owner of the Moro, a sloop whose heavy armament of ten guns indicates that she was employed in privateering, the favorite business of the time. This alliance with the Van Cortlandts secured the fortune of the young merchant. In 1769, Mr. de Lancey declining to take a seat in the Council board, Mr. White entered the field as an aspirant for the position, one of the highest in the gift of the Crown. His application seems to have had the support and recommendation of Governor Moore, and in March of the same year he received his commission and was sworn of the Council, a post which he retained until the close of English rule in the colony. His wealth and importance increasing, he changed his place of business to Cruger's wharf, which was for a time the favorite location for the shipping merchants, and later bought for his residence the large house situated in Queen (now Pearl) street between the Fly Market, which was at the foot of the present Maiden Lane, and the Coffee House, which stood on the corner of Wall and what is now Water street (the exact site faced the foot of Cedar street). This house had been the residence of Abraham de Peyster, the Treasurer of the Colony, and was one of the most important buildings in the city. In 1772 he became President of the Chamber of Commerce, being the fourth to reach that highest honor in this commercial city.

To Henry White as one of the first merchants in the colony and a member of His Majesty's Council, the East India Company consigned the ship Nancy with the cargo of tea intended for New York. He left London at the same time as the vessels bound for Boston, Philadelphia and Charleston, but being blown off the coast by contrary winds, put into Antiqua, and did not reach the offing until the 18th April, months after the destruc-

tion of the tea which arrived by the Boston vessels, the unloading and storage of that for Charleston and the return of that for Philadelphia. The New York vessel shared no better fortune. Mr. White was forced by the pressure of opinion to decline the objectionable consignment, and the committee of Vigilance, appointed in open town meeting to prevent its landing, conducted the captain of the vessel to Mr. White's house and compelled him to engage to make all possible dispatch to leave the city and return to England with his cargo.

Notwithstanding his well known English sympathies Mr. White does not appear to have had any personal difficulty with the patriots. It is probable that he was prudent enough to keep himself out of harm's way. There is no account of his having suffered any annoyance. He was in the city in the summer of 1775 when a letter of Governor Martin, of North Carolina, requesting the shipment of a marquee, or field ten, and a Royal Standard, was intercepted and laid before the Committee of Safety. In 1776, when the Council broke up, it appears from the letters of Governor Tryon that he was in England. In the fall of the same year he returned to the city with the second division of the Hessian troops, and from his influence with the citizens, was of great service to Governor Tryon in securing the peace of the population, discontented and chafing under the restrictions of military rules. The next year he was first of a committee of four to receive the donations for the equipment of provincial regiments for the King's service, and remained in the city during the war, acting as the agent of the Home Government in various ways, chiefly in the sale of captured vessels and cargoes and the distribution of prize money among the British men-of-war.

On the 9th October, 1780, according to the record in the Surrogate's office, he appeared before the Surrogate to prove the will of the unfortunate Andrè, when he declared that he was well acquainted with the testator's handwriting. He left the city and returned to England prior to the evacuation of New York in the fall of 1783.

Mr. White did not long survive the war. He died in Golden Square, London, on the 23d day of December, 1786, and was

buried in the church-yard of St. James, Westminster, in Picadilly. An obituary notice in the "Gentleman's Magazine" said of him that "in public life he united the dignity of office with the respectability and integrity of a British merchant; and during the late trouble in America exhibited a zeal and attachment to Goverment that was at once exemplary and appropriate." Like many others, Mr. White paid the penalty of his loyalty.

Mr. White was attainted of treason to the State of New York and his estates were forfeited by the act of 1779. His home in Queen street, at the time in the occupation of George Clinton, the first Governor of the State, was sold in May, 1786. Fortunately the constitution of the State adopted at Kingston contained a wise and liberal provision that no attainder should work "corruption of blood." But the fortune of Mr. White, independent of the estates of his wife, was ample. His influence was also great in official circles. Of his sons by his wife Eve Van Cortlandt, one, Henry, remarried in America. William Tryon, another, named after his old friend, the governor of New York, was a Captain in the East India Company's service.

Henry White, the eldest son, married his first cousin, Anne, daughter of Augustus Van Cortlandt. Their eldest son, Augustus, assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, and inherited a large estate at Yonkers, under his grandfather's will. Dying without issue, he devised to his brother Henry, who in turn assumed the name of Van Cortlandt, a life interest in the estate, and, failing issue to him, a life estate of his nephew, Augustus Van Cortlandt Bibby, and remainder to the eldest son surviving him. This nephew was a son of his sister Augusta, who had married Dr. Edward N. Bibby, whose father, Captain Thomas Bibby, an officer on the Staff of General Fraser, had secured an exchange after the convention at Saratoga, and established himself in New York. Henry Van Cortlandt did not long enjoy the property; he died without issue the year of his inheritence, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Augustus Van Cortlandt (Bibby). With the old estate, and the name maintained by careful provision, also passed "Cortlandt House," near Kingsbridge, the residence of the family, and one of the most interesting relics of the colonial period. The history of this house is full of romantic interest.

The old mansion of Jacobus Van Cortlandt was destroyed by fire about 1748, when the present, a large stone dwelling house, was erected by Frederick Van Cortlandt. Built on a plateau on the eastern slope of the river chain of hills, it commands an extensive interior view. The long and smiling vale of Yonkers stretches beneath it, and to the southward the placid landscape ends in the Fordham Heights. The ground in front was artificially terraced and ornamented after the old French manner of gardening, with large box trees and hedges, with here and there small sheets of water and diminutive fountains.

The interior is not less quaint and interesting. The windows are old fashioned and the dispositions of the upper stories odd. An air of old time, which would have charmed the heart of Hawthorne, still pervades the whole building, which bears its date in iron figures on its gables. In the library there are several portraits, one of the most interesting of which is of a Mr. Badcock, a friend of Mr. White, the son of the subject of this sketch. Another is the celebrated portrait of Henry White by John Singleton Copley. The attitude is fine and the coloring wonderful in its fidelity. The warm flesh tints bear unerring witness to a reasonable indulgence in "generous wine that maketh glad the heart of man" and heightens nature's hues.

The Philipse Manor was all historic ground. When the Provincial Convention adjourned in August, 1776, from Harlem to Fishkill, the committee of safety, which held daily sessions in the interior, stopped here and held an important meeting on the Manor. When New York was in the hands of the British the Hessian Jagers had a picket guard on the ground and the officers were garrisoned in the house. Washington dined at Cortlandt House in 1781, when he made his famous feint upon the British lines, and many a skirmish took place between the patriots and De Lancey's Loyal Refugee Corps, the French and the Hessians and here occurred the bitter struggle between the Stockbridge Indians, who had joined Washington, and the Queen's Rangers, under Colonel Simcoe.

There are other details of the old house that deserve a passing notice. To the beatuy of its outward surroundings and inward adornments there was added a famous cellar. The règime



ONE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF HENRY WHITE

As he appeared at the Bradley Martin Ball, wearing a coat that belonged to his distinguished ancestor

was that usual in the good old days of Madeira and Port when annual provision was made by the cask, the old, and half old, being refilled in the order of their succession. This was the earlier fashion. Later, demijohns of famous vintages, under the name of their importers or the vessel which brought them, took the place of this primæval practice. Then the well-stored vaults held Blackburn, March and Benson, Page, Convent, White and other well known importations of Madeira in rich profusion; and the "White" Port held undisputed rank. Nor must the "Resurrection" Madeira be forgotten, so called because buried during the Revolution and dug up again at its close. Here the uncovering of the brilliant Mahogany, and the toast of "Absent friends and Sweethearts," was the signal for a merry bout, where convivial songs added to the charm of the occasion and flinching was not allowed. We have heard of a deserter who, seeking to escape "the glass too much," broke from the festive hall, took the porch steps at a bound, and followed down the lane by the whole company in hot pursuit, and to the cry of view-hallos "with one brave bound cleared the gate," and a five-barred gate at that. "Old times are changed, old manners gone;" but stranger and friend alike still meet from the erect and stately host the same elegant cordiality, and it will be a marvel indeed if he does not find that Cortlandt House and the White Vintages alike deserve their fame.

Two of the sons of Henry White entered the British service; the elder, John Chambers White, was commissioned in the navy, rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral of the White, and was made Knight Commander of the Bath, June 29, 1841. Frederick Van Cortlandt White received the commission of Ensign 19 February, 1781; was made Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot Guards (the Grenadier Guards) 1 January, 1805, and Major General 25 July, 1810. On the army registers his name appears as Frederick C. and sometimes as Frederick Charles, but this latter is an error. Both these officers lived in London and are now dead. Of his daughters, Ann was married to Doctor afterwards Sir John McNamara Hayes, Bart., of Golden Square, London, They all reside in England, while Margaret, married to Peter

Jay Munro, of Westchester, and Frances to Dr. Archibald Bruce, lived and died in New York.

Some account of Eve Van Cortlandt, the wife of Henry White and the mother of these children may interest the reader. She is well remembered by many of our older citizens. She was born, as entered in her father's family bible, 22 May, 1736, and died in the 19 August, 1836, in the one hundred and first year of her age, having more than completed a century of existence. She left the United States with her husband at the close of the revolution and on her last return from Europe in 1804, occupied the house at No. 11 Broadway, her own by inheritence, till her death. This house, which stood for one hundred and forty years, has been erroneously supposed by some of our local historians to have been the coffee house kept by Burns in the Stamp Act period. It was not a public house until after the death of Mrs. White, when it was for some years known as the Atlantic Garden.

Its site is now the station of the Elevated Railroad. Mrs. White was buried in the family vault, on Vault Hill, near Cortlandt House, on the 22d of August, 1836.

Her long life embraced a period full of remarkable events. Born early in the reign of George II, she lived till after the coronation of Queen Victoria. As a child she heard of the final defeat of the Stuart pretender at Culloden, and among her friends were officers who had fought on that bloody field. The foundation of the British empire in India, the seven years' war and the capture of Canada, the American revolution and the Independence of the United States, were the stirring incidents of her middle age. The young Prince Louis XV was on the throne when she was born; the French revolution had swept away the monarchy, the star of Napoleon had risen and dazed the world with its glory and set in the darkness of exile, and the restoration had given way to constitutional monarchy under Louis Phillipe, before she closed her career. The packets from England had brought to her ears the news of the War of the Austrian Succession; the thrilling story of Maria Theresa, the partition of Poland, the birth of the Prussian Kingdom, the wonderful reign of the great Catharine. When she first saw the light New York

was a provincial town and had not crept beyond the Commons, the present City Hall Park; they closed upon our imperial city, the commercial metropolis of a nation. In 1736 Clarke ruled the colony by Royal authority, in 1836, Marcy was governor of the Empire State, and General Jackson, the hero of the second war with Great Britain, was the eighth President of the great Republic. To few is it allotted to witness an historic panorama such as this, with its moving procession of courtiers, warriors, statesmen and sages. It is marvelous to think that she had heard from living lips the story of the passage of New York from its Dutch dynasty to the English rule and that she lived to relate it to the present generation.

[Note.—For many of the facts and biographical details the Editor takes pleasure in acknowledging his obligation to Mr. Edward F. de Lancey, of this city, a maternally great-grandson of Mr. and Mrs. White].

NICHOLAS HERKIMER AND THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY*

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., L.L. B.

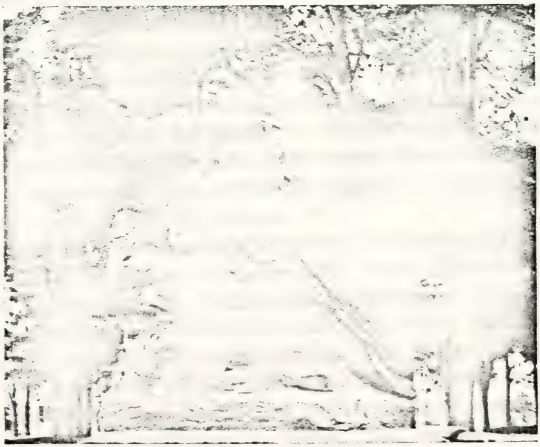
THERE are few sections of our country east of the Mississippi that can surpass the Valley of the Mohawk in beauty of scenery, combined with rare legendary and historic lore. All the way from Schenectady to Rome every town has its thrilling story of Indian stratagem, English treachery and heroic courage upon the part of the Dutch settlers. And we cannot wonder, for the men who located then in the early days of the seventeenth century, were of the stock of those who, in Holland, in 1579, had a Declaration of Independence or written constitution, a Union of States and a red, white and blue flag.

Strong, virile men were these immigrants from the banks of the Neckar and the Rhine, coming here where they might worship God as their consciences dictated. Here both Calvinists and Reformists built their churches and school houses side by side; and here, also, it was, that nearly a century before the

[*During the recent session of the New York legislature, a bill was introduced appropriating $15,000 to acquire the farm lands and buildings owned and occupied as a home by General Herkimer and now known as the Herkimer farm, in the town of Danube, Herkimer County. The measure was strongly supported by the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of Oriskany, the Empire State Society Sons of the American Revolution and other historic organizations. It passed both houses, but the governor failed to sign it, owing to the fire in the State Capitol. This result, however, has not discouraged the friends of the measure and the fight to buy the General Herkimer home will be renewed at the next session. The Committee on Preservation of Historic Spots of the Daughters of the American Revolution have been locating the route taken by General Herkimer when he left for the battle of Oriskany. Markers are to be placed along this route and on September first, the first marker, at the Herkimer home, will be unveiled in the presence of the officers and members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and their friends. They will then go to Oriskany, unveiling other markers on the way. This will be done in connection with the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of Little Fall.—Eds.]



OLD HERKIMER CHURCH IN THE MOHAWK VALLEY



STATUE OF GENERAL HERKIMER
At Herkimer, N. Y.

battle of Lexington, these hardy pioneers made a practical declaration of "No taxation without representation."

When Adams, the English sheriff, attempted to serve certain legal papers and collect taxes, both men and women, led by Magdaline Zele, beat this same officer, and, as history tells us, dragged him through the nastiest puddles of their barnyards, rode him seven miles on a rail and finally left him with two broken ribs on a bridge well out on the road to Albany. And these brave settlers were the ancestors of some of the best American families now residing on the Mohawk and Schoharie rivers—the Beckers, Conrads, Schnells, Youngs, Angells, Snyders, Wagners, Newkirks, Klins, Brooks, Flints, Timmermans and others.

Of this stuff was made the men who, on Aug. 6, 1777, fought at Oriskany a battle which, as Horatio Seymour has said: "Ranks as one of the decisive conflicts of the Revolution." As Bennington made supplies impossible for Burgoyne, so did Oriskany—well called "The Place of Nettles"—dash to the ground his hopes of reinforcements, and thus was it the ultimate cause of his surrender at Saratoga.

Burgoyne had conquered Fort Ticonderoga, and St. Leger with his motley band of white men and Indians, started out to capture Fort Schuyler (formerly called "Fort Stanwix" after a British officer); he had assured the Indians that when they got there they might "sit down and smoke their pipes while they watched the British whip the rebels." The Senecas followed St. Leger to a man, but, as Mary Jemison says: "Instead of smoking and looking on they were obliged to fight for their lives and in the battle were completely beaten."

Dark indeed was the prospect; 1700 was the number of St. Leger's force, and the flower of Burgoyne's army. Tryon County was full of Tories, and Sir John Johnson, the unscrupulous son of an honest father, and the murderous thug John Butler, had formed them into a military organization. The Mohawk Indians, the most sanguinary of all the Iroquois, led by Brant, co-operated with the British. A reward of twenty pounds was offered for every American scalp, and to obtain this reward not only men but boys and girls were waylaid and murdered. The Onei-

das were faithful to the American cause and gave most valuable information continually to our leaders as to all the movements of our enemies.

Col. Peter Gansevoort, a brave officer twenty-eight years of age, was in command at Fort Stanwix; in July, Lieut. Col. Marinas Willett arrived with his regiment, and Aug. 2d, Lieut. Col. Mellon arrived with two hundred men, and two batteau of provisions and military stores. They reached the fort just as St. Leger's forces appeared, and succeeded in making prisoner the captain who commanded the boats. The garrison now consisted of 750 men all told, six weeks' provisions and a fair supply of ammunition, but the garrison was without a flag. 'Twas then and there, by these unskillful but heroic hands, that the national standard (our glorious stars and stripes) was for the first time to be lifted in victorious battle. It was made in the fort out of pieces of white from men's shirts; the blue was from a camelot cloak of Capt. Swartout's; and the stripes from a woman's scarlet mantle.

Hostilities commenced Aug. 4th, the Indians concealing themselves behind trees and by their fire greatly annoying the men employed upon the parapets. It was at this time that St. Leger, in vain over-confidence, sent his message to Burgoyne that the fort would soon be his and they would speedily meet as victors in Albany.

The command of the Tryon County militia was given to Brigadier General Nicholas Herkimer, who had served in the French war. He was a brave and able soldier, and a Christian man who had used his best efforts to dissuade the Indians from taking part in the conflict; which efforts the Indian chief, Joseph Brant, had taken all pains to oppose and thwart, in this his sister Molly, Sir Wm. Johnson's housekeeper, giving him much assistance.

On Aug. 4, 1777, at Fort Dayton, now Herkimer village, Herkimer assembled 800 fighting men. They were undisciplined and clothed in a motley fashion—all the way from the blue and buff of some of the officers through the homespun gray and linsey woolsey of the farmer privates to the buckskin of the trappers and huntsmen, and these brave, determined yeomanry wore all sorts of headgear and carried many kinds of weapons.

There was Col. Isaac Paris, who though sixty years of age was as hale and strong in bearing as his son Peter of eighteen who was in the same company. Both were killed ere the week of horrors had ended.

Col. Ebenezer Cox commanded the Canajoharie regiment, formerly Herkimer's, and there were stout Col. Peter Bellinger and capable Col. Jacob Klock and Col. Fred'k Vischer. Wm. Fieter, the grandfather of my old lawyer friend, J. W. Fieter, must have been there, and Thomas Spencer, the Seneca half-breed blacksmith, and Skenandoah, the war chief of the Oneidas, then seventy years of age but hale as a man of forty.

On Aug. 5, 1777, Herkimer with this force was at Whitestone, eight miles from Fort Schuyler. The General sent Adam Helmer and two trusty men, two Indians, I believe, to apprise Col. Gansevoort in the fort of his approach, and three successive discharges of cannon were to announce their arrival, which did not occur until ten A. M. on the 6th.

Unfortunately, and against the protest of Gen'l Herkimer, no skirmish or reconnoitering parties were sent on ahead, and no attention was paid to Herkimer's plan to remain where he was until some sortie was made from the fort. His advice was derided and the brave but cautious old man was denounced by Colonels Cox and Paris as a coward and Tory. To all this Herkimer answered: "I am placed over you as a father and guardian, and I will not lead you into difficulties from which I may not be able to extricate you."

Col. Bellinger and John Frey stood by their general, but the mutinous colonels had their way, and to the continued shouts: "Lead on! Lead on!" Herkimer, too much incensed to delay further, cried: "If you will have it so, the blood be upon your heads," and waving his sword shouted: "Vorwarts." And so, marching swiftly and without scouts, with Col. Vischer and the Caughnawaga company guarding the ammunition and supply wagons in the rear, at 9 A. M. they started forth.

To intercept this movement, Col. St. Leger sent 80 men of Sir John Johnson's Roal Greens under Major Watts, Sir John's brother-in-law, and the entire body of Indians under Joseph Brant, the whole being under command of Sir John Johnson.

By advice of the wily chief Brant, an ambuscade was planned at a spot two miles west of Oriskany and six from Whitesboro, where were two ravines both opening to the north, with a level plateau of ten acres between and fifty feet above them, and three-fourths of a mile from the Mohawk River.

The British and Indians were in ambush among the trees and low bushes, and nearly enclosed the position our troops had to take through the marshy bottom of the ravine. Our forces moved forward entirely unconscious of this ambuscade, for no scouts were sent out in advance; and as the forces with Gen'l Herkimer and Colonels Cox and Paris in the van reached the fatal pass, the report of a rifle was heard and Col. Cox fell headlong upon the neck of his horse.

A certain well-known author, in describing this battle, says: "There was a momentary glimpse of dark forms running back, a strange yell, a shot or two, and then the gates of hell opened upon us. Were I, Homer and Shakespeare and Milton, merged all in one, I should still not know how fitly to depict the terrible scene which followed. I saw now a ring of fire run out in spitting tongues of flame around the gulf, and a circle of thin, whitish smoke slowly raise itself through the dark leaves of the girdling bushes. Then Herkimer cried out shrilly, in Dutch: 'My God, it has come at last.' The solid body of our troops on the corduroy bridge was huddled together like sheep in a storm, men were sinking to the ground, and the tipping, rolling logs tossed their bodies off into the water or under the feet of their comrades. The Indian war-whoop, blood curdling chorus of strange barking screams, as from the throats of maniac women, rose at the farther side of the ravine, drowning the shouts and groans of our men, the whistle of bullets and even the sharp crack of the muskets. The savages were leaping from the bush in all directions and falling upon our men as they stood jammed together on this causeway. Horrible was this spectacle of naked, yelling devils, daubed with vermilion and ghastly yellow, rushing with uplifted hatchets and flashing knives upon this huddled mass of white men."

But even this terrible scene could not daunt the spirit of brave old Herkimer, as he sat in the saddle; he grew bigger and

stronger as the pandemonium increased. He gave his orders swiftly and with cool comprehension of what was needed, and in a few minutes his men were gotten out of their terribly cruel and helpless position. Here it was Nicholas Herkimer showed himself to be in every sense the heroic commander that he really was.

Vischer's regiment, being outside the fiery circle, was scattered and lost the ammunition wagons, but in time fought its way back. Peter Bellinger and his stalwart Palatine farmers—the Petries, Weavers, Helmers; the Quackenbosses and the Halls; the Covenhovens and Dygerts, of the German flats, also fought their path backward through the hail of lead, crushing Mohawk skulls as if they had been egg-shells with the mighty flail like swing of their clubbed muskets, and returning fire only to kill every time. The bulk of Cox's Canajoharie regiment and Klock's Stone Arabia yeomen spread themselves out in the timber and fought as Herkimer had ordered—two men to each tree, one to fire and the other holding his fire for the Indian who was sure to attack his comrade whose gun was empty, and the method proved successful.

The Covenhovens, who had come from Trenton, N. J., to Glenn & Tribe's Hill, and a Connecticut Yankee named Thompson—a mere handful of men under the leadership of a mighty blacksmith named Jacob Gardinier—succeeded in routing a whole platoon of "Johnson's Greens," who had come in the guise of reinforcements to the patriots, but whose green coats were soon detected by the eagle eye of the captain, who seized a spear and therewith performed prodigies of valor. Though downed and sat upon by eight white men, and pinioned to the earth by a Hessian bayonet on each side, he succeeded, by using the body of one of his foes as a shield, in getting upon his feet, and with only his spear slew and dispersed his enemies. Overcome with thirteen wounds, and unable to stand or hold a gun, he crawled to the forks of a fallen tree, and sending his "low Dutch servant boy" for the empty muskets scattered about, he had the boy load them, and so continued to show his marvelous markmanship, killing the enemy right and left. So steady was his fire that he could not be dislodged.

Finally, bleeding from many and dangerous wounds, this hero

blacksmith, with the aid of his helper and Thompson, the Yankee, was taken away to his home, where, strange to say, in due time he recovered. Having such foes to contend with, no wonder the Mohawk warriors cried: "Oonah"—we've had enough; we've had enough."

Herkimer's white mare was fatally wounded by a ball which had shattered the general's right leg. He was helped to extricate himself from the saddle, as the mare fell, and was carried up the side hill. Here, under a low branched beech tree, Dr. Wm. Petrie bandaged the wounded leg, his saddle was brought, and seated on this with his back against the tree and his maimed leg stretched out on some boughs, he coolly lighted his pipe, saying: "Here I will sit where the men can see me. I will face the enemy till I die." And here he sat and gave his orders, while off in the distance the rivulet ran red with blood, and the rays of the fierce August sun poured down upon the heaps of dead and wounded in this forest den of horrors.

Max Reid says, in his book on "The Mohawk Valley": "In imagination I can see the bluff, rugged old man, whose tawny Saxon hair veils the silver-gray locks. His angular form and hardened muscles indicate toil and exposure; on his bronze, careworn face is a look of pain, but his firm gray eyes scan every movement of the beleaguered troops and the red-skinned enemy. His commands are given sharp and short, like the quick blue puffs of smoke from his short black clay pipe. His buff-faced blue coat and vest are disordered and blood-stained, and his wounded leg, nearly bare, is bound with a red silk handkerchief, while his neck and breast are uncovered to the hot and sultry air."

Just then a great storm, with thunder and lightning, burst upon them, and, while the forest fairly rocked under the convulsion of the elements, the sound of cannon firing in the west three distinct times was heard, and this was the belated signal that Herkimer had so counted upon, and which he now heard with face growing wan and aged as he listened. "I must indeed be getting old," he said, to his brother George; "the young men think I can no longer hear cannon when they are fired off." If only his advice had been listened to, there would not have been that griev-

ous slaughter, and nearly half of his whole force of 800 men would not have been lying weltering in their gore.

Of the nine Snells, seven were slain; so was Eisenlord, and Stufel and most of his men, and Col. Campbell's son Robert; Major Wm. Suber was fatally wounded; his son Rudolph, as well as the Major's brother Saffreness and his son James, were all slain. There were seven Covenhovens, under Capt. Gardinier, and six Flints, under Col. Samuel Campbell, of the Cherry Valley militia, in the battle.

Cornelles Flint, the ancestors of the Secretary of the Society of the Sons of Oriskany, was in the battle with five brothers. These were all educated men from Albany, and the sons of Robert Flint, a rich trader and friend of Sir William Johnson, whom he ably supported at the Battle of Lake George in 1750.

There is a carefully preserved letter of the Baronet's to Flint at Sproutbrook, which requests Flint to "entertain and care for 100 Delaware warriors and chiefs marching to Johnson Castle for conference."

The record was indeed a terrible one, but after the storm a great rage and desire for vengeance possessed the survivors, and they attacked the enemy with irresistible fierceness. Col. Willett then came in time to aid in the fight, and soon the enemy was flying precipitately from the field. Sir John Johnson's papers and order-books were captured; and Herkimer's papers were recaptured in Johnson's tent; also, 21 wagon loads of baggage, clothing and provisions, and five British flags, which Col. Willett bore back to the fort in triumph underneath the folds of the Stars and Stripes, the flag they had so lately made with their own hands. Truly it was fitting that this battle should have been the occasion for the first raising of the American standard in victorious battle, for as the Declaration of Independence was the inception of a new nation so the bloody ravine of Oriskany was the place of the birth of our flag.

Col. Paris was captured and cruelly murdered, as were other prisoners, by the Indians after they reached Col. Butler's quarters. Major John Frey was wounded and taken prisoner, and his own brother, who was in the British service, attempted to take the Major's life. Almost every member of the Committee

of Safety, and, in fact, every prominent man in the Mohawk Valley, was killed, and death was in every home. Col. Samuel Campbell, then senior officer, reorganized the shattered patriot forces and led them in good order back to Fort Dayton. St. Leger lay sixteen days before Fort Schuyler but without avail. Col. Gansevoort refused to surrender.

August 24th, Benedict Arnold reached the fort, and immediately St. Leger, whom Arnold had declared the dishonored leader of banditti and to be shot on sight, raised the siege and fled, leaving his tents, stores and artillery spoils to the garrison.

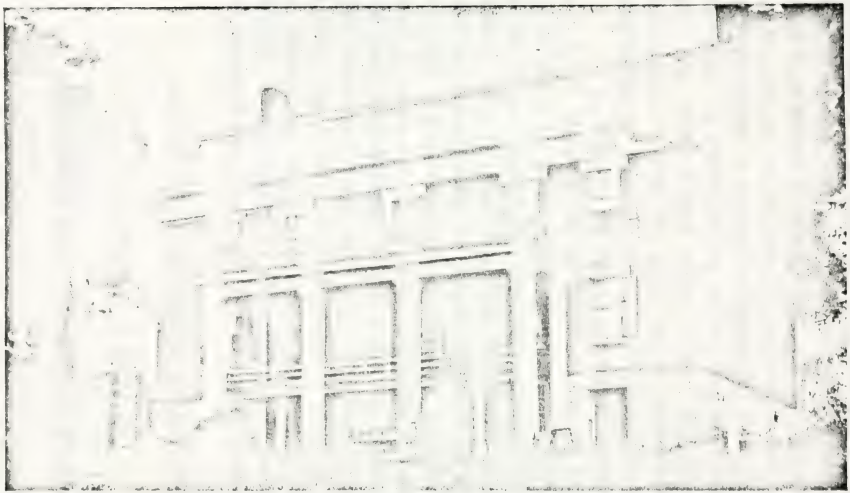
Ten days thereafter brave old Brigadier Nicholas Herkimer succumbed to the effects of an unskillful amputation of his leg. Before his death he read aloud to those about him from the Bible on his knee these words from the 38th Psalm: "Forsake me not, O Lord. O my God, be not far from me. Make haste, O Lord, my salvation."

In the eloquent words of our able friend, John W. Vrooman—a descendant of this Christian warrior—we may well say: "What incident of history or of poetic legend surpasses in resolution and heroism that of Herkimer at Oriskany?" History recounts that in Tryon County alone in the raids and massacres of the Butlers, Johnsons and Brant. two-thirds of the inhabitants were killed or driven out.

St. Leger and Johnson strove in vain to pass the barrier set up by those heroic settlers on the Mohawk, and Burgoyne's plan to hold the Hudson and separate the rest of the colonies from New England was defeated, and as his allies never reached him, he had to surrender at Saratoga. After that there was little doubt as to the final outcome.

Coming as it did at a time when Washington was most sorely pressed and the Colonies most despondent, this victory was a harbinger of hope so strong, so glorious, that every patriot's heart was warmed and strengthened, and life and liberty for the Colonies was a thing made possible if not assured.

Oriskany was well named in the Indian tongue the "Place of Nettles." Surely out of these nettles of danger brave Nicholas Herkimer plucked the rose of safety not only for the Mohawk Valley but the whole nation.



GENERAL HERKIMER HOMESTEAD, LITTLE FALLS, N. Y.

THE LITTLE WARS OF THE REPUBLIC

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART XI.—"THE WINDOW-TAX WAR"*

THE modern historian has paid so little attention to the window tax disturbance in Pennsylvania (during 1798 and 1799) that it is not easy for the student of history to gain a comprehensive idea of the importance of this domestic rebellion. Even the State historians, with few exceptions, dismiss the affair with a paragraph or two, and if it were not for the published records of the trial of John Fries and his associates, and the papers preserved in the proceedings of county historical societies, we should have little authentic information regarding the Window-Tax War, despite the fact that, as Dr. Harley has said, "it was one of the many factors which tended to make the administration of John Adams unpopular, leading to the downfall of the Federal party and it final disappearance from the realm of politics."†

The troubles which culminated in the uprising of which John Fries was the recognized leader, were the direct outgrowth of the quarrel between the United States and France. By 1798, this dispute between the two nations had assumed the character of active hostilities, and the situation seemed so desperate that President Adams was authorized to raise seven million dollars, five million dollars by loan and two million by means of a direct tax upon the houses and slaves of the citizens of the thirteen States. That such a tax must be somewhat of a hardship was recognized, even by those who advocated the measure, for the people were not only suffering from the effects of the Revolu-

*Sometimes known as "Fries' Rebellion" and as "The Hot-Water War."
†See Proceedings of the Montgomery County Historical Society.

tionary War, but money was still so scarce that it was often necessary to conduct trading operations by the exchange of commodities instead of currency. It was for this reason, therefore, that Congress determined to raise so large a proportion of the money needed for war purposes by loan, for it was felt that the comparatively small sum that each State would be called upon to pay could be raised without too strenuous a protest on the part of the persons taxed. Moreover, that the burden might fall upon the shoulders of those who were best able to bear it, the assessment was arranged in this manner: a tax of 50 cents was charged against every slave between the ages of 12 and 50 years, while the house tax was fixed at 20 cents per $100 of valuation on houses valued at from $200 to $500, and 30 cents per $100 on houses valued at more than $500. Strangely enough—from our present-day point of view—the value of the houses was fixed by the number and size of the windows, the rate increasing materially if the panes of glass exceeded 8x10 inches in size.

In nearly every part of the country people were so well informed regarding the political conditions that they not only recognized the necessity for the new war tax but also appreciated the moderation that Congress had shown in its demands upon the taxpayers. In Pennsylvania, however, and especially in Berks, Northampton and parts of Bucks and Montgomery counties, the German settlers who represented the bulk of the population, looked upon the matter in a different light. Had there been sane advisers at hand to confer with them and explain the situation, it is probable that they would have been as ready to contribute to the Government's aid in this emergency as their neighbors in other counties, but, unfortunately, the leaders who came to the front at this time were demagogues of the worst type who went about the country inciting the populace to the point of rebellion by assuring them that this tax was but the beginning of a system of inquisitorial tyranny that was destined to become as oppressive as that which they had escaped by their departure from the Fatherland. Unable to read English themselves—scarcely able to speak the tongue—they were easily deceived by the professional agitators who spoke to them so convincingly in their own language.

It was the women who first became converts to this gospel of resistance to taxation, and it was the women who first conceived the idea of repelling the assessors by means of the tea kettle, for while their phlegmatic husbands and sons still in sullen, stolid silence while the Government's agents enumerated the windows and measured the size of the panes, the women ascended to the second story, and, from that point of vantage, poured boiling water upon the heads of their "oppressors," a mode of defence which gave to these disturbances one of its other names, that of "The Hot Water War."

The most active leader in the campaign of the German settlers against the Government was John Fries, a farmer's son, who was born in Hatfield township, near Lansdale, Montgomery county, in 1750. He first learned the coopers trade, but, tiring of the hard labor it required, and being naturally a fluent talker, he abandoned his trade and became an auctioneer. As his business frequently called him to different parts of the country, he soon became well known to the settlers, particularly in that part of the State, and as he could speak German fluently, it was to him, as a widely-travelled man, that the people turned for instructions as to the best method of meeting the new tax.

From the beginning, and at every opportunity, John Fries advocated resistance to the collectors. Moreover, to give more weight to his advice, he gave up his work that he might devote himself exclusively to the promotion of the rebellion that he was so eager to incite. With a plumed hat and a sword at his side, he went from one county to another, always accompanied by his little dog, "Whiskey," and the appearance of this picturesque pair was invariably the signal for a gathering of the populace to whom Fries preached the necessity of insurrection.

In February, 1798, Fries succeeded in forming an association with an original membership of fifty-two persons. The members pledged themselves to use every effort possible to prevent the collection of the window tax and to discourage all friendly feeling towards the Government on the part of their neighbors by threatening violence to all who paid the tax or who endeavored to assist the Federal officials in the performance of their duty. Fries, for his part, agreed to raise seven hundred

active fighters among the citizens of the several counties that were most antagonistic to the tax.

Fries' effort to incite the populace were ably seconded by a German minister, Jacob Eyerman, who urged resistance to the collectors even from his pulpit. As John Schneider later testified (when the clergyman was on trial for conspiracy), he had repeatedly insisted that if things were allowed to go on they would soon be as bad as they were in the old country. It was also charged that he has frequently said that he would gladly hang his black coat on a nail, preach for his congregation on Sundays, and fight with them all the rest of the week, rather than that the iniquitous tax should be collected.

Although the State of Pennsylvania was expected to raise but $237,177 as its proportionate share of the tax, the Government officers were compelled to desist from their work in these counties long before the assessment had been completed. They reported to Governor Mifflin that they had been unable to carry out the instructions that had been given them regarding the measurement of windows, but he, refusing to accept their excuses, sent them back to finish their work, ordering that warrants be issued for the arrest of all persons who attempted to oppose them.

In accordance with these instructions, many warrants were served by the marshal and his men, and, on March 7, 1799, the officers, with thirty prisoners arrived at the Sun Tavern, in Bethlehem. Here, while they stopped to rest, they were overtaken by Fries and a party of about one hundred men, all of whom were armed, and their menaces impressed the marshal so strongly that he acceded to their demands and released his prisoners.

As this method of reprisal bordered closely upon rebellion, the governor appealed to President Adams, who promptly issued a proclamation ordering the troops from Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Montgomery and Lancaster counties to proceed to the scence of the uprising under the command of General MacPherson, and, if possible, apprehend all who had been guilty of participating in the liberation of the marshal's prisoners.

With such a body of militia, however, Fries wished to have

nothing to do, and, when the soldiers arrived, they found that he had fled to the swamps. There he might have remained hidden safely if he had not permitted "Whiskey" to stay with him, for it was through the alarm that the dog sounded upon the approaching of the searching party that disclosed his hiding place.

As the warrant charged Fries with treason "in levying war against the government of the United States," he was taken to Philadelphia for trial. The proceedings, which were held before Judges Iredell, Peters, Washington and Chase, resulted in the conviction of the prisoner, but, as it was afterwards shown that, by his own admission, one of the jurors had prejudged the case, a second trial was granted at which another convicition was secured, and the penalty of death was imposed.

As John Fries was the first person to be condemned to death in the United States for treason, the President was reluctant to see that penalty carried out, especially as the causes behind the little war had outspoken sympathizers in all sections of the country. Several of the most influential newspapers were firm supporters of the theory that the German settlers were within their rights, and that if the Federal party was permitted to enforce such iniquitous measures it would not be long before the "inquisitorial tryanny" of Europe would prevail in this country."

In view of these facts, it is more than probable that the pardon of Fries was nothing more or less than a political move on the part of the President, inspired, perhaps, by his well-known desire for re-election. At the same time, a story was told—and accepted by many—that the release of the rebellious Pennsylvanian was brought about through the efforts of his family, the kind-hearted President being unable to withstand the pleas for mercy of Fries wife and seven children who appeared before him in person, and, weeping, begged for the offender's pardon on their knees.

Whatever the facts may have been, Fries' plea for mercy made it very clear that he had had enough of his incendiary ideas and was quite willing to settle down and become an honest, law-abiding citizen, if his life might be spared. He stated, in his petition, that he was "one of those deluded and unfortunate men,

who, at the circuit court of this district have been convicted of treason against the United States, for which offense he is now under sentence of death. In this awful situation, impressed with a due sense of the crime he has committed, and with the sincerity of a PENITENT OFFENDER, he intreats MERCY and pardon from him on whose determination rests the fate of an UNFORTUNATE MAN. He solicits the interference of the President to save him from an ignominious death, and to rescue a large and hitherto happy family from future MISERY and RUIN. If the prayer of his petition should be granted, he will show by a future course of good conduct, his gratitude to his offended country, by a steady and active support of that excellent constitution and laws which it has been his misfortune to violate and offend."

Fries, upon his release, removed to Philadelphia, where he opened a tin shop, and, so far as we have any record, thereafter carefully avoided becoming mixed-up in political complications. His associates, some of whom were convicted of treason and others of conspiracy, were later released, after giving bonds for their future good behavior. The Reverend Eyerman, who, next to Fries perhaps, was the most efficient leader, was compelled to leave the State, and, in complying with these orders, he removed to New York State, after which nothing is known of him:

While the wholesale arrests made by the militia had a quieting effect upon the rebellious spirits of the German settlers, they still maintained that all their acts had been justified, and it was not until the Government persuaded Dr. Muhlenberg and other influential Germans to go through the country and explain the law to the people in their own tongue that they were willing to admit that they had acted hastily. Then, they were as ready to throw the entire onus of the affair upon the shoulders of their leaders, freely charging that men like Fries and Eyerman had grossly misrepresented the facts. When this became generally known, peace was quickly restored in Pennsylvainia.

HISTORY OF THE MORMON CHURCH

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER L

The Rising Storm of Mobocracy—Joseph Smith's Submission to the Requirements of Governor Ford—He Goes to Carthage.

THE destruction of the *Expositor* press gave the seceders from the Church at Nauvoo all the advantage in the situation they had anticipated. Except, perhaps, as to an attempted advantage sought either by themselves or their accomplices setting fire to various buildings belonging to them, the blackened ruins of which they expected to be able to point to in confirmation of the reports they carried to Carthage, that they had been driven from their homes in peril of their lives; that their mill and office had been burned, and Hyrum Smith had offered a reward for the destruction of the *Signal* office and press at Warsaw. In the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* extra edition, of June 21st, the following statement is made contradicting these reports:

"To disabuse the public mind, we wish briefly to state that the statements of the renegadoes from this place are false. They left the city at their own instance: they were not threatened, or menaced. Their mill is not burned; their office is not burned: T. C. Sharp Editor of the Warsaw Signal, has not had his life threatened by Hyrum Smith, nor has that gentleman offered a reward to any person who would destroy that office. All these statements are grossly false."

The report concerning Hyrum Smith threatening the life of Sharp and offering a reward for the destruction of the *Signal* was more formally made. The threat against Sharp is said to

have been made in the session of the city council that ordered the destruction of the *Expositor*[1] press: whereupon sixteen reputable gentlemen published the following card:

To the Public

"We whose names are undersigned having seen in the *Warsaw Signal,* containing the proceedings of a meeting held at Carthage on the 13th inst., many statements calculated to arouse the indignation and wrath of the people against the citizens of Nauvoo, do certify that Hyrum Smith did not make any threats nor offer any reward against the *Signal,* or its Editor, in the City Council."[2]

Indignation meetings over the *Expositor* affair were held first at Warsaw, and afterwards at Carthage. The men who had used their uttermost endeavors for more than two years to incite the people to acts of mob violence against the Saints, had now a popular war cry—"unhallowed hands had been laid upon the liberty of the press!" "The law had ceased to be a protection to lives or property in Nauvoo!" "A mob at Nauvoo, under a city ordinance, had violated the highest privilege in the government; and to seek redress in the ordinary mode would be utterly ineffectual!" Therefore those in attendance upon these meetings adopted resolutions announcing themselves at all times ready to co-operate with their fellow citizens in Missouri and Iowa "to exterminate, *utterly exterminate,* the wicked and abominable Mormon leaders, the authors of their troubles!"[3]

Committees were appointed to notify all persons in the respective townships suspected of being the "tools of the Prophet to

1. Gregg reports the rumor in his "Prophet of Palmyra" as follows: "Hyrum was reported to have said: 'We had better send a message to long-nosed Sharp (editor of the *Warsaw Signal*) that if he does not look out, he might be visited with a pinch of snuff that will make him sneeze!' And he continued: 'If any person will go to Warsaw boldly, in daylight, and break the press of the Signal office with a sledge-hammer, I will bear him out in it, if it costs me a farm. He could only be taken with a warrant at any rate, and what good would that do?'"

2. The names of the signers are as follows: John Taylor, G. W. Harris, Aaron Johnson, Phineas Richards, William Boles, Thomas Smith, Geo. P. Stiles, Edward Hunter, W. W. Phelps, Moses F. Clare, Alanson Ripley, Levi Richards, Orson Spencer, Addison Everett, John P. Greene, Philip B. Lewis.

3. Resolutions of Warsaw meeting, adopted also at Carthage meeting, see *Warsaw Signal* of the 19th of June, 1844. Resolutions are published in Journal Hist. of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, pp. 55-57; and p. 141, affidavit of Thomas G. Wilson.

leave immediately, on pain of instant venegeance." And it was further recommended that the adherents of Joseph Smith as a body, be "driven from the surrounding settlements into Nauvoo; that the Prophet and his miscreant adherents should then be demanded at their hands; and, if not surrendered, a war of entire extermination should be waged to the entire destruction, if necessary for the mob's protection, of his adherents; and to carry out these resolutions every citizen was called upon to arm himself."

The late John Hay, Secretary of State, in both McKinley's and Roosevelt's administration—1898-1905—in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1869, in an article on "The Mormon Prophet's Tragedy," commenting on the destruction of the *Nauvoo Expositor,* has the following passage:

"These occurrences gave rise to an excitement in the county which one regarding the matter calmly from this distance finds it difficult to account for. Public meetings were held in every precinct. Volunteer companies sprang up everywhere at the tap of the drum. There was drilling on every common, and hoarse eloquence in all the schoolhouses. Expresses were riding on all the roads with imperfectly defined purposes. The brigadier-general commanding the militia ordered a levy *en masse* in the adjoining counties. The newspapers of the county grew hysterical with exclamation-points and display-type. The *Warsaw Signal,* published at the headquarters of the anti-Mormons, by Mr. Thomas C. Sharp, was simply frantic in its issue of the 12th of June. Here is an extract. I regret not to be able to give the eccentricities of lettering by which the words seem to shriek on the page. A letter from Foster relates the destruction of the *Expositor* press. The *Signal* adds. 'We have only to state that this is sufficient! War and extermination is inevitable! Citizens, Arise, One and All!!! Can you stand by and suffer such Infernal Devils! to rob men of their property and rights, without avenging them? We have no time to comment: every man will make his own. *Let it be made with powder and Ball!!!*' "[4]

4. The article of the late Secretary is written in a very flippant spirit, utterly unworthy of the "tragedy" it undertakes to chronicle; and unworthy of the really great "Secretary of State," in two Presidential administrations, who wrote it. The only paliation that can be offered for this serious literary blunder of a great man is, that it was written when Mr. Hay was young (31), and depending chiefly upon boyhood recollections (some of his boyhood was spent in Warsaw and Carthage), and contemporary newspapers rather than upon a careful examination of the documents in the case. Writing to Mr. William A. Linn, author of "The Story of the

The publishers of the *Expositor* promptly made complaint before Thomas Morrison, a justice of the peace at Carthage, against the Mayor of Nauvoo and all the members of the city council, charging riot committed in destroying the anti-Mormon press. The mass meeting at Carthage, which had adopted the Warsaw resolutions was in full blast when the news arrived of the failure of Constable Bettisworth to bring the mayor and the Nauvoo city council to Carthage for trial. This increased the excitement, and poured more gall into the cup of bitterness. It was resolved that the "riot" in Nauvoo was still progressing, and of such a serious character as to demand executive interference; and therefore two "discreet citizens" were appointed to go to Springfield and lay the case before Governor Ford. But this appeal to the executive was not "to interfere" with the resolutions before passed—active preparations for the extermination of the Mormons were to be continued.

The authorities at Nauvoo also dispatched messengers to Governor Ford with full accounts of the proceedings, both in regard to the destruction of the press and the refusal to accompany Constable Bettisworth to Carthage. This that he might not by their neglect be misled by a false representation of the case, or be influenced by the thousand and one falsehoods that had been set on foot by the enemies of the Saints.

Without waiting the issue of this appeal, however, the mob forces in Carthage, Warsaw, and other places in Hancock county began active operations by sending their committees to the set-

---

Mormons," as late as Nov. 17, 1900. Mr. Hay says of his *Atlantic Monthly Article*: "I relied more upon my memory and contemporary newspapers for my facts than on certified documents. I will not take my oath to everything the article contains, but I think in the main it is correct." An able "Review" of Mr. Hay's article was published by Elder Orson F. Whitney—author of "Whitneys History of Utah—in 1905, in which the utter unworthiness of Mr. Hay's article as a historical document (except where sustained by corroborative evidences) is pointed out. H. H. Bancroft says of Hay's article that, "However justly it may lay claim to Boston 'smart' writing, so far as the facts are concerned it is simply a tissue of falsehoods." (History of Utah, p. 183, note). This view should be so far modified as to say that there are many statements in Mr. Hay's article which are valuable contributions to the History of the events he celebrates—the one quoted above, for example; and others also as we shall see, in relation to which he had opportunity of obtaining special knowledge. Mr. Hay's chief offense is his flippant style in dealing with a murder of even more than national importance; and his disposition to excuse the murderers and make light of the perjury, and the miscarriage of court processes and justice, by which they escaped punishment for their crime; by which circumstance an American commonwealth was forever dishonored among the States of the Union.

tlements of the Saints outside of Nauvoo, and threatening them with destruction if they did not accept one of three propositions: first, deny that Joseph Smith was a Prophet of God, and take up arms and accompany the mob to arrest him; second, gather up their effects and forthwith remove to the city of Nauvoo; third, give up their arms and remain quiet until the pending difficulties should be settled by the expulsion of their friends. Usually a few days were allowed in which to make a decision and these were utilized by the people in conferring with the Prophet to know what he advised under the circumstances. The advice given, in its general purport, was to yield up none of their rights as American citizens to the demand of mobocrats, but to maintain their rights wherever they were strong enough to resist the mob forces, and when they were not strong enough retreat to Nauvoo.[5]

Beside the reports of preparations for war by the mob which came to Nauvoo from the Saints living in various parts of Hancock county, there were rumors of mob forces collecting on every hand. Great excitement was reported to exist in upper Missouri, the part of that State from which the Saints had been driven but six years before; and it was reported that the Missourians were coming over into Illinois in large numbers to assist the anti-Mormons in and around Carthage. That arms and ammunition were sent over the Mississippi to the mob is quiet certain; and it is also known that Walter Bagley, the tax collector for Hancock county, had spent some time in Missouri as an anti-Mormon agent and agitator, seeking to bring about a concerted action between the old enemies of the Saints, and those of the same disposition in Illinois.[6]

While these hostile preparations were being made for the destruction of their people the leading men at Nauvoo were not idle. They kept an efficient corps of clerks busy copying reports and affidavits of threatened violence and insurrection, and sent them to the Governor, whom they petitioned to come to Nauvoo and in person investigate the causes of the disturbance. Infor-

5. The statements of the paragraph are sustained by the affidavits of many of the parties so called upon, and by their written communications sent to Nauvoo. *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, pp. 141-2; 220, 222-230-1.

6. See *Warsaw Signal* of the 19th of June, extra; and *Nauvoo Neighbor* extra of the 21st of June.

mation was also sent to the President of the United States, acquainting him with the prospects of an insurrection, and an invasion of Illinois by Missourians, and asking him for protection.

The communication of President Smith inviting Governor Ford to come to Nauvoo and investigate the whole situation is so luminous with the spirit in which Joseph Smith and his associates were acting, that I give his letter to the Governor complete:

"NAUVOO, Ill., June 16th, 1844.

"*His Excellency, Thomas Ford.*

"SIR:—I am informed from credible sources, as well as from the proceedings of a public meeting at Carthage, &c., as published in the *Warsaw Signal* Extra, that an energetic attempt is being made by some of the citizens of this and the surrounding counties to drive and exterminate 'the Saints' by force of arms; and I send this information to your Excellency by a special messenger, Hugh McFall, Adjutant-General, Nauvoo Legion, who will give all particulars; and I ask at your hands immediate counsel and protection.

"Judge Thomas has been here and given his advice in the case, which I shall strictly follow until I hear from your Excellency, and in all cases adhere to the Constitution and laws.

"The Nauvoo Legion is at your service to quell all insurrections and support the dignity of the common weal.

"I wish, urgently wish, your Excellency to come down in person with your staff and investigate the whole matter without delay, and cause peace to be restored to the country; and I know not but this will be the only means of stopping an effusion of blood.

"The information referred to above is before me by affidavit.

"I remain, Sir, the friend of peace, and your Excellency's humble servant,

"JOSEPH SMITH.

"His Excellency Thomas Ford."[7]

Nor were President Smith and his associates neglectful of anything that would have a tendency to allay the excitement. Jesse B. Thomas, judge of the circuit in which Hancock county was located, advised the mayor and city council to go before some justice of the peace of the county and have an examination of the

7. Journal History of Joseph Smith *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 141. The letter was accompanied by documents giving evidence of uprisings in Missouri to invade Illinois for the purpose of making an attack upon Nauvoo.

charges specified in the writ issued by Justice Morrison, and that would take away all excuse for a mob, and he would be bound to order them to keep the peace. Some advised President Smith to go to Carthage for trial; but that he emphatically refused to do, since he knew that a numerous mob was collected there who were publicly pledged to take his life.[8] He and all others named in Justice Morrison's warrant, however, went before Squire Wells, a non-Mormon justice of the peace, and after a thorough investigation of the case were acquitted.[9]

In addition to these movements, a mass meeting was held in Nauvoo, at which John Taylor, one of the Twelve Apostles, was chairman. Pacific resolutions were adopted, denying the misrepresentations of the seceders, and appointing men to go to the neighboring towns and settlements to present the truth to the people and allay excitement. These men were authorized to say that the members of the city council charged with riot and the violation of law, were willing to go before the circuit court for an investigation of their conduct in respect to the *Nauvoo Expositor,* and refused not to be bound over for such a hearing. But when this announcement was made and it was learned that Judge Thomas had advised this course to allay excitement, the mob threatened that a committee would wait upon the judge and give him a coat of tar and feathers for giving such advice.[10]

These pacific measures having little or no effect, and active preparations for hostilities continuing on the part of the enemy, Nauvoo was placed under martial law; the Legion was mustered into service, and Joseph Smith in person took command of it. He delivered an address to the Legion and to the people, in which he reviewed the events that had brought upon Nauvoo the issue that confronted them. To dispel any illusion that any of them might have that he was the only one threatened, President Smith said:

"It is thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied by

8. Prophets interview with Governor Ford, Tyler's "Mormon Battalion" Introduction, p. 43.

9. The minutes of the trial are published in the Journal History of Joseph Smith *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, p. 180, *et seq.*

10. Affidavit of Anson Call, David Evans, Wm. E. Home, Journal History of Joseph Smith *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, p. 221. Also affidavit of Hiram B. Mount and John Cunningham. Ibid *222 et seq.*

my destruction, but I tell you as soon as they have shed my blood, they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fullness of the Gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach to this generation."

Words which subsequent events will prove to have been prophetic. He also said:

"We have forwarded a particular account of all our doings to the Governor. We are ready to obey his commands, and we expect that protection at his hands which we know to be our just due."

It will be remembered that when an urgent request was sent to the Governor to come to Nauvoo in person to investigate the cause of the disturbance, the service of the Legion was tendered him to keep the peace. That President Smith had come to a settled determination to maintain the rights of the people at all hazards, and submit no longer to mob violence, may be clearly understood from the spirit of these extracts from the speech made to the Legion on the occasion of his taking command of it.

"We are American citizens. We live upon a soil for the liberties of which our fathers periled their lives and spilt their blood upon the battlefield. Those rights so dearly purchased shall not be disgracefully trodden under foot by lawless marauders without at least a noble effort on our part to sustain our liberties. Will you stand by me to death, and sustain at the peril of our lives, the laws of our country, and the liberties and privileges which our fathers have transmitted to us, sealed with their sacred blood? (thousands shouted aye)! It is well. If you had not done it, I would have gone out there. (pointing to the West) and would have raised up a mightier people."[11]

I call upon all men from Maine to the Rocky Mountains, and from Mexico to British America, whose hearts thrill with horror to behold the rights of free men trampled under foot, to come to the deliverance of this people from the cruel hand of oppres-

11. This doubtless in allusion to the great enterprise of conducting a mighty emigration into the Western wilderness noted in chapter XLVIII, this History.

sion, cruelty, anarchy and misrule to which they have long been made subject. . . . I call upon God and angels to witness that I have unsheathed my sword with a firm and unaltered determination that this people shall have their legal rights and shall be protected from mob violence, or my blood shall be spilt upon the ground like water, and my body be consigned to the silent tomb. While I live, I will never tamely submit to the dominion of cursed mobocracy.

There was much more of a like tenor, but this is sufficient to show the determination of the Prophet not to submit to the mobs then rising about him; and the people warmly seconded his resolution.

Word was sent to Brigham Young then on a mission in the Eastern States, to return to Nauvoo, and to communicate with the other Apostles and request them also to return, as likewise all the Elders, and as many more good, faithful men as felt disposed to accompany them, to assist the Saints. Thus every effort was being put forth by the people of Nauvoo to resist oppression and maintain their rights.[12]

In the midst of these preparations for hostilities a message was received from Governor Ford, stating that he had arrived in Carthage in the interests of peace, and hoped to be able to avert the evils of war by his presence; and that he might the better judge of the situation he asked that well-informed discreet persons be sent him at Carthage, where he had established for the time headquarters. This request of the governor's was promptly complied with on the part of the people of Nauvoo; and John Taylor and Dr. J. M. Bernhisel were appointed to represent the situation at Nauvoo, and for that purpose were furnished with a copy of the proceedings of the city council, and the affidavits of a number of citizens bearing on the subjects that would likely be discussed.

These representatives of the citizens of Nauvoo, found the Governor surrounded by their enemies—the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, Joseph H. Jackson and others living at Warsaw and Carthage. The only audience given to *Messrs.* Taylor and Bernhisel was in the presence of these parties, by whom they were fre-

12. Letter of Hyrum Smith to Brigham Young Journal Hist. of Joseph Smith *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, pp. 153-4.

quently interrupted in the most insulting manner, and the parties insulting and abusing them were unchecked by Governor Ford.

After the Governor had heard the statements of these gentlemen and read the documents presented by them, he sent a written communication to Joseph Smith, in which he said that by destroying the *Expositor* press, the city council of Nauvoo had committed a gross outrage upon the laws and liberties of the people, and had violated the Constitution in several particulars. He also claimed that the municipal court of Nauvoo had exceeded its authority in granting writs of *habeas corpus*.[13] He accepted the statement of the mob at Carthage that Joseph Smith refused to be tried by any other court than the municipal court of Nauvoo, although he had before him the most positive proof that President Smith was willing to go before any justice of the peace in Hancock county except Justice Morrison of Carthage, where an angry mob had collected, and were threatening his destruction. He was even willing to be bound over to appear in the circuit court to answer for the part he took in abaiting the *Expositor* press as a nuisance. Yet in the face of these facts—in the face of the fact that all the parties charged with riot had appeared before Mr. Wells, a justice of the peace and a non-Mormon, and after investigation were acquitted—yet the Governor charged the members of the city council with refusing to appear before any other than the municipal court of Nauvoo for an investigation! He demanded that the mayor and all persons in Nauvoo accused or sued submit in all cases implicitly to the process of the courts and to interpose no obstacles to an arrest, either by writ of *habeas corpus* or otherwise. And in the case of the mayor and a number of the city council charged with riot, he required that they should be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and tried before the same magistrate, whose

13. Among these cases the one most offensive was that of Jeremiah Smith, accused of obtaining money $4,000—from the United States Treasury at Washington. He was found in Nauvoo, and twice arrested, first by the U. S. Marshal of Iowa, and the second time by an Illinois Marshal. In each case he sued out a writ of *habeas corpus*, brought before the City Council and set free. Smith was afterward taken before the courts at Springfield, but apparently released. An effort was made, chiefly by one T. B. Johnson, to have the Mayor and municipal court at Nauvoo indicted by the Springfield grand jury for exceeding their authority in trying this Smith case on its merits, and releasing the prisoners from both state and United States process. These efforts, however, were defeated. (See *Nauvoo Expositor*, also letters to the Prophet from Dr. L. W. Hickok and H. F. Huggins *Mill. Star* vol. XXIV, pp. 7 and 183.)

authority he claimed had been resisted. "Nothing short of this," he added, "can vindicate the dignity of violated law, and allay the just excitement of the people."[14]

Messrs. Taylor and Bernhisel called the Governor's attention to the state of excitement in Carthage, and informed him that there were men there bent on killing the Prophet, and that to ensure his safety it would be necessary for him to be accompanied by an armed force which would doubtless provoke a collision. In answer to this the Governor advised them to bring no arms, and pledged his faith as Governor, and that of the State, to protect those who should go to Carthage for trial. He also made the same pledge in his written communication to President Smith.[15]

The conduct of the Governor in thus adopting the reports of the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo, and menacing the city with destruction, if his arbitrary commands were not complied with, created no small amount of astonishment in Nauvoo. President Smith, however, wrote a courteous reply, corrected the Governor's errors, and also represented that the city council of Nauvoo in the *Expositor* press affair, had acted on their best judgment, aided by the best legal advice they could procure; but if a mistake had been made they were willing to make all things right; but asked that the mob might be dispersed, that their lives might not be endangered while on trial. Relative to going to Carthage, however, Joseph pointed out the fact that the Governor himself in his written communication had expressed his fears that he could not control the mob;[16] "in which case," he went on to say, "we are left to the mercy of the merciless. Sir, we dare not come, for our lives would be in danger, and we are guilty of no crime."[17]

14. The Governor's letter, bearing date of June 22nd, is published *in extenso* in Journal History of Joseph Smith *Mill Star* vol. XXIV, p. 299-230.

15. See Fords Hist. of Ill., p. 367, and last paragraph Ford's letter of June 22nd.

16. The passages here referred to in Governor's letter is as follows: I am anxious to preserve the peace, a small indiscretion may bring on a war. The whole country is now up in arms, and a vast number of people are ready to take the matter into their own hands. Such a state of things might force me to call out the militia to prevent a civil war; and such is the excitement of the country that I fear that the militia, when assembled, would be beyond control. . . . You have made it necessary that a *posse* should be assembled to execute legal process; and that *posse*, as fast as it assembles, is in danger of being imbued with the mobocratic spirit.

17. President Smith's letter is given in full in Journal Hist. *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 309.

On a hasty consultation with his brother Hyrum, Dr. Richards, and *Messrs.* Taylor and Bernhisel, after the return of the latter from their conference with Governor Ford, it was decided that President Smith should proceed to Washington and lay the situation at Nauvoo before President Tyler, and he informed Governor Ford of this intention in his letter of the 22nd. That plan, however, at a subsequent council meeting, was abandoned. President Smith rereived an inspiration to go to the West, and all would be well. He said to the trusted brethren in that council:

"The way is open. It is clear to my mind what to do. All they want is Hyrum and myself; then tell everybody to go about their business, and not collect in groups, but scatter about. There is no danger; they will come here and search for us. Let them search; they will not harm you in person or in property, and not even a hair of your head. We will cross the river to-night, and go away to the West."[18]

This was between nine and ten o'clock on the night of the twenty-second of June, and preparations were at once begun to carry out this impression of the Spirit. W. W. Phelps was instructed to take the families of the Prophet and his brother Hyrum to Cincinnati; and that night O. P. Rockwell rowed Joseph and Hyrum Smith and Dr. Richards over the Mississippi to Montrose, and then returned with instructions to procure horses for them and make all necessary preparations to start for "the great basin in the Rocky Mountains."

About ten o'clock the next day the Governor's *posse* arrived in Nauvoo to arrest the Prophet, but not finding him it returned to

18. Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, p. 332.
It was while debating the question of submitting to the demands of the Governor that the Prophet expressed to Stephen Markham the desire for Hyrum Smith to leave him. "I told Stephen Markham", he is recorded as saying, "that if Hyrum and I were ever taken again we would be massacred, or I was not a Prophet of God. I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me". (Journal Hist. of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, p. 332). Another version of the Prophet's remark is, "I want Hyrum to live to lead the Church, but he is determined not to leave me". (Tullege's "Life of Joseph, the Prophet",—Reorganized Church Edition, p. 489). Mr. Tullege is so far confirmed by other evidence that it is certain at least that Joseph Smith contemplated Hyrum succeeding him, and even ordained him to that purpose. At the October conference following the martyrdom, at which time the Twelve Apostles were recognized as the presiding quorum of the Church, President Brigham Young said: "Did Joseph ordain any man to take his place? He did. Who was it? It was Hyrum. But Hyrum fell a martyr before Joseph did". (*Times and Seasons,* vol. V, p. 683).

Carthage, leaving a man by the name of Yates to watch for the Prophet's appearing. Yates said that if the mayor and his brother were not given up, the Governor had expressed a determination to send his troops into the city and guard it until they were found, if it took three years.

At this crisis, some of Joseph's friends instead of rendering him all possible assistance to escape from his enemies, complained of his conduct as cowardly and entreated him to return to Nauvoo and not leave them as a false shepherd leaves his flock when the wolves attack them. The parties most forward in making this charge of cowardice were Reynolds Cahoon, L. D. Wasson and Hiram Kimball. Emma Smith, his wife, also sent a letter by the hand of Reynolds Cahoon, entreating him to return and give himself up, trusting to the pledges of the Governor for a fair trial. Influenced by these entreaties to return, and stung by the taunts of cowardice from those who should have been his friends, he said: "If my life is of no value to my friends, it is of none to myself." And after a brief consultation with Rockwell and his brother Hyrum, against his better judgment, and with the conviction fixed in his soul that he would be killed, he resolved to return; and crossed over the river that evening to Nauvoo.[19]

Word was sent to the Governor on the 23rd by the hand of Theodore Turley and Jedediah M. Grant that President Smith would be ready to go to Carthage as early the next day as the Governor's *posse* could meet him, provided he could be assured of a fair trial, and his witnesses not be abused. That message was delivered to the Governor, and he decided at once to send a *posse* to escort the Nauvoo party to Carthage; but through the influence which Wilson Law, Joseph H. Jackson and others of like character had over him he changed his good intention of sending a *posse* and ordered the messengers to return that night with orders to Joseph Smith and the city council to be in Carthage the next day by ten o'clock without an escort; and he declared that if the mayor and council did not come Nauvoo would be destroyed.

Owing to the jaded condition of their horses Turley and Grant

19. Journal History, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 333-4.

did not reach Nauvoo until daylight of the twenty-fourth. After the orders of the Governor were delivered, these faithful brethren who reported them began to warn the Prophet against trusting himself in the hands of his enemies, Carthage, but he stopped them and would not hear them further—he had decided upon his course.

Early on the morning of the twenty-fourth, President Smith and the members of the city council, accompanied by a few friends, started for Carthage to give themselves up. As they passed the temple, the party paused, and the Prophet looked with admiration upon the noble edifice and the glorious land-scape, which everywhere from that spot greets the eye, and then said: "This is the loveliest place, and the best people under the heavens; little do they know the trials that await them!" On the outskirts of the city the party passed the home of Squire D. H. Wells, who at the time was sick. President Smith dismounted and called to see him. At parting the Prophet said to him cheerfully: "Squire Wells, I wish you to cherish my memory; and do not think me the worst man in the world either."

About ten o'clock the party arrived within four miles of Carthage and there met a company of sixty mounted militiamen under the command of Captain Dunn, on their way to Nauvoo with orders from Governor Ford to demand the State arms in possession of the Nauvoo Legion. It was on the occasion of meeting these troops that President Smith uttered these prophetic words:

"I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—he was murdered in cold blood."[20]

20. See Letter of Taylor and Richards to the Saints in England announcing the Martyrdom, *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXIV, p. 775. The letter is dated July 9th, 1844. See also *Times and Seasons,* July 15th, 1844. Hyrum Smith also seems to have had a premonition of the approaching tragedy; for while in the midst of his preparations for going to Carthage this same morning he read the following paragraph near the close of the 12th chapter of Esther, in the Book of Mormon (current edition) and turned down the leaf upon it:

"And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto you, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I . . . bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea, and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment-seat of Christ, where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood." Doc. and Cov. sec. 135.

At the request of Captain Dunn he countersigned the Governor's order for the State arms. But the captain also prevailed upon him to return to Nauvoo and assist in collecting the arms, promising that afterwards the militia under his command would escort himself and party into Carthage, and he would protect them even at the risk of his own life, to which his men assented by three hearty cheers. It is supposed that Captain Dunn feared the people in Nauvoo might become exasperated and resent the indignity offered them in demanding the surrender of the State arms. Hence his anxiety to have the Prophet return. A message was sent to the Governor informing him of this new move.

The arms were collected without any difficulty, though the people were reluctant to surrender them, since disarming them and allowing their enemies who had vowed their extermination to keep their arms, smacked of treachery; but the order of the Governor and the advice of their Prophet-leader was obeyed. The arms were taken to the Masonic Hall and stacked up, Quartermaster-General Buckmaster receiving them.

The arms collected, Captain Dunn thanked the people for their promptness in complying with the demands of the Governor, and promised them that while they conducted themselves in such a peaceable manner they should be protected. The company of militia accompanied by President Smith and his party started for Carthage about six in the evening.

Passing the Masonic Hall where a number of the citizens of Nauvoo still lingered, having collected there to witness the surrender of the State arms, the Prophet raised his hat and said: "Boys, if I don't come back, take care of yourselves. I am going like a lamb to the slaughter."[21]

When the company was passing President Smith's farm he stopped and looked at it for a long time. Then after he had passed it he turned and looked again, and yet again several times. His action occasioned some remarks by several of the company, to which, in reply he said: "If some of you had such a farm, and knew you would not see it any more, you would want to take a good look at it for the last time."

It was midnight of the 24th when the party entered Carthage,

21. Journal History, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, 343.

but a militia company encamped on the public square—the Carthage Greys—were aroused and gave vent to profane threats as the company passed, of which the following is a specimen: "Where's the d—n Prophet?" "Stand away, you McDonough boys,[22] and let us shoot the d—n Mormons!" "G—d d—n you, old Joe, we've got you now!" "Clear the way, and let us have a view of Joe Smith, the Prophet of God. He has seen the last of Nauvoo! We'll use him up now!"

Amid such profanity and abuse, and violent threats, much of which must have been overheard by Governor Ford, the Prophet's party proceeded to Hamilton's hotel, which it entered and took quarters for the night. Under the same roof were sheltered the apostates of Nauvoo, Joseph H. Jackson, the Foster brothers, the Higbees and the Laws, besides other desperate men who had sworn to take the life of Joseph Smith.

The crowd which had followed the Nauvoo party from the public square still hung round the Hamilton House yelling and cursing, and acting like ravenous beasts hungry for their prey. Governor Ford pushed up a window—for he, too, was quartered at the Hamilton House—and thus addressed them: "Gentlemen, I know your great anxiety to see Mr. Smith, which is natural enough, but it is quite too late tonight for you to have that opportunity; but I assure you, gentlemen, you shall have that privilege tomorrow morning, as I will cause him to pass before the troops upon the square, and I now wish you, with this assurance, quietly and peaceably to return to your quarters." In answer to this there was a faint "Hurrah. for Tom Ford," and the crowd withdrew. They could afford to wait. They were sure of their prey.[23]

---

22. Dunn's Dragoons were from Augusta, the extreme southeast corner of Handcock court, but are several times mistakenly referred to as McDonaugh troops.

23. In this History the author has been much indebted to the "Journal History of Joseph Smith" in which is also recorded many public documents, also the correspondence of the Prophet in relation to public affairs. That "Journal History", as chiefly dictated by himself, with the addition of documents placed in it either by himself or others, properly closes with the entries of the 22nd of June. After that, for the pro-Mormon side of events occurring in the few remaining days of the Prophet's life, we are dependent upon a narrative made up from the journals kept at the time by Dr. Willard Richards, and the statements published by John Taylor, *Messrs.* Reid and Woods, and John S. Fullmer, and the writings and statements of Dan Jones, Cyrus H. Wheelock, Stephen Markham, and many other persons who were personally acquainted with the transactions, edited and har-

CHAPTER LI

The Martyrdom

Early in the morning of the 25th of June, President Smith, his brother Hyrum and the members of the Nauvoo city council named in the warrant of arrest sworn out by Francis M. Higbee, voluntarily surrendered themselves to Constable Bettisworth. Shortly afterwards the Prophet was again arrested by the same constable on a charge of treason against the State and people of Illinois," on the oath of Augustine Spencer.[1] Hyrum was arrested on a similar charge, sworn out by Henry O. Norton.

Soon after the arrest of President Smith for treason[2] Governor Ford presented himself at the Hamilton House, and requested the Brothers Smith to accompany him, as he desired to present them to the militia troops, in fulfillment of his promise to them of the night before. The troops had been drawn up in two lines, and Joseph and Hyrum Smith linking arms with Brigadier-General Miner R. Deming passed down the lines followed by

---

monized by the Church Historians of that period. (See *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 332). This source of information will be referred to as the *"Historians' Compilation"*.

1. Augustine Spencer was an unworthy member of a very worthy and honorable family (a brother of Orson and Daniel Spencer), that received the New Dispensation of the Gospel at West Stockbridge, Burkshire county, Mass., 1838-1840. Evidently Augustine fell under the influence of the seceders from the Church at Nauvoo. Elder Parley P. Pratt under date of May 23rd, 1844, wrote from Richmond, Mass., to President Smith and Orson Spencer, informing them that Augustine Spencer in letters to the Saints in the East was secretly disseminating the gossip of Nauvoo and the fulminations of the disaffected parties among the Saints in the East, embittering their minds against the work, and doing great harm to the faith of the Saints. Pratt's letter is published in the "Journal History of Joseph Smith." *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 422. Norton was also an Apostate.

2. The "treason" consisted in calling out the Nauvoo Legion on the 18th of June, proclaiming the city, "within the limits of its corporation, under martial law." This was called "levying war against the state." Gregg's History of Hancock County, p. 321. See also Proclamation "Journal History," *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 203. Governor Ford commenting on the charge of "Treason" says: "The overt act of treason charged against them consisted in the alleged levying of war against the State by declaring martial law in Nauvoo, and in ordering out the Legion to resist the *posse comitatus*. Their actual guiltiness of the charge would depend upon circumstances. If their opponents had been seeking to put the law in force in good faith, and nothing more, then an array of military force in open resistance to the *posse comitatus* and the militia of the State, most probably would have amounted to treason. But if those opponents merely intended to use the process of the law, the militia of the State, and the *posse comitatus*, as cats-paws to compass the possession of their persons for the purpose of murdering them afterwards, as the sequel demonstrated the fact to be, it might well be doubted whether they were guilty of treason." (Ford's History of Ill., p. 337).

their friends and a company of Carthage Greys. They were introduced as General Joseph and General Hyrum Smith. The Carthage Greys, a few minutes before, at the headquarters of General Deming, had revolted and behaved in an uproarious manner, but were pacified by the Governor, and accompanied him, General Deming and the Prophet and his party to where the other troops were drown up in line. Here they again revolted because the Brothers Smith were introduced to the troops from McDonough county as "Generals Smith." Some of the officers of the Carthage Greys threw up their hats, drew their swords and said they would introduce themselves to "The d—ned Mormons in a different style." They were again pacified by the Governor, who promised them "full satisfaction." But they continued to act in such an insubordinate manner that General Deming put them under arrest,[3] but afterwards released them without punishment.

---

3. This incident about the revolt of the Carthage Greys is thus related in Gregg's History of Hancock County: "It seems that after the McDonough regiment had been disbanded, and were about to return home, they expressed a desire to see the prisoners. The wish was reasonable, and as the easiest mode of gratifying it, they were drawn up in line, and General Deming with the two prisoners, one on each arm, and the Greys as an escort passed along the line of troops, Deming introducing them as 'General Joseph Smith and General Hyrum Smith,' of the Nauvoo Legion. The Greys not aware that this was done at the request of the McDonough men, and not satisfied to be made an escort to such a display exhibited signs of dissatisfaction, and finally gave vent to their feelings by hisses and groans. As a punishment for this offense they were afterward ordered under arrest. In the meantime there was great excitement in the company. As a detachment of the troops was being detailed for the purpose of putting the general's order into execution, the officer in command of the Greys addressed them a few words and then said: 'Boys will you submit to an arrest for so trifling an offense?' 'No!' was the unanimous response. *'Then load your pieces with ball!'* was the sullen order. In the meantime some explanations had been made, which permitted General Deming to countermand the order of arrest, and the Greys were quietly marched back to their encampment."

This account says nothing of the fact that the night before, Governor Ford had promised all the troops a view of General Smith; and that the Greys had been in revolt at General Deming's headquarters before the party including Joseph and Hyrum Smith reached the McDonough troops. Moreover the writer was informed by Colonel H. G. Ferris, when in Carthage in 1885, investigating these matters, that when word arrived in Carthage that Joseph Smith would surrender himself to the authorities, if the Governor would pledge him protection and a fair trial, the Governor made a speech to the mixed multitude of troops and citizens in which he stated the proposition of the Smiths, and wanted to know if they would sustain him in pledging them protection, to which they responded in the affirmative. There was some talk, too, of sending the Greys as a *posse* to escort the Smiths into Nauvoo. Against this proceeding General Deming protested and told Governor Ford that the pledge of protection made by the crowd and the troops was not to be depended upon, it was insincere, and that the lives of the Smiths were not to be trusted to the Greys. Colonel Ferris was present at the above meeting, a member of the Greys, and was the writer's informant.

Shortly after this episode with the Carthage Greys, a number of the officers of other militia companies and other gentlemen curious to see the "Prophet" crowded into the hotel. President Smith took occasion to ask them if there was anything in his appearance to indicate that he was the desperate character his enemies represented him to be. To which they replied, "No, sir, your appearance would indicate the very contrary, General Smith; but we cannot see what is in your heart, neither can we tell what are your intentions." "Very true, gentlemen," quickly replied President Smith, "you cannot see what is in my heart, and you are therefore unable to judge me or my intentions; but I can see that you thirst for blood, and nothing but my blood will satisfy you. It is not for crime of any description that I and my brethren are thus continually persecuted, and harrassed by our enemies, but there are other motives, and some of them I have expressed, so far as relates to myself; and inasmuch as you and the people thirst for blood, I prophesy in the name of the Lord that you shall witness scenes of blood and sorrow to your entire satisfaction. Your souls shall be perfectly satiated with blood, and many of you who are now present shall have an opportunity to face the cannon's mouth from sources you think not of, and those people that desire this great evil upon me and my brethren shall be filled with sorrow because of the scenes of desolation and distress that await them. They shall seek for peace and shall not be able to find it. Gentlemen, you will find what I have told you will come true."[4]

The members of the Nauvoo city council under arrest for riot, in destroying the *Expositor* press, were taken before Robert F. Smith, justice of the peace, also captain of the Carthage Greys. Governor Ford had said, in a communication referred to in the last chapter,[5] that nothing but the appearance of the mayor (Jo-

4. In view of the great civil war which a few years later so desolated the land in which so many of the people of Illinois participated, it is clear that the above utterance was prophetic. The account of this conversation as given above was published first in the Desert News of November 4th, 1857, nearly four years before the first gun was fired in the civil war,—April 12th, 1861.

5. "I require any and all of you who are or shall be accused, to submit yourselves to be arrested by the same constable, by virtue of the same warrant, and be tried by the same magistrate whose authority has hitherto been resisted. Nothing short of this can vindicate the dignity of violated law and allay the just excitement of the people." Gov. Ford to Joseph Smith—*Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 301. See note 12 for citation of letter.

seph Smith) and the city council b efore Justice Morrison, who issued the writ against them for "riot," in the first place, would vindicate the majesty of the law; but now the prisoners were at Carthage, where Justice Morrison lived, and could have been brought before him, and were willing to go before him, they were taken before another justice!

In order to avoid increasing the excitement, the prisoners admitted there was sufficient cause to be bound over to appear at the next term of the circuit court for Hancock county on the charge of "riot." The bonds of all the party amounted to seven thousand five hundred dollars.

Justice Smith dismissed his court without taking any action on the charge of "treason" under which the brothers Smith were still held; but about eight o'clock the same evening, Constable Bettisworth appeared at their lodgings at the Hamilton House and insisted on their going to jail. The Prophet demanded to see the copy of the mittimus which was at first denied; but upon his counsel, *Messrs.* Wood & Reid, informing the constable that the accused were entitled to a hearing before a justice before they could be sent to prison, to the surprise of all the constable produced a mittimus, issued by Justice Robert F. Smith. It stated that Joseph and Hyrum Smith were under arrest charged with treason; "and have been," so the paper read, "brought before me, as a justice of the peace, in and for said county, for trial, at the seat of justice hereof, which trial has been necessarily postponed, by reason of the absence of material witnesses."[6] Now, this "mittimus," so far as it related to the prisoners appearing before Justice Smith for trial, was untrue; "unless," as Lawyer Reid says, in the account he published of these proceedings—"unless the prisoners could have appeared before the justice without being present in person or by counsel! The same representation of the case is made by Lawyer James W. Woods,[7] associated with Mr. Reid as counsel for President Smith.

Most vigorously protest was made against this unlawful proceeding, but to no avail.

6. Copy of the mittimus containing the false statement is given at length in the Times and Seasons of July 1, 1844, (vol. V, no. 12).

7. A somewhat lengthy statement of the events of the martyrdom and of the days immediately preceding it was given by Reid and Woods and published in the Times and Seasons of July 1st, 1844, (vol. V, no. 12).

Elder John Taylor went to the governor and reminded him of his pledges of protection, and expressed his dissatisfaction at the course things had taken, and told the Governor that if they were to be subject to mob rule, and contrary to law be dragged to prison at the instance of every scoundrel whose oath could be bought for a dram of whisky, then the Governor's protection availed very little, and they had miscalculated his promises.[8]

In the meantime a drunken rabble had collected in the street in front of the Hamilton House, and Captain Dunn with some twenty men came to guard the prisoners to the jail. The Prophet's friends followed him through the excited crowd in the direction of the jail. Stephen Markham walked on one side of him, and his brother Hyrum and Dan Jones on the other, and with their walking sticks kept back the rabble, which several times broke through the guard, while Elder Taylor, Willard Richards and John S. Fullmer walked behind them.

The jail was reached and the prisoners given in charge of Mr. George W. Stigall, who first put them into the criminal's cell, but afterwards gave them the more comfortable quarters known as the "debtors' apartment." When night came the prisoners and their friends stretched themselves out on the floor of the old jail—and so passed the night of the twenty-fifth.

Governor Ford represents in his "History of Illinois," that these men were placed in prison to protect them from the rabble,[10] but says not a word about the protest of the prisoners against being thrust into jail, or the illegal means employed in putting them there.

In the forenoon of the twenty-sixth, a lengthy interview took place between Governor Ford and Joseph Smith in which the whole *Expositor* trouble was reviewed, the causes leading up to the destruction of the *Expositor* press, calling out the Legion on which the charge of "treason" was based, and all other affairs connected with the difficulties. Governor Ford condemned the action of the city council in ordering the destruction of the press; but the course pursued by that body was defended by President Smith as the best that could be followed under the circum-

8. See Taylor's statement in the Introduction to Tyler's "Mormon Battalion," pp. 35-36.

10. Ford's History of Illinois, p. 338.

stances; and urged that even if they had been wrong in the course they had taken, it was a matter for the courts to decide and not a thing for mobs to settle. In conclusion the Prophet told the Governor that he considered himself unsafe in Carthage, as the town was swarming with men who had openly sworn to take his life. He understood the Governor contemplated going to Nauvoo, accompanied by the militia, to investigate certain charges about counterfeiting the United States' currency, and if possible secure the dies and other implements used in manufacturing it, and President Smith demanded his freedom that he might go with him. The Governor promised him that he should go.[11]

Colonel Thomas Geddes, commander of some one of the divisions of the militia then gathered at Carthage under the orders of Governor Ford, and for many years a prominent citizen in Hancock county, accompanied his Excellency on this visit to the Mormon leaders in prison; and to Mr. Gregg, the Historian of Hancock county—and a pronounced anti-Mormon,—he made a statement concerning a conversation between himself and the Governor immediately following this visit to the prison, "of which," says Mr. Gregg in recording the incident, "he says his recollection is clear:"

"While the Smiths were in jail, I went to the jail in company with Gov. Ford, and there we conversed with them for some time, the burden of Smith's talk being that they were only acting in self-defense, and only wanted to be let alone. After leaving the jail, and while returning from it, the Governor and I had still further conversation about the subject matter. After some time the Governor exclaimed, 'Oh, it's all nonsense; you will have to drive these Mormons out yet!' I then said, 'If we undertake that, Governor, when the proper time comes, will you interfere?' 'No, I will not,' said he; then, after a pause, adding, 'until you are through.' "[12]

This incident reveals, and from a non-Mormon source, the

11. For this conversation *in extenso* as reported by Elder John Taylor who was present, see introduction of Tyler's Mormon Battalion, pp. 37-44. The same appears in Captain Burton's "City of the Saints", 1862. Ford justified himself in breaking the promise he made to Joseph Smith that he would take him to Nauvoo if he himself went, by saying that his officers were opposed to it as "highly inexpedient and dangerous." Hist. of Ill., p. 340.

12. Gregg's History of Hancock county, p. 372.

bias of Governor Ford's mind in this controversy now approaching its terrible climax; and will enable the reader to better understand the part taken by him in the events which follow in this Nauvoo period of our history.

The false mittimus on which President Smith and his brother Hyrum were thrust into prison, ordered the jailor to keep them in custody, "until discharged by due course of law." On the morning of the 26th the prosecutors expressed their wish that the prisoners be brought before the court for examination. Counsel for the defense objected inasmuch as the prisoners had already been committed and the justice and constable had no further control over them; that if they were brought out of prison it must be on *habeas corpus* proceedings or some other "due course of law." The constable, Mr. Bettisworth, with an order from the justice of the peace sought to take the prisoners before the court, but the jailor, Mr. George W. Stigall, refused to give them up until discharged from his custody "by due course of law." In this emergency Justice Robert F. Smith conferred with the Governor as to what would be best to do; and that functionary is reported to have said: "We have plenty of troops; there are the Carthage Greys under your command, bring them out."[13]

President Smith and his associates seem to have been uninformed of this movement, and at 3 p. m. sent the following note per hand of John Taylor to their counsel:

"JAIL, CARTHAGE, June 26, 3 p. m.

Messrs. Woods and Reid:

SIRS:—Constable Bettisworth called a little while since, and wanted to come in, the guard would not permit [him].[13] We since learned that he wanted to take us before the magistrate, and we have since learned that there is some excitement because we did not go, and we wish to see you without delay.

We are informed that Dr. Foster has said that they can do

13. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, p. 423.

13. Elder Taylor states that Constable Bettisworth and a Mr. Simpson called at the jail "professing to have some order, but he would not send up his name and the guard would not let him pass." Taylor's statement in Tyler's "Mormon Battalion," Introduction, p. 423.

nothing with us, *only by powder and ball,* as we have done nothing against the law.

Yours,
JOSEPH SMITH,
Per W. RICHARDS."[14]

The suggestion of Governor Ford to call out the Carthage Greys to take the prisoners from the custody of the jailor was acted upon. What the justice had illegally begun the same person as captain militia must consummate with unlawful force. Yet when this same Governor was appealed to for protection for the prisoners against their illegal imprisonment, he expressed himself as being very sorry the circumstance had occurred, but he really could not interfere with the civil authorities![15]

It was about four in the afternoon of the 26th when the constable and the Carthage Greys appeared at the jail and demanded the prisoners. The jailor protested against the proceedings; so, too, did the counsel for President Smith; but by threats amounting to intimidation, Constable Bettisworth and Frank Worrell, the latter in command of the squad of Carthage Greys that attended the constable, compelled the jailor against his conviction of duty to surrender the prisoners.[16]

Meantime a mob had gathered at the door of the jail and see-

14. Relative to the remark attributed to Dr. Foster in the above note, it is also reported in the Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, p. 423, that it was a matter of common conversation on the camp ground and in the hotel, in the very presence of the governor that, "The law is too short for these men, but they must not be suffered to go at large;" and "if the law will not reach them, powder and ball must."—Same page.

15. Taylor's statement, Introduction Tyler's "Mormon Battalion," pp. 35, 36. Mr. H. F. Reid, one of President Smith's counsel also says on this incident: "His E. ellency did not think it within the sphere of his duty to interfere, and the pris ers were removed from their lodgings to jail. Signed statement *Times and Seasons,* July 1, 1844. Governor Ford himself referring to this matter of imprisonment, and excusing himself for not interfering says: 'In all this matter the justice of the peace and constable though humble in office, were acting in a high and independent capacity, far beyond any legal power in me to control.' (Hist. Ill., p. 338). It is unfortunate for the Governor's standing in History that he could not have been impartial in his aloofness in meddling with the civil authority."

16. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, p. 423; also statement of Mr. Reid, *Times and Seasons* impression of July 1st, 1844. The latter says: "The jailor could find no law authorizing a justice of the peace to demand prisoners committed to his charge, he refused to give them up, until discharged from his custody by due course of law. Upon refusal to give up the prisoners, the company of Carthage Greys marched to the jail, by whose orders I know not, and compelled the jailor against his will and conviction of duty to deliver the prisoners to the constable, who, forthwith took them before Justice Smith, the Captain of the Carthage Greys." Mr. Woods corroborates the statement of Mr. Reid. *Ibid.*

ing that things had assumed a threatening aspect, President Smith stepped into the crowd, locked arms with one of the worst mobocrats, and with his brother Hyrum on the other arm, and followed by his faithful friends, proceeded to the court house. He had been unlawfully thrust into prison, and as illegally dragged out of it, and exposed to imminent danger among his worst enemies.

The counsel for the Brothers Smith asked for a continuance until the next day as they were without witnesses, not having been notified when they would come to trial. A continuance was granted until noon the next day. A new mittimus was made out and the prisoners committed again to prison—their old quarters. But after the prisoners were again lodged in jail, and without consulting either them or their counsel, Justice Robert F. Smith changed the time of the trial from noon on the twenty-seventh until the twenty-ninth.[17]

This change was made, it is supposed—certainly there can be no other reason—in consequence of a decision reached by Governor Ford and his military council to march all his troops on the 27th to Nauvoo, except a company of fifty of the Carthage Greys that would be detailed to guard the prisoners. So Mr. Robert F. Smith, acting, it will be remembered, in the double capacity of justice of the peace and captain of the Carthage Greys, as a justice altered the date of the return of the subpoenas without consultation with the defendants or their counsel, and excused the court until the twenty-ninth; that as a captain of a company of militia he might be free to accompany the military expedition designed to enter Nauvoo.[18]

The evening of the twenty-sixth was spent very pleasantly by the prisoners and their friends—John Taylor, Willard Richards, John S. Fullmer, Stephen Markham and Dan Jones. Hyrum occupied the principle part of the time in reading accounts from the Book of Mormon of the deliverance of God's servants from prison, and in commenting upon them, with a view, doubtless, of

17. Statement of both Mr. Reid and Woods, *Times and Seasons* impression of July, 1st, 1844.

18. In the final disposition made of the forces, however, it so chanced that Captain Robert F. Smith was assigned to the command of two companies of the Carthage Greys detailed to remain at Carthage and "guard" the prisoners. "History of Hancock County"—Gregg, p. 322.

cheering his brother Joseph, since the Prophet had expressed himself as feeling an uneasiness as to his safety, that he had never before experienced when in the hands of his enemies.[19]

Willard Richards, President Smith's secretary and journalizer, worked on late into the night copying important documents by the flickering flame of a tallow candle. President Smith and his brother Hyrum occupied the only bedstead in the room, while their friends lay side by side on mattresses spread out on the floor. Sometime after midnight a single gun was fired near the prison. Richards was startled in his chair, and President Smith rose from the bed where he was and stretched himself upon a mattress between Fullmer and Jones. "Lay your head on my arm for a pillow, Brother John," said he to Fullmer, as he kindly placed his arm under that person's head. Soon all was quiet, except that in a low tone Fullmer and the Prophet continued to talk of presentiments the latter had received of approaching death. "I would like to see my family again," said he, "and would to God that I could preach to the Saints in Nauvoo once more." Fullmer tried to cheer him by saying he thought that he would have that privilege many times.

Again all was silent, and everybody apparently asleep. But President Smith turned to Dan Jones and was heard to say, "Are you afraid to die?" To which the one addressed said: "Has that time come, think you? Engaged in such a cause, I do not think death would have many terrors." And then the Prophet said: "You will see Wales"—his native land—"and fill the mission appointed you, before you die."[20]

So passed the night preceding the day of the tragedy to be enacted at Carthage.

Early in the morning President Smith required Dan Jones to go down stairs and enquire of the guard about the gun that was fired in the night, what the meaning of it was, etc.

The answer Jones received to his inquiry from Frank Worrell in command of the guard was: "We have had too much trouble to get old Joe here to let him ever escape alive, and unless

19. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 422.

20. This prediction was fulfilled. Elder Dan Jones went on a mission to Wales on the 28th of August, 1844, in company with Wilford Woodruff, and performed a most wonderful mission in his native land.

you want to die with him, you had better leave before sun down; and you are not a d—n bit better than him for taking his part; and you'll see that I can prophesy better than old Joe, for neither he nor his brother, nor anyone who will remain with them, will see the sun set today." This answer Jones related to President Smith who told him to go to the Governor at once and report the words of the guard. On his way to the Governor's quarters at the Hamilton House, Jones passed a crowd of men who were being addressed by a person unknown to him. He paused long enough to hear these words:

"Our troops will be discharged this morning in obedience to orders, and for a sham we will leave the town; but when the Governor and the McDonough troops have left for Nauvoo this forenoon, we will return and kill those men if we have to tear the jail down," (applause).

These words and what the captain of the guard said were faithfully reported to Governor Ford, in reply to which his Excellency said: "You are unnecessarily alarmed for the safety of your friends, sir, the people are not that cruel."

Angered at such an answer the following conversation occurred:

"*Jones*: The Messrs. Smith are American citizens, and have surrendered themselves to your Excellency upon your pledging your honor for their safety; they are also master Masons, and as such I demand of you the protection of their lives. If you do not this, I have but one more desire, and that is, if you leave their lives in the hands of those men to be sacrificed—

"*Governor Ford*: What is that, sir?

"*Jones*: It is that the Almighty will preserve my life to a proper time and place, that I may testify that you have been timely warned of their danger."[21]

The Governor manifested some excitement during this conversation, turning pale at the significant warning Jones gave him. The effect, however, was but momentary.

Jones returned to the jail after his conversation with the Governor, but was denied admission. He returned to the Governor

21. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 439.

to secure a pass. He found his Excellency in front of the company of dragoons detailed to accompany him to Nauvoo, the rest of the troops had been disbanded, and as they retired they were shouting loudly their intentions only to go a short distance out of town—"when they would return and kill old Joe and Hyrum as soon as the Governor was far enough out of town."[22] Jones called the attention of the Governor to these threats, but that functionary gave no heed to them, though he himself could not have failed to have heard them.

Later in the day Jones was entrusted with a written message from President Smith to lawyer O. H. Browning of Quincy, engaging that gentleman's professional services in the impending examination on the charge of treason. The pass to the prison Jones applied for was denied to him; but the Governor ordered General Deming to give one to Dr. Willard Richards, President Smith's secretary. While waiting for this pass to be made out Jones' life was threatened by the rabble in the street, and Chauncy L. Higbee one of the seceders from the Church said to him: "We are determined to kill Joe and Hyrum, and you had better go away to save yourself."[23]

The guard at the jail having seen the written message handed to Jones, gave it out to the rabble now infesting Carthage that "Old Joe" was sending orders by Jones to raise the Nauvoo Legion to rescue the prisoners. Whereupon some were in favor of taking the message from Jones by force, others in favor of waylaying him in the woods, and started off with their rifles in

---

22. There is no doubt but that Governor Ford erred greatly in the manner in which he disbanded the companies of militia at Carthage. It is customary when the militia has been called together to assist in execution of the laws, or to suppress an insurrection, to dismiss the respective companies in charge of their several commanders to be marched home and there disbanded. But in this instance the governor disbanded all the troops, except the Carthage Greys, whom he selected to guard to the jail, and Captain Dunn's Augusta dragoons who were to accompany him to Nauvoo. Governor Ford himself, in his history of Illinois, represents that there were about twelve or thirteen hundred of the militia at Carthage, and from four to five hundred at Warsaw. As the disbanded militia left the square, they acted in a boisterous manner and saying the things reported by Jones in the text. I suppose these are the threats of which Governor Ford himself speaks in his history of these unfortunate events, when he says: "I had heard of some threats being made, but none of an attack upon the prisoners whilst in jail. These threats seemed to be made by individuals not acting in concert. They were no more than the bluster which might have been expected, and furnished no indication of numbers combining for this or any other purpose." (Hist. Ill., p. 345).

23. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 439.

hand. In the midst of the disagreement Jones mounted his horse and rode away to Quincy, though avoiding the Warsaw road.

Early in the morning of the 27th, Cyrus Wheelock visited the prisoners. The morning was a little rainy and Wheelock wore an overcoat, in the inside pocket of which he carried a six-shooter. He passed the guard without close inspection and before leaving the prison handed the revolver to President Smith.[24] As the latter took it, he handed to his brother Hyrum a single barreled pistol left with him earlier in the morning by John S. Fullmer, and remarked: "You may have use for this."

Hyrum: "I hate to use such things, or to see them used."
Joseph: "So do I; but we may have to defend ourselves."

Upon this Hyrum took the Fullmer pistol. These were the only weapons the prisoners had, except a heavy hickory walking cane left by Stephen Markham when he took leave of the prisoners.

President Smith dictated the following letter to be sent per hand of Brother Wheelock to his wife:

"CARTHAGE JAIL, June 27th, 1844.
20 minutes past eight a. m.

DEAR EMMA:—The Governor continues his courtesies, and permits us to see our friends. We hear this morning that the Governor will not go down with his troops today to Nauvoo, as was anticipated last evening; but if he does come down with his troops you will be protected; and I want you to tell brother Dunham[25] to instruct the people to stay at home and attend to their own business, and let there be no groups gathering together, unless by permission of the Governor they are called together to receive communications from the Governor, which would please our people, but let the Governor direct.

Brother Dunham of course will obey the orders of the government officers, and render them the assistance they require. There is no danger of any exterminating order. Should there be a mutiny among the troops, (which we do not anticipate, excite-

24. "The pistol was a six-shooting revolver of Allen's patent (what was called the 'peper-box' style of pistol); it belonged to me, and was one that I furnished to Brother Wheelock when he talked of going with me to the East previous to our coming to Carthage. I have it now in my possession." Statement of President John Taylor-Tyler's "Mormon Battalion," Introduction, p. 47.

25. Dunham was then the commanding officer of the Legion.

ment is abating) a part will remain loyal and stand for the defence of the State and our rights.

There is one principle which is eternal: it is the duty of all men to protect their lives and the lives of their household, whenever necessity requires, and no power has a right to forbid it, should the last extreme arrive; but I anticipate no such extreme, but caution is the parent of safety.

[Signed] JOSEPH SMITH.

P. S. Dear Emma, I am very much resigned to my lot, knowing I am justified and have done the best that could be done. Give my love to the children and all my friends, Mr. Brewer, and all who inquire after me; and as for treason—I know that I have not committed any, and they cannot prove an appearance of anything of the kind, so you need not have any fears that any harm can happen to us on that score. May God bless you all. Amen."

To this later the following was subsequently added:

"*P. S.*—20 minutes to 10. I just learn that the Governor is about to disband his troops, all but a guard to protect us and the peace, and come himself to Nauvoo and deliver a speech to the people. This is right, as I suppose."

To this the Prophet added a few lines by his own hand which were not copied by his secretary.

To this written message were added many verbal ones, so numerous that Willard Richards feared that Wheelock would forget them, and proposed to write them down; but Hyrum Smith remarked: "Brother Wheelock will remember all we tell him, and he will never forget the occurrences of this day."[26]

Among the verbal messages entrusted to Wheelock was one to the commanders of the Legion, instructing them to avoid all military display or any other movement likely to produce excitement during the Governor's visit to the city. Another to the special friends of President Smith admonishing them to remain perfectly calm and quiet as they valued the feelings and welfare of "Their Prophet and Patriarch."

When Wheelock left the jail, Governor Ford had not yet started on his proposed visit to Nauvoo. Wheelock called upon him and said:

26. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 460.

"Sir, you must be aware by this time that the prisoners have no fears in relation to any lawful demands made against them, but you have heard sufficient to justify you in belief that their enemies would destroy them if they had them in their power; and now, sir, I am about to leave for Nauvoo, and I fear for those men; they are safe as regards the law, but they are not safe from the hands of traitors, and midnight assassins, who thirst for their blood, and have determined to spill it; and under these circumstances I leave with a heavy heart."[27]

Early in the afternoon—the Governor had left Carthage for Nauvoo late in the forenoon—Stephen Markham was sent from the prison to obtain some tobacco for the relief of Dr. Richards who had been taken ill in the morning with stomach trouble. Returning to the jail he was accosted by a man of the name of Stewart who ordered him "to leave the town in five minutes." "I shall not do it," replied Markham. Whereupon he was surrounded by a number of the Carthage Greys, placed on his horse and forced out of town at the point of the bayonet.[28]

This left in Carthage of the prisoners' friends only John Taylor and Dr. Willard Richards.

For several days Governor Ford had been arranging for his visit to Nauvoo to make a military display and overawe the citizens of that place, though during the time he had many misgivings as to the wisdom of such a proceeding. On this head he himself has said:

"The force assembled at Carthage amounted to about twelve or thirteen hundred men, and it was calculated that four or five hundred more were assembled at Warsaw. Nearly all that portion resident in Hancock were anxious to be marched into Nauvoo. This measure was supposed to be necessary to search for counterfeit money and the apparatus to make it, and also to strike a salutary terror into Mormon people by an exhibition of the force of the State, and thereby prevent future outrages, murders, robberies, burnings, and the like, *apprehended* as the effect of Mormon vengeance, on those who had taken a part against them. On my part, at one time, this arrangement was agreed to. The morning of the 27th day of June was appointed for the

27. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV. Governor Ford in effect says the same thing in his first proclamation announcing the murder of the Smiths to the people of Ill.

28. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 471.

march; and Golden's Point, near the Mississippi river, and about equi-distant from Nauvoo and Warsaw, was selected as the place of rendezvous. I had determined to prevail on the justice to bring out his prisoners, and take them along. A council of officers, however, determined that this would be highly inexpedient and dangerous, and offered such substantial reasons for their opinions as induced me to change my resolution.

"Two or three days' preparations had been made for this expedition. I observed that some of the people became more and more excited and inflammatory the further the preperations were advanced. Occasional threats came to my ears of destroying the city and murdering or expelling the inhabitants.

"I had no objection to ease the terrors of the people by such a display of force, and was most anxious also to search for the alleged apparatus for making counterfeit money; and, in fact, to inquire into all the charges against that people, if I could have been assured of my command against mutiny and insubordination. *But I gradually learned, to my entire satisfaction, that there was a plan to get the troops into Nauvoo, and there to begin the war, probably by some of our own party, or some of the seceding Mormons, I was satisfied that there were those amongst our own force and then lay it to the Mormons. I was satisfied that there were those amongst us fully capable of such an act, hoping that in the alarm, bustle, and confusion of a militia camp, the truth could not be discovered, and that it might lead to the desired collision.*"[29]

The Governor then proceeds to estimate the relative strength of the parties to the probable conflict; sums up the folly and wickedness of an attack upon the people of Nauvoo, and adds:

"All these considerations were duly urged by me upon the attention of a council of officers, convened on the morning of 27th of June. I also urged upon the council, that such wanton and unprovoked barbarity on their part would turn the sympathy of the people in the surrounding counties in favor of the Mormons, and therefore it would be impossible to raise a volunteer militia force to protect such a people against them. Many of the officers admitted that there might be danger of collision. But such was the blind fury prevailing at the time, though not showing itself by much visible excitement, that a small majority of the council adhered to the first resolution of marching into Nauvoo; most of the officers of the Schuyler and McDonough militia

29. Ford's Hist. of Ill., pp. 339, 340. Italics in above are mine. R.

voting against it, and most of those of the county of Hancock voting in its favor."

Notwithstanding the majority of the officers still voted for the military display in Nauvoo, Governor Ford decided against making it, and ordered the troops disbanded both at Carthage and Warsaw, except two companies of the Carthage Greys, these to guard the prisoners; and Captain Dunn's company of Dragoons, from Augusta, a town in the extreme southeast of Hancock Co., the township cornering on Schuyler and Adams county[30]—to form his escort to Nauvoo, to search for counterfeit plant and to arrest such as might be found violating the law in this kind. This decision to march into Nauvoo with Dunn's Dragoons in search of counterfeit apparatus was a concession by Governor Ford to the desire among his officers that such a visit should be made to Nauvoo for those purposes; also, "and more particularly, to terrify the Mormons from attempting any open or secret measures of vengeance against the citizens of the county who had taken part against them and their leaders.[31] The Governor's expedition was provisioned for two days, and expected to spend that time in Nauvoo. Four miles out from Carthage, however, Col. Buckmaster expressed his suspicion that an attack would be made upon the jail. According to Ford's account he based his "mere suspicion" upon having seen "two persons converse together at Carthage with some air of mystery!"[32] In view of the many evidences of deep hatred manifested in Carthage towards the prisoners during their incarceration, and the many warnings conveyed directly to Governor Ford as to the dangers threatening them, this statement of suspicion awakened by "two persons

30. It is stated in several places in our Mormon annals. (See Jensen's "Joseph Smith the Prophet," "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," Roberts; and even in the "Journal History of Joseph Smith" (*Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 439) that it was a company of McDonough county militia that formed the Governor's escort to Nauvoo; but the statement is error. See Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 345; and also Gregg's Hist. of Hancock county, p. 322. The last authority, quoting Ford, in part, says: "Having ordered the guard (the Greys, for the prisoners), and left General Deming in command in Carthage, and discharged the residue of the militia, Ford immediately departed for Nauvoo, 18 miles distant, accompanied by Col. Buckmaster, Quarter-Master General and Capt. Dunn's (Augusta) company of Dragoons." P. 332, and Ford's Ill., p. 345.

31. Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 342.

32. Ford's Hist. of Illinois, pp. 241-2.

conversing together with some air of mystery'' seems wonderfully like dealing with mere puerilities. ''I myself,'' continues the Governor at this point, ''entertained no suspicion of such an attack; at any rate, none before the next day in the afternoon; because it was notorious that we had departed from Carthage with the declared intention of being absent at least two days.''[33]

The Governor's assurance that there would be no attack upon the prisoners rested upon the comfortable conviction that no person would attack the jail while he was in Nauvoo, and thereby expose his life and the lives of his companions ''to the sudden vengence of the Mormons, upon hearing of the death of their leaders.''[34] The precaution taken by the Governor to suppress the rising fears of himself and Col. Buckmaster, and provide against even ''mere possibilities,'' was to send one of his company back to Carthage with a special order to Capt. Robert F. Smith ''to guard the jail strictly, at the peril of his life'' until the Governor's return.[35]

This incident closed, the march Nauvoo-ward by the Governor's troops was resumed. But after four miles more had been covered—making eight in all from Carthage—while the Governor's reflections had convinced him that ''no attack would be made upon the jail that day or night,'' he determined at this point to abandon all search for counterfeit apparatus at Nauvoo, as also to ''defer an examination of all the other abominations charged on that people, in order to return to Carthage that same night, . . . to prevent an attack upon the jail, if any

33. Ford's Hist. Ill., p. 346.

34. *Ibid.* Afterwards Governor Ford became fixed in the opinion that the plans of the anti-Mormons included the murdering of himself as well as of the Brothers Smith. He says: "As for myself, I was well convinced that those, whoever they were, who assassinated the Smiths, meditated in turn my assassination by the Mormons. The very circumstances of the case fully corroborated the information which I afterwards received, that upon consultation of the assassins it was agreed amongst them that the murder must be committed whilst the Governor was at Nauvoo; that the Mormons would naturally suppose that he had planned it; and that in the first outpouring of their indignation they would assassinate him, by way of retaliation. And that thus they would get clear of the Smiths and the governor all at once. They also supposed that if they could so contrive the matter as to have the governor of the State assassinated by the Mormons, the public excitement would be greatly increased against that people, and would result in their expulsion from the State at least," p. 349.

Gregg ridicules this conclusion of the Governor's and says that "for this suspicion he had not the shadow of evidence." Hist. Hancock County, p. 323.

35. *Ibid*, p. 346.

CARTHAGE JAIL, ILLINOIS.

Scene of the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

had been meditated." A halt of the troop was called; the baggage wagons ordered to stay where they were until towards evening and then return to Carthage; while the Governor and the remainder of the expedition would hasten on to Nauvoo,[36] to reprimand the people for past conduct, inform them "what degree of excitement and hatred prevailed against them in the minds of the whole people," and warn them against attempts at vengence upon those who had taken part against them."

The Governor arrived in Nauvoo about four o'clock in the afternoon and immediately the people assembled[37] to hear his address on the points above enumerated. "Some impatience and resentment," says the Governor, "were manifested by the Mormons at the recital of the various reports enumerated concerning them; which they strenuously and indignantly denied to be true. They claimed to be a law-abiding people, and insisted that as they looked to the law alone for their protection, so were they careful themselves to observe its provisions."[38] The impatience and resentment at the Governor's remarks were very natural; for he insulted the people by assuming that all their worst enemies had said against them was true; and he threatened them with dire calamities. He upbraided them for having so many firearms, (and this after the experiences of the Saints in Missouri, with which Governor Ford was familiar, and the constant menace of an attack upon the city by the Missourians!) and voiced the public fear that "these arms would be used against government!" "I know," he continued, "there is a great preju-

36. The vacillating course of Governor Ford in all this proceeding, justly lays him open to the cutting remark of the late Secretary of State, John Hay, who says: "During this day or two the governor seemed plagued by the foul fiend Flibbertigibet. He changed his mind every hour, with the best intentions. When the troops had started for the Gloden's Point, he began to doubt, as he well might. They were going to Nauvoo to search for 'bogus' (a noun which in that day was used to denote an ingenious imitation of the current coin, manufactured in the city of the Saints), and to overawe the Mormons by a calm display of force. What if they searched for other things, and did not content themselves with a calm display? These thoughts so agitated Governor Ford, that he wrote an order on the 27th countermanding former orders, and disbanding the militia. He then mounted his horse and rode to Nauvoo to deliver a firm and paternal address to the Mormons. All this was done with the best intentions. (*Atlantic Monthly, December*, 1869). Mr. Hay also speaks of Ford as 'a man of the best intentions, that accomplished nothing but patching the infernal pavement.'" (Ibid).

37. The number present according to Ford was variously estimated at from one to five thousand.

38. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, vol. XXIV, p. 502.

dice against you on account of your peculiar religion, but you ought to be praying saints, not military saints. Depend upon it, a little more misbehaviour from the citizens, and the torch, which is now already lighted, will be applied, the city may be reduced to ashes, and extermination would inevitably follow.[39]

In closing his address the Governor took a vote of his auditors on the question "Whether they would strictly observe the laws, even in opposition to their prophet and leaders;" and he adds: "The vote was unanimous in favor of this proposition."[40]

Ford's party visited the Temple while in Nauvoo. Alpheus Cuttler one of the Building Committee sent William G. Stirrett to quietly watch them while in and about the building. Stirrett was close to the Governor in the basement of the Temple where the party was inspecting the baptismal font, which rested upon twelve oxen—four on each side and two at each end—when one of the Governor's company called his attention to one of the oxen that had part of one horn broken off. The Governor stepped up to it and laying his hand upon it said: "'This is the cow with the crumply horn' that we read of." One of the staff continued: "That tossed the maiden all forlorn!" At which they all laughed. Several of the horns were broken off by the Governor's attendants and one at least was carried away as a souvenir.[41]

The Governor and his party were invited to stay over night at Nauvoo but the invitation was declined. On leaving the city Dunn's troop of Dragoons were drawn up in military order and dashed down Main street, performing the sword exercise, giving all the passes, guards, cuts and trusts, taking up the whole width of the street and making as great a display of skill as they could. "This was apparently done," says the chronicler, "to intimidate the people, as the Governor had remarked in his speech that they need not expect to set themselves up against such 'well disciplined troops!'"

It was six-thirty p. m. when the Governor and his escort left Nauvoo on their return to Carthage.

---

39. *Ibid.*
40. Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 347.
41. Affidavit of Wm. G. Sterrett, published in Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, pp. 421-2.

The order of Governor Ford to disband the four or five hundred troops that had started from Warsaw to meet him at Golden's Point (a point near the Mississippi river, seven or eight miles south of Nauvoo) met the Warsaw forces under command of Col. Levi Williams on the prairie about seven miles from Warsaw. The courier bearing the order of disbandment was Mr. David Mathews, "a well known citizen of Warsaw" (Hay). This order was no pleasant news to Col. Levi William's forces. According to Mr. Hay's *Atlantic Monthly* Article (1869),[42] the several companies of militia under that officer's command began the march in "high glee, fully expecting to march to the city of the Saints;" and not doubting that before they left it some occasion would arise that would give pretext for an assault upon the city.[43] After Col. Levi Williams, who was in command of the whole force, the principal officers were Captain Wm. N. Grover, who afterwards became United States Attorney for Missouri; Thomas Sharp, Editor of the *Warsaw Signal;* Captain C. Davis, then a State Senator, and later member of Congress; and Captain Mark Aldrich. The last named Captain made a speech after the Governor's order disbanding the troop had been read, calling for volunteers to go to Carthage. He did not succeed well in awakening enthusiasm for the enterprise, according to the chronicle; but Captain Grover and Sharp, the latter being "a spirited and impressive talker," soon "had a respectable squad about him." The talk of these men, it is said, was vague, and "the purpose of murder does not seem to have been hinted;"

---

42. I am following Mr. Hay's *Atlantic Monthly* account of the movement of these Warsaw militia companies because "Dr. Hay," "surgeon of the regiment," and spoken of as among the "cooler heads" of the Warsaw forces; and who denounced the proposed march to Carthage, and "went at once back to Warsaw," was the father of the late Secretary of State, (see National Cyclopædia of American Biograph, Vol. XI. p. 12; cf. Gregg's Hist. of Hancock County, p. 330) author of the article in question, and hence, doubtless, he received his information from his father who was on the ground and a reliable source of information upon the movement of the Warsaw division of the Governor's troops, at least up to the time of his leaving them.

43. "There were none but words of law and order on their lips," says Mr. Hay, "but every man clearly understood that Nauvoo was to be destroyed before they returned. A public meeting in Warsaw had unanimously 'Resolved, that we will forthwith proceed to Nauvoo and exterminate the city and its people;' a manifesto which seemed too peppery even for the palate of Mr. Sharp, editor of the *Signal,* who, when he published it, added the saving clause, 'if necessary.' 'Of course it will be necessary,' said these law-abiding militia-men as they marched out of Warsaw on the Nauvoo road."

but they did not purpose being made "the tools and puppets of Tommy Ford. They were going to Carthage to see the boys about it, and talk things over." While they were deliberating over the matter on the prairie where they had been disbanded, a courier arrived from the Carthage Greys. "It is impossible to this day," remarks late Secretary of State John Hay, "to declare exactly the purport of this message. It is usually reported and believed that he brought an assurance from the officers of this company that they would be found on guard at the jail where the Smiths were confined; that they would make no real resistance,—merely enough to save appearances."

"This message was not communicated to the men. They followed their leaders off on the road to Carthage with rather vague intentions. They were annoyed at the prospect of their picnic coming so readily to a close, at losing the fun of sacking Nauvoo, [sic!] at having to go home without material for a single romance. Nearly one hundred and fifty started with their captains, but they gradually dwindled in number to seventy-five. These trudged along under the fierce summer sun of the prairies towards the town where the cause of all the trouble and confusion of the last few years awaited them. They sang on the way a rude parody of a camp-meeting hymn called in the West the 'Hebrew Children:'

'Where now is the Prophet Joseph?
Where now is the Prophet Joseph?
Where now is the Prophet Joseph?
Safe in Carthage jail!'

"The farther they walked the more the idea impressed itself upon them that now was the time to finish the matter totally. The unavowed design of the leaders communicated itself magnetically to the men, until the entire company became fused into one mass of blood thirsty energy. By an excess of precaution, they did not go directly into the town, but made a long detour, so as to come in by the road leading from Nauvoo."[44]

Here we may leave the Warsaw mob for the moment, expressing the belief, however, that there was a better and more defi-

44. John Hay in *Atlantic Monthly*, 1869.

nite understanding between the leaders, and the body of this mob than comes from a "magnetically communicated design."

Meantime the prisoners after the Governor with his troops of dragoons had departed, and their few personal friends—excepting Elder John Taylor and Willard Richards, both of the quorum of the Twelve—had either been dispatched on their several commissions, or hustled from Carthage by the soldiery and the rabble, experienced that depression of spirit that so often precedes calamitous events in the lives of men. Especially was this the case with the Prophet. Elder Taylor to cheer him sang the following sacred song, which had been recently introduced into Nauvoo. The tune given is the one to which Elder Taylor sang it on that melancholy occasion.

A Poor Wayfaring Man of Grief

A poor, way-far-ing man of grief Hath oft-en crossed me on my way;
Who sued so hum-bly for re-lief, That I could nev-er answer "Nay."
I had not power to ask his name, Whither he went, or whence he came;
Yet there was something in his eye, That won my love, I knew not why.

Once when my scanty meal was spread,
He entered—not a word he spake!
Just perishing for want of bread;
I gave him all; he blessed it, brake,
And ate, but gave me part again;
Mine was an angel's portion then;
For while I fed with eager haste
The crust was manna to my taste.

I spied him where a fountain burst
Clear from the rock; his strength was gone;
The heedless water mocked his thirst;
He heard it, saw it hurrying on—
I ran and raised the sufferer up;
Thrice from the stream he drained my cup;
Dipped, and returned it running o'er;
I drank, and never thirsted more.

* * * * * * * *

In prison I saw him next,—condemned
To meet a traitor's doom at morn;
The tide of lying tongues I stemmed,
And honored him 'mid shame and scorn.
My friendship's utmost zeal to try,
He asked if I for him would die;
The flesh was weak, my blood ran chill,
But the free spirit cried, "I will."

Then in a moment to my view,
The stranger darted from disguise;
The tokens in his hands I knew;
The Savior stood before mine eyes.
He spake, and my poor name he named—
"Of me thou hast not been ashamed;
These deeds shall thy memorial be;
Fear not, thou didst them unto me."

The afternoon was sultry and hot. The four brethren sat listlessly about the room with their coats off; and the windows of the prison were open to receive such air as might be stirring. Late in the afternoon Mr. Stigall, the jailor, came in and suggested that they would be safer in the cells. Joseph told him that they would go in after supper. Turning to Elder Richards the Prophet said: "If we go into the cell will you go with us?"

Elder Richards: "Brother Joseph, you did not ask me to cross the river with you [referring to the time, when they crossed the Mississippi, *en route* for the Rocky Mountains]—you did not ask me to come to Carthage—you did not ask me to come to jail with you—and do you think I would forsake you now? But I will tell you what I will do; if you are condemned to be hung for treason, I will be hung in your stead, and you shall go free."

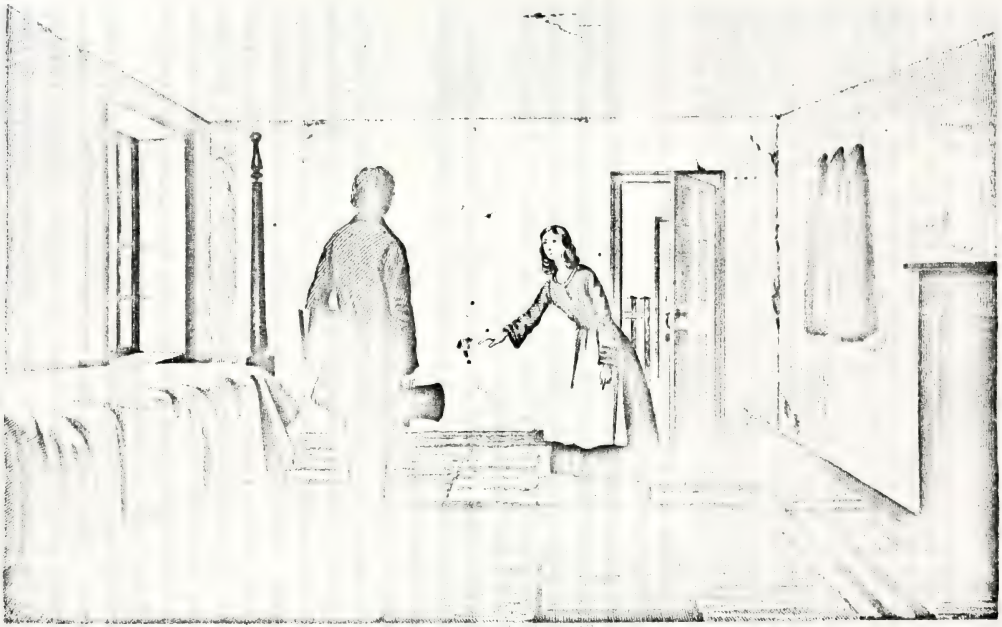
Joseph: "But you cannot."
Richards: "I will, though."

Hyrum Smith asked Elder Taylor to sing again "The Poor Wayfaring Man."

Elded Taylor: "Brother Hyrum, I do not feel like singing.
Hyrum: "Oh, never mind: commence singing and you will get the spirit of it."

INTERIOR OF CARTHAGE JAIL

"The Debtors' Room" occupied by Joseph and Hyrum Smith and their friends when the assault was made upon them.



INTERIOR OF CARTHAGE JAIL.

Soon after finishing the song the second time, as he was sitting at one of the front windows, Elder Taylor saw a number of men, with painted faces, rushing round the corner of the jail towards the stairs. They were halted at the entrance but a moment. "The guards were hustled away f. . the door, good naturedly resisting until they were carefully disarmed ' (Hay).

The brethren must have seen this mob simultaneously, for they all leaped to the door to secure it, as the lock and latch were of little use. The mob reaching the landing in front of the door fired a shot into the lock. Hyrum and Doctor Richards sprang back, when instantly another ball crashed through the panel of the door and struck Hyrum in the face; at the same instant a ball, evidently from the window facing the public square where the main body of the Carthage Greys was stationed, entered his back, and he fell exclaiming calmly:

"I am a dead man!"

With an expression of deep sympathy in his face, Joseph bent over the prostrate body of the murdered man and exclaimed:

"Oh, my poor, dear brother Hyrum!"

Then instantly rising to his feet he drew the pistol Cyrus Wheelock had left him, and with a quick, firm step, and a determined expression in his face he advanced to the door and snapped the pistol six successive times; only three of the loads, however, were discharged.[45]

While Joseph was firing the pistol Elder Taylor stood close be-

45. Hay says four shots were fired—his information came of course from the mob side. He also says that Joseph Smith had "two loaded, six-barrelled revolvers," and hints at responsibility attaching to Gen. Miner R. Demming, whom he calls the "jack-Mormon sheriff of Hancock county," for the prisoners having arms. The statement is not accurate, either as to Demming's responsibility or the pistols, since Joseph had but the one six-barrelled revolver, and Hyrum a single barrelled pistol which was not used; and Fullmer and Cyrus Wheelock left the pistols with the prisoners. Hay refers to the resistance of the Prophet to the mob as a "handsome fight," and also refers to four being wounded: "Joe Smith died bravely. He stood by the jamb of the door and fired four shots, bringing his man down every time. He shot an Irishman named Wills, who was in the affair from his congenital love of a brawl. in the arm; Gallagher, a Southerner from the Mississippi Bottom, in the face; Voorhees, a half grown, bobbledehoy from Bear Creek, in the shoulder; and another gentleman, whose name I will not mention, as he prepared to prove an alibi, and besides stands six feet two in his moccasins." [Sic]!

Parley Pratt gives an account of learning in California, 1856, from a Mrs. Lawn—widow of one of the Captains of the McDonough militia—of a Mr. Townsend being among those who forced the jail door at Carthage, and was wounded in the arm near the shoulder, from the effects of which he died in about six months. *Auto.* P. P. Pratt, 475-6.

hind him, and as soon as he discharged it and stepped back, Elder Taylor took his place next to the door and with Markam's heavy walking stick parried the guns as they were thrust through the doorway and discharged.

The firing within made the mob pause, but it was only for an instant, and then the attack was more furious than ever. The scene was terrible. Streams of fire belched forth from the ever-increasing number of guns in the doorway, yet calm, and determined, Elder Taylor beat down the muzzles of those murderous guns.

"That's right, Brother Taylor, parry them off as well as you can," said the Prophet, as he stood behind him.

Meantime the crowd on the landing grew more dense and were forced to the door by the pressure of those below crowding their way up stairs. The guns of the assailants were pushed further and further into the room—the firing was more rapid and accompanied with demoniac yells and horrid oaths and execrations. Certain that they would be overpowered in a moment, Elder Taylor sprang for the open window directly in front of the prison door, and also exposed to the fire of the Carthage Greys from the public square. As he was in the act of leaping from the window, a ball fired from the doorway struck him about midway of his left thigh. He fell helplessly forward towards the open window, and would have dropped on the outside of the jail, but that another ball from the outside, striking the watch in his vest pocket,[46] threw him back into the room.

As Elder Taylor was thrown back from the window Joseph Smith attempted to leap out, but in doing so was instantly shot and fell to the ground with the martyr-cry upon his lips—

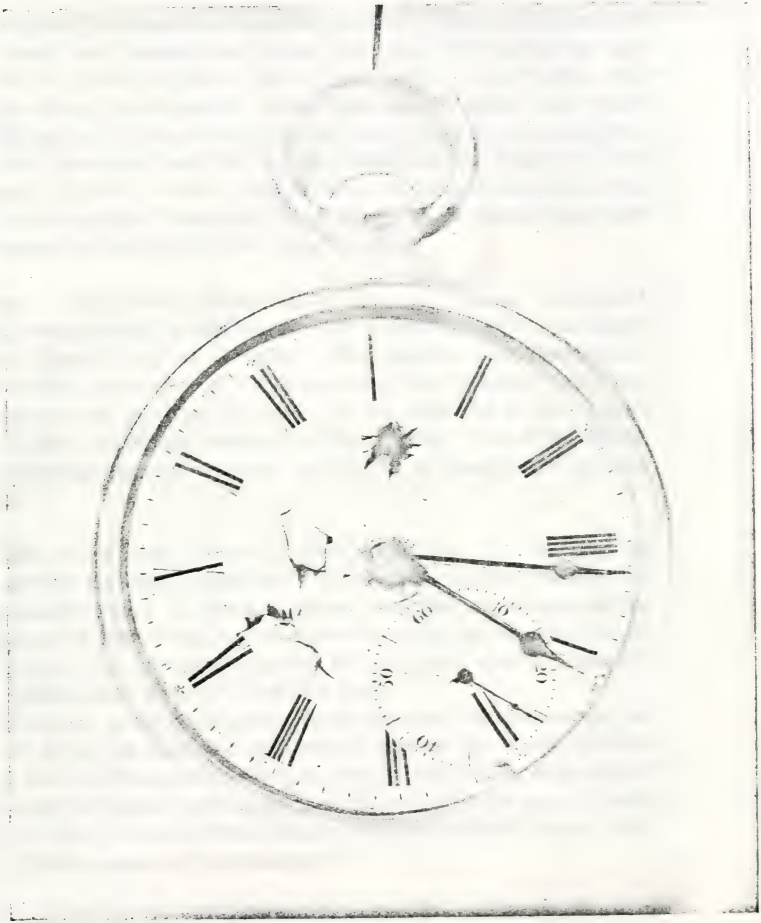
"O Lord, my God!"[47]

There seems to be conclusive evidence that the Prophet was fired upon as he lay on the ground beside the old wellcurb that stood under the window from which he leaped.[48]

46. A photogravure of the watch is published with this chapter. The hands of the watch stood at five o'clock, sixteen minutes, and twenty-six seconds, thus marking the moment when its possessor stood on the line between time and eternity.

47. See note 1 end of chapter.

48. See Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 135, the Church's authorized account of the martyrdom. So Hay: "Severely wounded as he was, he ran to the window . . . and half leaped, half fell into the jail yard below. With his last dying



JOHN TAYLOR'S WATCH

Struck by a bullet which threw him back from the window and saved his life. A silent witness of the hour and minute of the martyrdom

How quickly disastrous things happened! Three minutes after the attack was commenced upon the jail, Hyrum Smith lay stretched upon the floor of the prison dead; John Taylor lay not far from him savagely wounded; the Prophet was lying outside the jail by the old well curb—dead; the mob in consternation and disorder had fled in the direction of Warsaw; the plighted faith of a state was broken, its honor trailed in the dust, and a stain of innocent blood affixed to its escutcheon that will remain a blot which time cannot efface.

NOTE 1. DID JOSEPH SMITH MAKE MASONIC APPEAL FOR HELP? Were Joseph Smith's last words—*"O Lord My God"*—an interrupted Masonic cry of distress? The question has been somewhat widely debated. Of it the author of this History can form no adequate or positive opinion. In an editorial of the *Times and Seasons* published soon after the murder (July 15th, 1844), the following passage occurrs; referring to Joseph and Hyrum Smith:

"They were both Masons in good standing. Ye brethren of 'the mystic tie' what think ye! Where is our good Master Joseph and Hyrum? Is there a pagan, heathen, or savage nation on the globe that would not be moved on this great occasion, as the trees of the forest are moved by a mighty wind? Joseph's last exclamation was, *'O Lord My God!'*

"If one of these murderers, their abettors or accessories before or after the fact, are suffered to cumber the earth, without being dealt with according to law, what is life worth, and what is the benefit of laws? and more than all, what is the use of institutions which savages would honor, where civilized beings murder without cause or provocation?"

Against this evident belief of his associates and companions in prison—the editorial was most likely written by John Taylor,

---

energies he gathered himself up, and leaned in a sitting posture against the rude stone well-curb. His stricken condition excited no pity in the mob thirsting for his life. . . . A squad of Missourians who were standing by the fence leveled their pieces at him, and before they could see him again for the smoke they made, Joe Smith was dead." *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869.

W. W. Phelps or Willard Richards, and may have been the result of consultation among them—there is nothing but the strange fact in human experience that when men are overtaken by sudden death, they so frequently die with some appeal to God upon their lips, especially if thoughts upon God have largely entered into their lives; and for one I can readily believe that not thoughts of deliverance from men and their violence was in the Prophet's mind, but God and sacrifice, blended in his martyr cry—*"O Lord My God!"*

GENERAL WILLIAM EATON, THE FIRST AMERICAN IMPERALIST*

BY FORREST MORGAN

EATON in America found great difficulty in having his accounts passed by Congress; but important as these things were to him, they were not first in his mind. He pressed on the government his plan for the restoration of Hamet. Jefferson on hearing of Hamet's defeat had countermanded the loan of supplies ready to send him,—some field artillery, a thousand stand of arms, and $40,000 in cash. But he finally sent Eaton back to the Mediterranean with the vague title of navy agent for the Barbary States, which was not intended to carry any specific authority; and was placed under Commodore Barron, with this enthusiastic instruction from the secretary of the navy: "With respect to the ex-pasha of Tripoli, we have no objection to your availing yourself of his co-operation with you, if you shall, upon a full view of the subject, consider his co-operation expedient. The subject is committed entirely to your discretion." In a word, the government had no faith in the plan, but was willing to allow Eaton to do what he could unaided, profiting by it in case of success and disavowing it in case of failure, as many governments have done. From commanders thus advised, disbelieving in the scheme at the outset, and not anxious to enable Eaton to gain distinction, he could expect little aid.

Henry Adams' comment upon Eaton's persisting in the enterprise under these conditions is too extraordinary to be omitted: "He chose to act without authority rather than not

*Read before the Connecticut Historical Society.

to act at all, for he was a born adventurer." This silly slur almost suggests that the distinguished author had read no history save enough to write his own. Brave men in all times have undertaken enterprises upon exactly those terms, and are honored for it; and Eaton is probably the only one ever sneered at by a historian. The story goes that when Cavour suggested to the Italian naval chief that the Garibaldian expedition to Sicily should go safely but without the official knowledge of the government, the officer suspiciously replied: "And if it is blown upon, you will disavow and imprison me." "Precisely, my friend," said Cavour; "I see we understand each other." Eaton had a plan which he had been forwarding for years, which he regarded as of the first importance to his country, and consummation of which was within his reach if he chose to bear the responsibility himself. He would have been a coward and a weakling if he had blenched now, and foregone it all because the government would not specify his limits of authority. Mr. Adams also says that Eaton was "haunted by a fixed idea too unreasonable to adopt"; as to which it is enough to say that even with the President withholding all the supplies and Barron most of his help, Eaton came within an ace of succeeding.

Eaton's first object was to find Hamet in Egypt, which proved an exciting and perilous venture in itself. His Connecticut fellow-hero, Isaac Hull, took him in the *Argus* to Alexandria, whence he went on to Rosetta. Preble had obtained him a letter from the governor of Malta to the British commissioner, who gave him the kindest assistance. The minor details of British policy in those time, indeed, depended much on the temper of the officials, who were left considerable latitude during the engrossment of the nation in a life-and-death struggle. Their conduct here was oddly contrasted with Logie's formerly and the French consul's now: the latter, in the supposed interests of Napoleon, circulated the report that Eaton and his companions were spies, threw all possible difficulties in their way, and well-nigh ruined their chances. Eaton learned that Hamet in destitution had joined the Mameluke insurgents against the Turkish government in Upper Egypt. The banks of the Nile were infested with formidable bodies of brigands, partly

Bedouin Arabs and partly Albanian deserters from the Turkish army, who robbed and murdered every defenseless being they met; but in spite of universal dissuasion he chartered a boat and started for Cairo. Among his companions was one who proved a very useful helper,—physician to the British consulate and the Viceroy, formerly physician to the bey of Tunis in Eaton's time; banished, says Eaton, "about a year before me, and for reasons, if not analogous, equally cogent; myself for wanting dispositions congenial to the interest of the bey; he for possessing dispositions congenial to the interest of the bey's wife."

Missing the brigands by narrow chances, they arrived at Cairo and found there three of Hamet's former official; "destitute of everything but resentment," says Eaton, "for even hope had abandoned them." They informed him that Hamet, after many disasters, was at the head of a few troops under a Mameluke commander, besieged by the Turks in a village some way off. To break through a Turkish force into a besieged town, take away one of the commanders without exciting suspicion in the deserted troops, and with him make a way once more through the besiegers, overtaxed even Eaton's resource; and he wisely decided to throw himself on the favor of the Viceroy, frankly tell him the truth, and ask a pardon and passport for Hamet. Oriental officials are naturally sympathetic toward the necessities of rebels and exiles, and the Viceroy complied without making much difficulty, though Eaton had to spend money freely to satisfy the hangers-on, and counteract the French consul's intrigues and falsehoods. He then returned to Alexandria, where he had appointed a rendezvous with Hamet; but to his astonishment, after waiting some time he was notified that Hamet would not trust the Viceroy's passport, which he regarded as a trick to draw him from cover. Eaton observes thereupon: "Nothing can be more incredulous than a Turk of a Turk's honor; and for a good reason."

Hamet insisted on an interview with Eaton some two hundred miles off on the edge of the desert. This was a worse enterprise than the other; but Eaton shrank from nothing. When less than half way, he was stopped by a fierce, surly and arrogant Turkish

commander, who absolutely refused to let him pass the lines; but Eaton showed that when cajolement was necessary, he was as fine an artist as at bluster in its place. He declared that the officer was entirely right, and he would have done the same himself; but that he had purposely sought an interview with him from knowledge of his great magnanimity, assured that he would gladly favor a humane purpose as had the Viceroy (whose letter was here shown), and was empowered to "tender him a douceur in testimony of our exalted opinion of his name and merit." The combined argument was successful; the commander called in a Bedouin who knew where Hamet was, offered to bring him thither, and did so. This imaginative Arab said that 20,000 more were ready to follow Hamet to recover their country and sovereign. Hamet was taken in charge by Eaton, and finally brought to Alexandria. The French consul had been beforehand: the governor and port admiral would neither let Hamet enter the city nor embark from it. The bribe had been liberal, for Eaton's was not accepted. Eaton reported this to the Viceroy, who fined his subordinate 25,000 piasters for defying his letter of amnesty.

But Hamet had already made up his mind to march overland instead, to Derne and on to Benghazi, 140 miles farther; on the rational ground that if he sailed away from his men, the Arabs would think themselves deserted, and would not follow. Eaton also liked the plan: these provinces in his possession would open up an ample base of supply and turn the rear of the enemy. Before starting, a convention was drawn up with Hamet, of which the points material for us are these:

First, the United States should exert themselves to re-establish Hamet on the throne, by landing troops if needed, and lending him money, ammunition, and provisions, besides their present naval operations. There is no doubt this was in excess of Eaton's authority and the government's intentions: they meant to go forward or draw out as Barron pleased. But equally, Hamet could not be had on such terms, which could leave him and his allies to his brother's vengeance at our discretion. If the government did not intend to uphold Eaton's operations to a reasonable extent, they should not have let him

begin them. The unfairness was in leaving everything at the discretion of an officer who notoriously contemned the whole business. Second, Hamet engaged to release without ransom all American prisoners who came into his hands; and in any future wars all captives were to be prisoners of war and not slaves, and no ransom should be demanded. Third, no tribute should ever be required as a condition of peace. Fourth, the American consular flag at Tripoli should be an inviolable asylum thereafter. Fifth, to indemnify the United States for their expense in this expedition, Hamet pledged the tribute due from Denmark, Sweden, and Holland, under existing treaties, which he agreed to maintain. Sixth, as the King of the Two Sicilies was favoring the American squadron, he was to be granted a peace on the same footing as the United States.

It is glaringly plain that aside from Hamet's personal interest, the entire gain of this pact was to the United States. It obliterated at a stroke all present and future grievances, and left us the machinery to enforce fulfillment. It is true that Hamet probably would not have kept the throne very long,—especially as, being the foreigners' and Christians' dependent, native feeling would have been turned against him; though his new means of punishment and reward, which he had never before possessed, might have shored up his feebleness for a short time. But every month of his power was so much clear gain for us, not counter-weighed by any loss; we could recoup ourselves for the cost before he could be ousted; and had it cost tenfold as much, we saved it in ransoms and tribute and miscellaneous extortions, even counting national honor and pride as nothing. Furthermore, we had not in any way committed ourselves to upholding Hamet on the throne once he was seated; and if we chose after his overthrow to maintain his claims theoretically, as a constant menace to Tripoli, nothing in the world could be cheaper than such a bludgeon over Yusuf's head, which would mostly put him out of the field as harassing our commerce. It was a paper protectorate which enforced itself automatically so far as we needed it and no farther; the unapproachable model of such political machinery. Eaton's "unreasonable fixed idea" was entirely reasonable, wonderfully inexpensive,

and wholly compatible with the extremest type of Jeffersonian democracy. It was not a fanciful dream, but as homespun a New England practicality as a hopple on a vicious bull, acting to the exact extent to which he lowers his horns and makes a charge. The unreasonable and unreasoning persons were and are the ones with too little originality to see beyond routine ideas.

Eaton sent a request to Barron for the very moderate supply of a hundred stand of arms, two field-pieces and their equipage, and a hundred marines for a land assault; and began preparations for raising men and joining Hamet fifty miles off. But the supervisor of the revenue, who had not been bought by any one, called atention to this neglect by a "hold-up." The provisions were impounded, Hamet's servants imprisoned, and orders issued that no one should pass the lines but the Americans. He was satiated, the British officials again helped, and the order was revoked. Then it was discovered that Eaton's commissary and quartermaster had embezzled or wasted most of $1,350 given him for supplies; he was discharged, and Eaton paid for fresh ones from his own credit. The final force of invasion consisted of nine Americans; twenty-five cannoneers of unknown provenance, commanded by a Turk and two Italians; thirty-eight Greek Christians; ninety Tripolitans and other Arabs of Hamet's following; a party of Arab cavalry; and a rabble of horse-footmen and camel-drivers—about four hundred in all, with a hundred and odd camels and a few asses. This imposing force set out on March 8, 1805, to capture a province a thousand miles long beyond the Libyan Desert. The naval contingent was to meet then at Bomba, thirty or forty miles east of Derne and about four hundred from Alexandria; and the march was to occupy fourteen days. It occupied thirty-eight.

To dwell upon the many divertingly *bouffe* incidents and aspects of this marvelous march would be to do the gravest injustice to Eaton, and to the qualities it demanded and found in him. Nor can I minutely detail the march here, as I could not his consulate: each would furnish and repay a paper by itself. Over and over, utter failure and dissolution was imminent, from causes of every kind; and was only averted by

Eaton's resource and his heroic heart. At the outset there was a deadlock over pay, which the caravan owners and drivers demanded in advance: one of the sheikhs in the party, dissatisfied with his bucksheesh, had told them that unless they received it then they never would, and they refused to stir otherwise. Eaton on his part knew that if he yielded, their stay with him was not worth an hour's purchase. He finally brought them to terms by ordering his Christians to march back and abandon Hamet and the expedition altogether. A similar refusal farther on he overcame by persuasive eloquence and promises.

A hundred and seventy miles out, he found that Hamet had only engaged the caravan for that distance—probably could do no more—and they absolutely would not go beyond. Eaton used all his own money but six or seven dollars, borrowed a hundred and forty from the Christians, and paid the caravaneers up, on the agreement that they would march two days further to another tribe who would furnish a fresh caravan. On receiving the money they straightway drew off for Egypt, and Hamet's men would go no further. Eaton stopped their rations and declared a resolve to fortify himself, let them go, and send for Hull's marines to take his Christians off: again the deserters in part returned.

The Arabs of the caravan regularly stole the provisions and ammunition; the wild Bedouin stole the horses. A fusillade of joy by Hamet's men, on a false report of Derne's rising in his favor, nearly started a massacre of the Christians by the Arabs, who thought it an attack and themselves betrayed. Then came report after report of Yusuf's troops nearing Derne, and there was a wild panic in which Hamet shared. He first secretly induced his men not to advance until a runner could bring news that the American vessels were at Bomba, then reclaimed his horses and deserted outright to return to Egypt. Eaton went on without him—a restoration without a claimant; and he came back once more, explaining that he had to dissemble to manage his men. Two hundred and thirty Arabs joined them in the desert; but the same mischief-making sheikh seduced many of them into desertion, and at last went off with his own

men swearing vengeance. Eaton threatened to force him to repay the moneys and goods he had drawn for the expedition he was deserting; and he returned in fear of the Viceroy. Then he quarreled with another sheikh over moneys received from Hamet, and the other deserted. Hamet went off to bring him back. The first sheikh then demanded an increase of rations; and there was a fierce recrimination which Eaton ended by ordering him out of the tent, and declaring that if there were a mutiny in the camp while Hamet was gone, he would put the sheikh to death at once as the cause of it. Thereupon the sheikh begged the intercession of the officers, alleging that enemies must have maligned him, and he was sorry to have lost Eaton's confidence: at Derne it should be seen that he would play the man. A month out, and still seventy miles from Bomba, with but six days' rations of rice and no bread or meat, Hamet ordered a halt during Eaton's absence "to rest the tired troops;" really, as Eaton found, once more to find out if the vessels had reached Bomba. Once more Eaton stopped the rations; once more Hamet doubled back, and the Arabs now attempted to seize the provision tent. Eaton lined up the Christians for battle, and there was an hour's suspense; then Hamet came back and called off the Arabs. Eaton incautiously ordered the manual of arms; the Arabs thought it meant an attack, and a bloody fray was only averted by a hair's-breadth. Quelled for a moment, Hamet almost brought it on again by his childish violence; but finally calm was restored.

Hamet had an excuse for his hesitations which would be sufficient except that it was a guess which struck wholly wrong: he believed that Eaton meant to use him to extort a peace with Yusuf, and then desert him, if not give him up to his brother outright. The first half was precisely what Barron and most of the others intended; but nothing was further from Eaton's thoughts. Eaton was obliged to consent to a halt for the desired news; and just as a new mutiny was developing, the joyful intelligence was received that the squadron was off the coast. The face of things was magically changed; the Arabs were jubilant; the march was resumed, and Hamet agreed to see that it was completed.

On the fifteenth of April the little army reached Bomba. The traveler who rushes to a mirage lake to quench his deadly thirst is not more overwhelmingly and cruelly disappointed than were these. Bomba was a name without a shred of existence; "not a foot trace of a human being, nor a drop of water," says Eaton; and not a vessel in sight. The Arabs were furious, and denounced the Americans as infidels and impostors, who had drawn them into a trap. Eaton advised attempting to force a passage into Derne, but they had no heart for it or belief in its being possible, and camped apart to retreat into the desert next morning. Eaton took his Christians and built fires on a hill near by. Just as the camp was breaking up the next morning, a sail was discovered. It was the *Argus* with Hull. The next day came in the sloop *Hornet,* laden with provisions; water was found; and Eaton had now a force which might act, and hope that the navy would help him to a crushing victory.

But the natives had no stomach for fight. They seem to have hoped for some reason that Yusuf would abandon his position without a contest, and leave them the kingdom and free plunder. When they heard once more that his troops were near Derne, whose governor had fortified himself for defense, there was another panic, headed as usual by Hamet. The Arabs refused to advance; the sheikh who was to play the man led the cavalry in the wrong direction. A promise of two thousand dollars to the chiefs, however, inspired two thousand dollars' worth of courage, and on the afternoon of the 25th they encamped on a hill overlooking Derne.

The town had three wards, separated by walls with gates. The sheikhs of two brought placatory messages to Hamet; but the governor held the seaboard one, with 800 soldiers, eight nine-pounders in a battery and another on the palace; some rough breastworks, and the houses loopholed for musketry. Yusuf's troops were not far off. "I thought the Bashaw [Hamet] wished himself back to Egypt," remarks Eaton; which indeed was his usual state. Eaton offered the governor, from Hamet, a retention in his post if he would grant a passage and supplies for his "legitimate sovereign." The governor replied simply, "My head or yours!" Next day the *Argus, Hornet*

and *Nautilus* approached, and raked the shipping, shore battery, and town. Eaton got a field piece from one of them, and with the land force he and Hamet seized a couple of commanding positions. The battery was silenced, but the troops merely joined those opposing Eaton's detachment; this began to waver, when Eaton ordered a charge. The Tripolitans, though several times his numbers, broke and fled, but firing from behind every palm tree and wall as they retreated. Eaton received a ball through the wrist. The Christians charged through the musketry fire from the houses, took possession of the battery, planted the American flag, and turned the guns on the town. These and the naval fire dislodged the defenders from the houses. Hamet got possession of the palace, his cavalry took Yusuf's troops in flank, and after a fight of two hours and a half Eaton had possession of Derne. The governor took sanctuary in a mosque, whence Eaton tried vainly to draw him, to exchange for Bainbridge, who was a prisoner in Tripoli. Eaton had two men killed and twelve wounded, the latter chiefly Greeks, who fought nobly.

Eaton fortified the town against Yusuf's slowly advancing troops. The town itself was apparently non-partisan; devotedly loyal to whichever should win, and still more in fear of the vengeance of the other. Yusuf's officers outside tried to win it over; the governor used his sanctuary as a centre of action in the same line. Eaton proposed to take a body of Christians and drag him out; but Hamet was too good a Mohammedan, asked to have it put off till the next day, and gave the governor warning to escape in the night. On the 13th about 1,200 of Yusuf's men, including fugitives from Derne, overbore Hamet's cavalry and chased them into the town as far as the palace, where they hoped to seize Hamet; the magnitude of the prize gave them courage, and despite the naval fire and that from the houses they were near succeeding, when Eaton trained his battery upon the town. All barbarians dread artillery, and when a cannon-ball killed two horsemen the rest withdrew in disorder, with Hamet's horsemen pursuing them in turn. For the first time, Hamet's following fought like men; they inflicted much superior losses on the enemy.

Yusuf's soldiers fortified their camp three miles off; Eaton wished to attack it. But on both sides the joy of battle among the rank and file was surfeited for the time. The Tripolitan officers could not induce their men to attack the town again, nor Eaton his men to attack the camp. Yusuf's troops, however, cut off all supplies, and Eaton felt apprehensive. What he needed was the moderate force of marines which Barron could easily have supplied him, and should have supplied him. With these he could have driven Yusuf's thousand or so in headlong rout across the desert, and marched triumphantly for Tripoli; most probably with the vacillating citizens and tribesmen rising for the victor, and Yusuf forced to fly. This had been his calculation, and it was sober and easy probability now. They never came, and they were never intended to come. If Eaton won without them, he did not need them; if he did not win, it proved that his plan was as farcical as the naval officers had asserted, and the old plan of a treaty with Yusuf and occasional punishment by the navy was the true one.

What Eaton wanted next to these was money; that, too, might have been furnished him, as Barron had discretion to use the government credit, and had done so for supplies to some extent. Eaton believed that he could have bought over a large part of the hostile force before him. "We want nothing but cash," he said, "to break up our enemy's camp without firing another shot." He doubtless based the belief on secret offers. Could this have been done, he could have secured Derne firmly and advanced with confidence on Tripoli. But a fortnight or so later, after receiving new reinforcemnts, the enemy attacked once more; and in a four-hours' battle were forced to retreat with heavy loss.

In this last battle Eaton with his Christians did not share; partly in fear of leaving the town unguarded, partly because what Hamet feared had occurred—he was used as a tool and discarded. Eaton had been warned nine days before that peace negotiations with Yusuf were on foot, and Derne would probably have to be evacuated; and did not feel it right to shed blood without purpose. The day after the fight he received news by the *Constellation* from Commodore Rodgers that peace

was concluded, and orders to evacuate Derne at once. Not only was he filled with rage, disappointment, and chagrin at this sudden and inglorious end to all his hopes and far-reaching plans, but it was full of personal hurts. His risk of life in the search for Hamet, his hard and perilous desert march, were pure waste; but that was in the day's work. What galled him most keenly was that Hamet had the right to reproach him with the broken faith which that bashaw had foreboded, he said, from the powers having done the same thing twice before: with him and with his Mameluke chief in Egypt. It was true that the Americans had not left him worse than they found him, but that was irrelevant to the question of good faith. And as before all else a patriot, with a broad yet simple plan to end the loss and ignominy of centuries, for the world as well as America, it was hard to bear. Even the immediate problem was full of risk: if the tricked Arabs discovered their desertion by Hamet and the infidels, they would massacre every one of the number, with the enemy to help if needed. They must be hoodwinked till Eaton's party were on shipboard. A feigned assault on Yusuf's troops was arranged; and by a mask of marine patrols, the party were embarked in the *Constellation*, Eaton going last in a small boat. He was scarcely off the shore when the deserted soldiery and populace crowded it, filling the air with yells and execrations. The next morning the Arabs and many of the townsmen fled to the mountains; an immediate occupation and slaughter in Derne by Yusuf's men was luckily prevented by their hasty flight on the supposition that the frigate brought reinforcements to Eaton, which shows what actual reinforcements might have done.

What had occurred was this: Tobias Lear, formerly Washington's private secretary and now consul-general at Algiers, had been commissioned in the middle of 1804 to negotiate a peace with Tripoli. This commission was sent by Barron, who on reaching Tripoli found that Preble had been bombarding it for some weeks, destroying the cruisers and extorting an offer of a treaty from Yusuf, but still on impossible terms. Barron superseded Preble, who went home, and not a gun was fired before Tripoli after he left. Barron was sick, and remained

for many months physically and mentally unfit for any command; but at his best he wholly lacked the demoniac element of men like Decatur and Eaton, or even Preble's stern high-mettled sense of warrior dignity. He and Lear were cordially at one in despising and denouncing Eaton's scheme; and for months they remained in Malta together discussing the terms of peace to be offered Yusuf. While Eaton was in possession of Derne, and only needing a fraction of Barron's marines doing nothing in the Mediterranean to take Tripoli in the rear, they decided to open negotiations. Perhaps the two facts were not unconnected: a naval officer of the time pregnantly remarked that "Eaton was running away with all the honor of the Tripolitan war," and Lear was ambitious of diplomatic success. That he gained even the show of it was certainly due to Eaton's "unreasonable fixed idea," with Eaton to carry it out; but what he did gain was little enough credit to the United States. Of course Yusuf renounced all future claims to tribute or payment of any sort, which meant whatever he chose to make mean; but we paid him $60,000 for a balance of two hundred American prisoners left in his hands. Lear's excuse was that he was afraid Yusuf would massacre them if he refused; but in fact Yusuf had already made that threat if Preble should bombard the city, and Preble contemptuously disregarded it without ill result. Even a Tripolitan pirate knew better than that, with the United States navy and not a European power to deal with; and moreover, we now held ourselves a hundred Tripolitan prisoners. The Lear stamp of men are careful not to consult the Eaton and Preble stamp as to facts: they are too liable to have excuses for whiteness of liver taken away. More discreditable still, Lear added a secret article that Yusuf should have four years to deliver up Hamet's family to his brother. Yusuf's reason was irrefutable for him—he wanted hostages against another insurrection by Hamet; though in fact that craven being was little likely enough to make more trouble. But why the United States should concern itself to prevent Hamet, or any one else, from starting civil wars against a Barbary ruler, passes human understanding. The more of it was done, the better for us. The simple fact was—this provision alone

is sufficient to reveal the secret spring of the transaction—that Lear was determined to conclude a treaty for his own credit as a successful diplomatist, and willing to conciliate Yusuf to any extent in order to obtain it. We can imagine what kind of treaty Yusuf would have signed had Eaton been in Lear's place, and whether the United States would have paid him for it.

As to Hamet, he went into Italian exile, with a small allowance from the United States. Some years later, at Eaton's incessant urgency for a more honorable provision, our government induced Yusuf to make him once more governor of Derne, but necessarily without provision as to the components of the drinks furnished him. Hamet died about 1812 in Egypt: most likely forced again to fly in fear of his brother.

Eaton's life was done, so far as life is worth counting. The summary of his later career is brief and sad: dropped from active service, full of eager and restless energies balked of an outlet, too impatient for humdrum and too generous and vainglorious for economy, he wasted and mismanaged his property into bankruptcy, and fretted and drank himself into a premature grave. Regarding his expenses in the desert expedition, he acted perhaps quixotically, yet so that we take the more pride in him: with an informal understanding that Congress would pay a handsome lump sum in recognition of his heroism and service, he would accept only his itemized expenses. But these were justice and not favor, and took long to pass. After this we feel hurt in his hurt, which was deep, in the fate of a proposition that Congress should accord him a medal. Both houses were in its favor at first, and so remained according to votes. But John Randolph and a Pennsylvania member opposed it strenuously on the ground that it was too much and medals were going to be too cheap,—though for far less heroism and brilliancy Preble had been given one,—and that he should be content with a sword; others justly said this was to degrade his action to the level of many subordinate feats of arms: and in the wrangle that ensued, it was referred to committee of the whole and never taken up. Jefferson in a message commended his service with official dignity of phrase; but that did not compensate. Jealousy was rife: he was lionized and be-

lauded in Washington, and virulently abused and belittled in the press to equalize the balance. He came before the public two or three years later in Burr's trial, as a witness to conversations with Burr. His old enemy Gaither was brought up, but could tell nothing except what was of record, that he had court-martialed Eaton; the proceedings had been burned with the War Office, and parole testimony to their contents was not admitted. Much was made of the fact that Eaton when testifying for the government had accounts still to be adjusted by it; if we choose to believe that the man who resigned a foreclosed fortune from humanity, and refused an honorary fortune from pride, was likely to invent atrocious revelations in order to hasten the payment of a debt, then for such as we the accusation is probable.

Regarding his private affairs, he had traded with skill in the Tunisian consulate, though steadily refusing disguised bribes in the way of concessions on duties; and had gained apparently fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. He put seven of it into a house too costly for his remaining funds or a country town, and never recovered from the embarrassment. The State of Massachusetts honored its distinguished citizen by granting him ten thousand acres of land in Maine, which he had later to sell in partial clearance of his debts. Processes and attachments tormented and stripped him. He wished active duty in the army, which was not accorded him. His Brimfield neighbors elected him to the legislature for one term; but though a Federalist and a strong speaker, he was too independent for the bitter party feeling of the time, and to his chagrin was not re-elected. He drank more and more heavily. He was lavish and ostentatious in hospitality, and when from home in gambling society he lost much money at cards.

The picture we have of him in these last years is only too easy to realize with vividness, often with pain: the figure of five feet eight with its still impressive port, prominent forehead, ruddy face, and keen blue eyes, but its dignity and command more and more a reminiscence; the rather imperious and overbearing manner; the avidity for the least delicate flattery; the fluent converse, full of entertainment and instruction, but too exclu-

sively about his own exploits; the deep self-scorn for his weakness, as he sank more and more into sottish irresolution, knowing the path he was treading and unable to retrace it; the generosity of heart which led him to relieve others' distresses even between two visits of the sheriff, and divide his last piece of meat with his neighbors when he had not sufficient for his own family; the bursts of harsh anger which were really anger at himself. He died at Brimfield, June 1, 1811; and it is with pity and not with scorn that we say it was for the best.

My audience can now judge as well as myself how far he merits the epithet of adventurer. He was no more such than any man who seeks a career, and has originality, energy, and loyalty to his employer. His adventure was not to found or hold a principality for himself, but to paralyze a hornet's nest for his country. Nor was he in any wise a fantastic Orientalized dreamer, but a wholly practical American with a wholly practicable scheme. His type was not that of the Stukelys or even the La Salles, but of William Pitt and John Quincy Adams, on a smaller scale. He was a zealot of the dignity, the independence, the glory of his country; fierce to resent indignities to it, his soul burning with anger and shame at its submission to the insults and plunderings of a set of permitted vermin whom it should simply trample under foot, and who had no legitimate object of existence.

Among the might-have-beens of history, a poignant one is that Eaton's faults of temper, his inability to live without excitement, cost him an undying name that waited for him just beyond the grave he had dug for himself. Had he lived in physical vigor one year longer, public feeling and the government's own wish for success would have given him a high command in the War of 1812; and in such a place, the history of that inglorious land war would have been something very different from what we know, —some careers would not have existed, others would have been changed. Eaton on land would have been like Perry on sea, and most probably linked like him with some dramatic and conclusive exploit. Not that I think it probable he would have remained in command through the war. He would most likely have been in hot water with the incompetent Dearborn before

long, and soon removed from active service. Yet Armstrong might well have renewed his functions; and were his service short or long, he would have written his name on that period in such characters that the very children would now remember him. We might well have had William Eaton for a President, perhaps in place of Andrew Jackson.

This is not a career to be set forth in its entirety as an ideal; but its best part furnishes such and its worse part furnishes a moral. The one is rich in thrill and the other in instruction. It is one of extremes, yet which spring from the same source in a consistent character, and at its worst it is never mean, sordid, or vulgar. And while the strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest part, that of a man is his strongest part. One trait of genius or greatness outweighs a million defects, for such traits are the conditions of all human advance. Says the noble Chinese proverb, "A diamond with a flaw is worth more than a pebble without one." Most men can avoid Eaton's defects; not so many can duplicate his immense energy, his fearless resolution, his grasp, his resource, his leadership. And his passionate pride of patriotism can be only an inspiration. If I have attempted to-night to brighten the colors, correct the drawing, and restore the full-length of his faded and mispainted bust, it is because we cannot afford to drop it from our gallery, and there is no profit in contemplating a figment.

IS GRAIN CONTRABAND OF WAR?

BY HARLEY W. NEHF

AMERICA had hardly recovered from the effects of the Revolution when war broke out in Europe between England and France. This news was first brought to America by a British packet which arrived in New York on April 4, 1793. Official expression of the declaration of this war was given by Genet, the new French minister, when he landed at Charleston on April 9, 1793.

This intelligence caused much anxiety on the part of Americans. It might mean they would again become involved in war. This they did not want yet such a result was inevitable if they kept their former treaties with France which practically necessitated taking sides with her. By the treaty of commerce French privateers and prizes were to receive protection in American ports and this protection was not to be given to the enemies of France. By the treaty of alliance the United States were to guard the French possessions in America.

Washington called a cabinet meeting to decide whether or not these treaties were binding. After a careful consideration the cabinet came to the conclusion that they were not binding because they had been made for different conditions and circumstances. Since the United States did not want to become involved in war they issued a declaration of neutrality on April 22, 1793. This act was important in that it freed the nation from the expenses of war and preserved the independence of America which had not yet gained much strength. It made the United States one of the few neutral powers of Christendom which resulted in the expansion of its commerce.

The object of Genet's mission to America was evident. He desired to create a feeling of relationship between the United States and France. He wanted to use America as a naval base

for French privateers. He wanted to use the United States as a granary with which to feed the French armies and people who were suffering from want of food. England planned to capture France by famine. She attempted to cut off the supplies of provisions by capturing the American vessels which were carrying food products to France. To make such acts appear legitimate she offered to pay for the cargoes that should be taken in such a way. France found it impossible to protect her vessels engaged in commerce with the French Islands. In an effort to save her planters from ruin she opened her ports in the West Indies to the neutral trade of Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands. Prosperity resulted for the French West India planters which made England jealous and caused her to declare this trade illegal on the ground that commerce which was forbidden in times of peace should not be permitted in times of war to aid a belligerent and with the aid of Prussia she attempted to discontinue this trade.

On February 19, 1793, the National Convention of France declared that all the ports of the French colonies be opened to the vessels of the United States; and that all produce carried in American vessels between France and her colonies should pay no higher duties than were paid by the French vessels. By another decree in March 1793, France opened her West India possessions to American boats, of sixty tons and under carrying American provisions, without the payment of duty and also allowed these American boats the privilege of returning to the United States with sugar and coffee. In the further effort to use America as a neutral carrier of the tropical products from her United States possessions to her home ports France gave American ships all the advantages that her own ships had.

These decrees created much joy among the merchants and shippers in America. But this joy continued only a short time for on May 9, 1793, the National Convention of France directed French armed vessels to seize any ships carrying provisions to the enemy. As soon as this decree appeared Gouverneur Morris, the American minister in France, protested against it. He rightly declared that the decree directly infringed the commercial treaty of 1778 between America and France in which both had agreed to the principle that free ships make free goods. Realizing the

truth of the protest the Convention on May 23 declared that American ships should be exempt. But the owners of a French privateer had captured a rich American ship and in order to enable them to hold the prize the Convention on May 28 repealed their last decree and American ships were no longer exempt. Gouverneur Morris again complained and again the decree exempting American ships was made effective by an order of July 1. By an order of July 27 American ships were once more included and continued so until the arrival of Monroe.

England first directed her attention to the grain trade and on June 8, 1793, instructed her naval officers and commanders of privateers that it would be lawful to seize any vessels loaded with corn, flour or meal bound to any port in France or one occupied by her armies. The grain thus captured could either be sold to the British government or delivered to some port in amity with England. Thus at the very beginning of the titanic struggle in Europe did the respective combatants adopt a policy which soon came to be known as the continental system, the essence of which was that neither was to allow any neutral to trade with the other. As a result of this hundreds of American ships were detained or condemned in French and English ports. In both Paris and London the American ministers vigorously protested against the injustice. France clearly violated the treaty of 1778 which declared that free ships make free goods. England tried to justify her instructions upon the hypothesis that the situation was similar to a principle laid down by Vattel to the effect that provisions are contraband when there are hopes of reducing the enemy by famine. The principle that free ships make free goods was not then well established in international law, as seen by Jefferson's letter to Genet in which he expressed his opinion as regards contraband goods. Contrary to many other beliefs he contended that provisions of a friend in the vessel of an enemy are free and provisions of an enemy in the vessel of a friend are lawful prize.

In a letter to Pinckney, Jefferson voiced the essence of the American official attitude toward the order in council. It was that certain implements of war were generally understood to be contraband but that corn, flour and meal were not in this class.

The doctrine of England, he said, struck at the root of American agriculture, upon which depended the livelihood of Americans. When Pinckney received this letter and the others that followed he again made formal protest to the British government but without success.

In America feeling ran high against Great Britain. In Congress, debates, and out of Congress, discussions, were prevalent. A great cry went up from the ruined merchants of Portsmouth, Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston and Congress in its next session was appealed to for help. The response was speedy. Resolutions for discriminating tonnage duties were introduced; appropriations were voted for building arsenals, purchasing ammunition, erecting coast fortifications and building six frigates. An embargo was imposed for thirty days. On March 12, 1794, Sedgwick introduced a resolution into Congress for raising a militia of 15,000 men. To heighten the rising spirit against England Jefferson laid before Congress that report on the general trade relations with all the world, which Congress had called for in 1791. This report showed the situation as it existed in the middle of 1792, before war had broken out between England and France. The condition of affairs was even then unsatisfactory.

The growing issue was an important one. The policy had important advantages for Great Britain but was detrimental to France who was deprived of supplies from her colonies. The British treasury was enriched and losses were influenced on American trade. The order was calculated to destroy all neutral trade with France. If enforced it would injure the trade of every great commercial nation.

In great Britain the question was an important one from an economic standpoint. The order had lessened her prosperity. It destroyed her commerce and produced distress in her manufacturing interests because neutral nations disliked her policy and refused to trade with her. In addition to this the American non-importation act destroyed a market for British goods. In one year the loss of Great Britain amounted to $60,000,000. The character of the grain trade was such that Great Britain could not lose the trade of the United States without serious damage.

Much of the grain raised in the United States was sent to England, in fact so much that, after having lost American trade, the imports in England decreased from 1793 to 1794, in wheat where it was most noticeable, from 293,000 bushels to 40,000 bushels while her exports in flour decreased from 177,000 barrels in 1793 to 77,000 barrels in 1794.

A second matter had arisen which tended to arouse yet more the feeling of Congress on this subject of commerce. On November 6, 1793, while Pinckney had been striving to secure the revocation of the order in council that had made grain contraband, another order in council had been issued by England yet more stringent in its provisions. It provided that British ships of war and privateers should seize any ships carrying goods either produced in or for the use of any French colony and bring them into courts of admirality for adjudication.

The order in council of January 8, 1794, provided that all vessels, carrying products of the French West Indies directly to any European port, should be seized for lawful adjudication. It provided, also, that all vessels, carrying products of the West Indies belonging to subjects of France, should be seized, no matter for what port they were bound. This order differed from the former in that it provided that neutral cargoes must be going direct to France to be taken captive. It answered the French decree of March 26, 1793, that had opened the French colonial trade to American ships. Between November 6, 1793 and March 7, 1794, 220 American vessels were seized in the West Indies and carried into English ports. More than 400 others had been detained upon the high seas. These vessels were captured even though no documents could be found to prove that such vessels intended to trade with the French.

Because of these devastations on American ships and injuries to American sailors, Congress on March 26, 1794, levied an embargo for thirty days. It was laid on all ships and vessels in the ports of the United States that were bound for a foreign port. It provided that no clearances to vessels be furnished except under the directions of the President of the United States. On April 18, 1794, a resolution was passed by Congress extending the embargo for an additional thirty days. By a law approved

June 4, 1794, the President was given full power, during the recess of Congress, to lay an embargo either upon American or foreign vessels if in his opinion such action was necessary. As long as the embargo was effective the American people were content for they believed that the adoption of such a measure would do much to return to them their rights as neutral carriers. It was, therefore, with the most violent opposition on the part of American merchants that the embargo was lifted on May 25, 1794.

This contest for commercial supremacy resulted in many spirited arguments between the parties of the conflict in which each claimed many rights. The American feelings were voiced by Jefferson, Pinckney and Randolph while those of Great Britain was made known through Hammond. Each of the numerous arguments practically resolves itself into one of the five main lines of argument.

1. Argument on self preservation. Jefferson's first argument is that the order in council is unjust to the Americans because it destroys all attempts on their part for self preservation. In his letter to Pinckney, dated September 7, 1793, he says that America has a right to trade with those nations who give her the best goods at the most reasonable prices. If the French goods are more satisfactory than the English goods, then Americans should be allowed to trade with France. To deprive them of this privilege is to deprive them of the enjoyment of all articles of necessity and comfort which England does not produce. It denies them the privilege of choosing between the better of two things. By closing to American commerce all the ports of the earth, except her own, England is within one step of forcing the United States to an internal commerce. In this same connection Pinckney, in his representation to Lord Grenville, contends that it is self evident that a third nation, which has sided with neither of the belligerent powers, should be allowed to trade freely with both nations.

To this argument Hammond makes no direct reply and this fact alone shows the weakness of his position in this matter.

II. Argument on denial of neutrality. Jefferson argues that an attempt on the part of England to enforce the order in coun-

cil is a denial of neutrality. In his letter to Pickney, dated September 7, 1793, he contends that, unless stipulated by treaty, it is an essential character of neutrality that America furnish no aid to England when she is not equally willing to furnish aid to France. If she allows corn to be sent to England she must allow it to be sent to France for if she does not she is showing partiality toward England. France could consider this as a mere pretext and declare war against America. The conduct of America has been such that Great Britain has no right to force a dilemma upon her.

In his letter to Jefferson, dated April 11, 1794, Hammond replies that the conduct of the ruling party in France has already been such as Jefferson imagines this measure on the part of England would produce.

The character of these opposing arguments is so different that they do not bear comparison. Hammond's argument is the more clever while Jefferson's is the more fundamental. Hammond says that Jefferson argues on an erroneous assumption but it is improbable that Jefferson would advance the argument that he did without knowing existing conditions.

III. Argument on comity. Jefferson contends that the order in council is not an act of comity. In his letter to Pinckney, dated September 7, 1793, he points out that Denmark, Sweden and the United States are the only neutral nations on the Atlantic. England declared all vessels to be neutral prize, which attempted to enter a blockaded port, except those of Denmark and Sweden. By such a declaration England practically asserts that only vessels of the United States should be lawful prize. Possibly these exceptions are due to the treaties of England with Denmark and Sweden but this is no reason why the exception should be withheld from the United States.

In his letter to Jefferson, dated September 12, 1793, Hammond replies that Denmark and Sweden are excepted because of existing treaties with England and that other powers ought not to be jealous because they do not have such a treaty.

Hammond's argument is logical. England must also consider her own interests and if it is to her advantage and if she feels that she is dealing justly she has a right to withhold the excep-

tion from the United States. The advantages which England gave to Denmark and Sweden, by treaty, she undoubtedly receives again from those countries in a different way.

A second argument against England's lack of comity is advanced by Pinckney in a communication to Lord Granville, where he says that the principle, free ships make free goods, ought to be observed by England in regard to the United States since England recognizes it in her commercial treaty with France.

Hammond replies to this in a letter to Randolph, dated April 11, 1794. He claims that a belligerent power has a right to stop and seize supplies of provisions going to its enemy because it is recognized to be legitimate by the ancient writers and especially by Vatel.

The Americans merely ask from Great Britain what she is giving to France. For Great Britain to say that the demand of America is contrary to the principle established by the ancient writers is practically to say that she is herself violating this principle by recognizing the French request.

IV. Argument on international law. The Americans hold that the order in council is contrary to the law of nations. In a letter to Hammond, dated May 1, 1794, Randolph argues that provisions ought not to be considered contraband, according to the laws of nations, because the treaties, for more than a hundred years, announcing provisions not to be contraband are more numerous than those announcing provisions to be contraband.

Hammond answers this in his letter to Jefferson, dated September 12, 1793, where he says that the most modern writers expressly state that, by the laws of nations, provisions are contraband when depriving the enemy of them is a method employed to reduce the enemy to terms of peace.

Randolph replies that provisions are not contraband except when they are bound to a blockaded port where the exclusion goes directly to capture the place. Neutral commerce cannot be infringed unless the exclusion of the provisions is successful in reducing the enemy to terms of peace.

The opinions of modern writers, who live under and judge ex-

isting conditions, are more liable to be accurate than the opinions of writers who lived in an earlier century.

Pinckney contends that the order in council is contrary to international law because in many of the English treaties provisions are not included in the contraband list.

Hammond replies that these treaties are merely agreements between contracting parties and are not declaratory of the laws of nations. England has only two treaties and in one of these, that with Sweden, provisions are contraband.

Randolph answers that treaties as well as statutes often reenact pre-existing laws. In many of the English treaties provisions are omitted from the list of contraband articles.

It is quite probable that treaties are declaratory of the laws of nations. A treaty is an agreement between two conflicting parties and for such an agreement to be reached it is usually necessary that both of the conflicting powers receive justice. If this is true, treaties should be followed and used as examples in deciding cases parallel to those under which the treaties were formed. A treaty bears the same relation to a statute that a court decision bears to a law.

V. Argument on irrational act. The last argument of the Americans is that the order in council is unreasonable. Pinckney, in his representation to Lord Grenville, dated January 28, 1794, argues that articles which destroy mankind should not be classed with those that sustain mankind and that, therefore, corn, flour and meal are not contraband as are firearms and ammunition.

Hammond replies, in a letter to Randolph, dated April 11, 1794, that a nation has a right to take money, provisions and naval stores sent to its enemy, provided that the enemy cannot defend itself without them, but Randolph contends that this is not a palliative for the order in council, first, because Great Britain has more corn and other provisions than she needs and, second, because all her European ports are closed.

It is proper to place goods of a destructive and constructive character in the same category. A gun is an article which has a destructive character, but, a gun is as necessary for protecting and preserving mankind as is corn. The two are inseparable so

far as serving the purpose of sustenance is concerned. Hammond's argument is based upon the supposition that England is in need of grain when, in realty, she is not.

A further argument that the order in council is irrational is advanced by Pinckney, in his representation to Lord Grenville, dated January 28, 1794, when he says that raeson has established when several nations are engaged in war, that those, who wish to avoid fighting, have a right to carry on their usual commerce with both belligerent and neutral nations.

Hammond answers this, in a letter to Randolph, dated April 11, 1794, by saying that if a neutral nation sends provisions to the enemy of a belligerent power, and this prevents a seige on the part of the belligerent power, the neutral nation must pay the loss suffered by the belligerent. Randolph responds by asking how the accustomed trade of the United States would hinder the execution of the plans of Great Britain.

It is reasonable to assume that a neutral nation should not be injured by a belligerent power, and, that a belligerent power should not be injured by a neutral nation. America, who is neutral, does not harm England, but, England, who is a belligerent causes America to suffer loss.

As further evidence that the order in council is irrational Jefferson, in his letter to Pinckney, dated September 7, 1793, argues that it is for the best interests of humanity that a culture like that of the soil, which gives food to so many people, should not be interrupted because two nations are engaged in war. Hammond replies, in a letter to Randolph, dated April 11, 1794, that probably it is for the best interests of mankind that a belligerent power employ such means to force an enemy into submission and in this way lessen the amount of calamity. Both agree that war is a calamity and, if this is true, it must necesarily follow that the shorter the duration of the war the less calamity will result. The Americans argue that there should be no calamity while the essence of the English contention is that it is right for calamity to exist for a short time.

The Jay Treaty was the first to decide some of these questions. Although it did not directly answer all of them it was, nevertheless, the hub argument from which the decision of all other

arguments could be inferred. It decided that Great Britain should give the Americans privileges in the West Indies and that America should not export naval stores, military stores or rice from the East Indies when Great Britain is engaged in war with any other power.

It provided that all vessels captured or detained, on just grounds of suspicion of having on board articles which are contraband of war, should be brought to the most convenient port and the contraband articles found on them made lawful prize, but the vessel with the rest of the cargoe should be at liberty to continue its voyage. Ships brought in for adjustication were not to be delayed longer than necessary. The owner was to receive full value for the contraband provisions, a reasonable profit and the cost of freight.

The question was more recently decided by the International Naval Conference in March, 1909. It decided that a blockade, in order to be binding, must be successful and that it should extend to no port unless it is in possession of or occupied by the enemy. An official notice of the establishment of such a blockade was held to be sufficient. It decided, also, that military and naval stores destined for the enemy will taint a ship no matter for what neutral port it may be heading.

The Conference distinguished between absolute contraband and conditional contraband, the former including implements of war and the latter including food, clothing, fuel and other articles for military or naval use. Articles free of contraband were to include cotton, wool, rubber, hides, ores, fertilizers and other such articles.

HISTORIC VIEWS AND REVIEWS

RECOLLECTIONS OF OLD NEW YORK

AN old New Yorker speaking of the interest aroused in New York's beautiful east side park, which has been renamed the Carl Schurz Park, has called attention to the fact that no mention had been made at the dedicatory exercises of the many changes which that part of the city overlooking Hell Gate has undergone in the last hundred years.

"It would doubtless surprise many of our citizens," he said, "to know that the entire east side above Fifty-ninth street less than a century ago was the resort of wealthy merchants and their families during the Summer. Magnificent country homes lined the shore in the days when Astoria across the river was a synonym of wealth and social prestige."

While the changed conditions of the last fifty years and more have practically obliterated all traces of these palatial country estates, the commodious frame house still standing in the Carl Schurz Park bears testimony to the grandeur of those forgotten days. It is one of the oldest buildings on Manhattan Island.

Just when it was erected is a matter of conjecture, but it was standing more than 100 years ago, when the greater part of the land now included in the park was owned by Archibald Gracie, one of New York's famous merchants.

Archibald Gracie's Neighbors

John Jacob Astor was a Summer neighbor of Mr. Gracie, the Astor house standing on the south side of Eighty-eighth street near Avenue A. In Eighty-ninth street, near First avenue was Nathaniel Prime's home (his town house was at 1 Broadway,

the present site of the Washington Building), while just north was the old-time Rhinelander mansion near Ninety-first street overlooking the river. Commodere Chauncey of the War of 1812 fame lied nearby.

The old Gracie house is now owned by the city, being used during the Summer as a refreshment headquarters and in the great parlor, which once witnessed some magnificent social gatherings, ice cream and soda water are dispensed at five-cent prices to the thousands who go there for cool breezes during the hot season.

Before the War of 1812 Archibald Gracie was one of the richest men in the city. Two of his daughters married sons of Rufus King, one becoming the wife of Charles King, afterward President of Columbia College, and another the wife of James Gore King, an eminent financier and member of the great banking house of Prime, Ward & King.

The embargo acts decreed by Napoleon, however, almost ruined Mr. Gracie and bad speculations by some of his sons carried away some more of his money. Before the close of the war his East River homestead was sold for $17,000. He recovered some of his fortune before his death in 1829. His city home during his last years was at 629 Broadway and his place of business at 7 Wall street.

Up to a few years ago a great poplar stood in the park near the old house which, it is said, was a favorite spot of Washington Irving's while he was a guest of John Jacob Astor. A large part of his book, "Astoria," was written while living in the Astor country home. The big tree was blown down in a storm half a dozen years ago.

Teaching a Boy Patriotism

To teach his young son patriotism, Marsden J. Perry, financier, and art collector, has had placed in his Newport Summer home the finest collection of Colonial prints in this country.

The study of America and its history has been one of the things in which it has been long planned young Marsden shall specialize, and to better do this the child has a private picture gallery of incalculable worth and illustrative of the great per-

iods of his native land placed before him as a first aid. The remarkable collection of prints, which is the envy of all collectors, practically covers the United States' early progress.

Years ago, Mr. Perry from time to time added to a small beginning in prints, picking them up, one here and one there. Some came to light in old farm houses. Others were located in the shops of obscure dealers in antiques. Still others were rounded up by hired collectors who ran down possible clues and made a business of perfecting the collection. They represent the outlay of many thousands of dollars.

Franklin Rarity Discovered

An interesting discovery is reported from the north of England. Harold Howe, of Manchester, was recently turning over some volumes in a second-hand bookshop in a small Lancashire town, when he came across a volume which he recognized as an early edition of Franklin's works. He bought it for a small sum. Upon referring to authorities he was surprised and delighted to find that he had unearthed not merely an early edition, but the first collected edition of Franklin's essays, and a book new to bibliography. Further research proved the volume to be unique, even the British museum not possessing a copy.

What makes the valuable find of almost national importance to Americans is that the book contains an hitherto unknown portrait of America's first savant. Authentic portraits of Franklin are singularly few, notwithstanding the fact that the two continents have been ransacked in the hope of bringing a further portrait to light, it having been long believed that at least one other portrait was in existence.

The Authentic Portraits

Compilers of Franklin centenary volumes admit that three authentic portraits exist, and the present discovery will therefore make the number four. The last of the already known portraits to come to light was the beautiful painting by Martin which, by the fortunes of war, fell into the hands of an ancestor of Sir Edward Grey. As will be remembered, that English

statesman, by a graceful act of justice, presented it a few years back to the American Nation. It now forms one of the chief ornaments of the White House.

The newly found portrait was commenced or completed on January 1, 1776, as is shown by the date and newspaper which Franklin is depicted as reading. At that time he would be 70 years of ——— period midway between the Martin portrait of 1766 and the Duplessis minature of 1782.

The portrait is by an exceedingly able artist, and is particularly notable for the clever manner in which the pose of the figure, the position of the hands, and the expression of the features are all made to portray Franklin's character of combined shrewdness, determination and benevolence.

The Timby Memorial

A mass meeting was held in Syracuse on the eve of Memorial Day in memory of Theodore R. Timby, formerly a resident of that city, and the men who invented the revolving turret. Petitions now being circulated will be sent to Congress urging that the inventor's body be removed from the receiving vault in Brooklyn, and, when placed beside the body of his wife, in the Washington cemetery, that a suitable memorial be erected over it.

Dobbs Ferry Dates Questioned

Melville P. Raymond, of Tarrytown, N. Y., has announced that the dates on the monument placed on the Highland turnpike, are far from correct. "The monument ought to be removed," he says, "or the inscriptions changed, for there is not a provable historic fact among the contentions set upon its face."

He says the inscription upon the monument "Here, July 6, 1781, the French Army under Rochambeau joined the American Army" can be easily disproved. Baron Cromet du Bourg Rochambeau's aide, he points out, states the French army was in encampment on July 6 on the "White Plains at Phillipsburg."

On the afternoon of July 8 Washington, he says, reviewed the two armies, and four days later the American general's men were actively engaged constructing a redoubt and two batteries at Dobbs Ferry.

Regarding another inscription which declares: "Here, August 14, 1781, Washington planned the Yorktown campaign," he says:

"As is well known, Washington's headquarters were at Joseph Appleby's house, east of the Saw Mill River and three miles from Dobbs Ferry, which was but an American outpost."

Mr. Raymond does not approve of another inscription which reads: "Here, May 6, 1783, Washington and Sir Guy Carleton arranged for the evacuation of American soil by the British."

He declares that, "aside from the complete lack of testimony to support any such contention, we have the letter of Colonel Richard Varick, dated Poughkeepsie, May 18, 1783, which gives Tappan, Rockland County, as the place of the conference."

He also challenges this inscription: "Opposite this point, May 8, 1783, a British sloop of war first fired seventeen guns in honor of the American Commander-in-chief," and points out that the guns must have been fired from a frigate, instead of a sloop, and on the seventh, instead of the eighth."

A John Howard Payne Gateway

A memorial to John Howard Payne, the author of "Home, Sweet Home," was dedicated during the commencement exercises at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., in June. The memorial, which is in the form of a gateway, stands at the entrance to Library Lane, the most beautiful of the college roadways, and one in which the writer loved to walk during his student days at Union, a little more than a century ago.

Beer Collection Sold

Not many persons in New Orleans, in which city lives William Beer, who has given a great part of his life to the collec-

tion of the 5,000 or more items listed in the collection—manuscripts, maps, a valuable group of early imprints, many examples of early bindings of North and South America and hundreds upon hundreds of volumes selected solely because of their value—know that the collection has left the South.

For the past twenty years Mr. Beer has presided over the big brownstone building at New Orleans founded by the mother of Frank Howard, the New Orleans banker. During the last fourteen years he has been librarian of the New Orleans Public Library in addition to his work at the Howard Memorial.

From his birthplace at Plymouth, England, he went to Newcastle-on-Tyne, where he was graduated from the School of Physical Science, then he studied medicine in Paris, came to the United States and studied mining engineering here from 1886 to 1890; then he became librarian of the Topeka Public Library, and after a short time in Kansas he went to the Howard Memorial as librarian in 1891.

He began at the age of 18 the study of bibliography. Forty years ago he was a collector in a very small way. As he went on with his studies the idea of specializing in Americana gripped him and he took up in earnest the work which has resulted in the William Beer Americana collection which in the last week has been stored in New York.

His Search for Americana

To secure the books, manuscripts and other items he wanted Mr. Beer not only has made many trips to North American cities in search of works dealing with the States, Canada and Central America, but he has also visited South America and Europe many times to get additions to his collection.

Mr. Beer will admit that there are more valuable collections of Americana than his own and collections which have sold for a sum greater than the $250,000 valuation which was placed upon his books.

"The collections at Harvard, at Ann Arbor and a few others," Mr. Beers said not long ago, "were begun, of course, long before I started mine, and these earlier collections there-

fore contain unique items in that none of their like has been on the market during my years. I have made a special effort, however, to compile bibliographies for my own collection so that students who cannot find these unique items in my library can learn from my collection where to place their hands on anything that has to do with Americana which they may want to look up."

The cataloguing of the collection will take up many weeks. A force of cataloguers already has been engaged. Among the valuable works that stand out in the collection is Viscount Kingsborough's "The Antiques of Mexico," one of the first twelve copies of this monumental work printed and engraved. Despite Allibone's assertion in 1858 that the last volume of this work was never completed, the Beer Kingsborough contains the work in its entirety. Mr. Beer in selling his collection expressed the wish that his Americana some day would be placed in a public or college library.

HOTEL VICTORIA
CHICAGO

In the heart of wholesale, retail & theatrical district

FIREPROOF CONSTRUCTION

$1.00 and up per day.

Remodeled and refurnished at an expense of over $150,000

OPP. LA SALLE DEPOT
Cor. Clark & Van Buren Sts.

ELMER C. PUFFER
Managing Director

Detroit, Michigan

Hotel Normandie

Congress St., near Woodward Ave.

GEORGE FULWELL, Prop'r

AMERICAN PLAN
$2.50 per day and upwards
EUROPEAN PLAN
$1.00 per day and upwards

150 Rooms, 50 with Bath

Hot and cold running water and telephone in all rooms

Cafe, Restaurant and Buffet in Connection

Prices Moderate

THE WINDERMERE HOTEL

Broad and Locust Streets

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

AMERICAN PLAN $3.00 per day and up
EUROPEAN " $1.00 " " "

Centrally Located
In the Heart of the City.
Convenient To Everything

In the same square with the Bellevue-Stratford

. C. HINKLE, - - Proprietor,

ABINGDON HOTEL and ANNEX

7-9-11 ABINGDON SQUARE
8th Ave., near 12th St.

NEW YORK

This is one of the best located hotels in New York for European travelers.
Every attention and courtesy shown to our patrons.
Equipped with elevator, electric light, steam heated throughout.
New and Fireproof.
Porcelain baths connected with rooms.

Room $1.00 per day and up.
Room and Board $2.00 per day and up.

M. B. Goldberger, Prop.

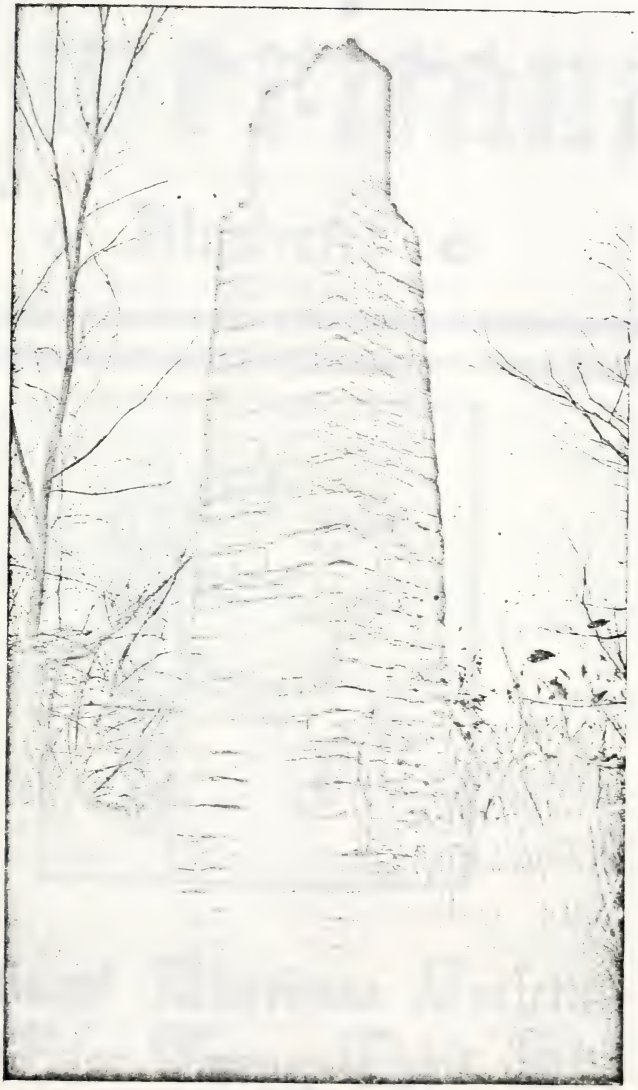
Guests met at any Railroad Station or Steamship Dock upon being advised the time of their arrival.

HOTEL VICTORIA
CHICAGO

Hotel Alexandria
Los Angeles

THE WAYNE HOUSE OF HOTELS
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

HOTEL ADOLPHUS
DALLAS, TEXAS

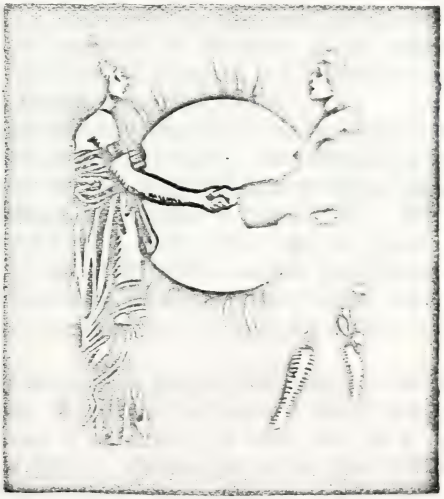


AN OLD CHIMNEY AT MINE LAMOTTE

AUGUST, 1911 No 8

Americana

Illustrated



National Americana Society
154 East Twenty-Third St
New York

AMERICANA

August, 1911

Mine LaMotte, Oldest Lead Mine in America

BY BIRDIE HAILE COLE

TUCKED away in the Ozark hills, on the head waters of the Little St. Francios, in the southeastern part of the State of Missouri, is a lead mine bearing the quaint French name "La Motte."

It is commonly believed that Mine La Motte was discovered by the man whose name it bears. Schoolcraft, an Indian historian who visited this region in 1819 and wrote an account of his travels, is perhaps, responsible for this belief. He says the mines were named for La Motte, who came to Upper Louisiana with Renault in one of Renault's earliest excursions.

At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition a statue was erected to Renault as the discoverer of Mine La Motte, name spelled "La Mothe."

History informs us that in 1723 Renault received a grant for the purpose of working the mines in the Illinois country. From the language of the grant it is clear that the property known as "Mine La Motte" was known at the time of the grant by that name. This plainly shows that the man whose name it bears came before Renault. For mining operations were carried on and settlements of adventurers were in this district before official notice was taken of the fact.

The discovery of Mine La Motte is lost in the twilight of history, but its name it took from La Motte Cordillac. In 1712 Crozat received a grant of land which embraced the territory

that now comprises the State of Missouri. La Motte Cordillac was made Governor of this grant. In 1713 he visited the mines in question and found them being worked. From that time on the mine was known as "Mine La Motte," taking Cordillac's first name in honor of his visit.

The above statement is again verified in the petition which was presented to Congress in 1826 by the Prattes, Valles, Beauvais, and others praying Congress to confirm their claim to the Mine La Motte tract of land, in which it is stated, "That shortly after the first settlement of the part of the province of Upper Louisiana, (under the French Government) included in the limits of the State of Missouri, and so early as the year 1720 it was discovered that a certain tract of country situated about thirty miles southwest of the present village of Ste. Geneveive, in said province, abounded in lead mineral, and in honor of M. de La Motte, the Governor of the country in the year 1713 being the first under the grant of Sieur Anthony Crozat, was called Mine La Motte, by which name it has ever since been known."

In the great struggle between England and France for supremacy in the New World, Mine La Motte played an important part. For as General Braddock accustomed to regular warfare was marching along the banks of the Mononghela with drums beating and colors flying with an army well equipped and moving as on parade, from every side, from thicket, bush and copse, there poured a storm of leaden hail which cut down General Braddock and scattered the British regulars. And the lead which brought such disaster to England, and gave so much encouragement to France was mined and smelted at Mine La Motte.

When the red and white flag of Spain waved over Upper Louisiana, Mine La Motte was the scene of the bloodiest massacre ever perpetrated in this territory. On April 7th, 1774, the Osage Indians, a powerful and warlike tribe, who are represented as "staining the desert with blood," made an attack upon this mining camp and killed seven persons. Joseph Valle, age twenty years, son of Don Francesco Valle was among the slain.

Nature has a strange way of hiding her treasures, but at Mine La Motte she seems to have laid aside her discretion and to have literally poured her gifts at the feet of the savage. DuPratz,

ing the fewest obstacles. Over this road have come men who made history in the old days of the commonwealths. As I travel this road—

"Visions of the days departed, shadowy phantoms fill my brain;
They who live in history only, seem to walk this road again."

The Indian warrior and his dusky mate, the haughty Spaniard and the proud Frenchman carrying with them enough of the pomp and glitter of the Old World to awe the savage and awaken in him an admiration akin to worship. The buckskin-clad traders, trappers and hunters. And moving with stately tread, I see the blacked-robed priest, who came so early to tell the people of Jesus and Mary.

1851 to 1861 were years of litigation between Fleming and Valle. Fleming was from Philadelphia and had bought at partition sale. Little mining was done during the fight over the title.

By the time the case was getting out of the courts war broke out between the states. Then came the Federal troops and burned and tore down the works. The ore was so easily mined and so readily reduced, and the mines so favorably situated as to give aid and ammunition to the Confederates.

Mr. Fleming who owned and operated the mines for a number of years still lives in the hearts of the old miners. The impression made upon all was that of a good man. And upon one at least was that of reverential love. The strange tenderness in his voice and the involuntary touch of his hat at the mention of Mr. Fleming's name, showed the personal impression left after the long years.

Mine La Motte is now only a shadow of its former self, though mining is still carried on there very successfully on a small scale. In the absorbing interest aroused by the enormous plants of the St. Francios County Lead Belt, Mine La Motte has almost been forgotten. But she has a wealth of history to which the other mines must yield the palm. For not even age can bestow upon them the dignity which belongs to Mine La Motte—the oldest lead mines in America.

The Indians smelted the ore in log-heaps fluxed with lime-stone and iron. Numerous places have been found around Mine La Motte where ore has been found as the result of such smelting. Pieces of lead found in this way are called by the old miners "wild ashes." One piece found at Mine La Motte weighed eighty pounds.

The chimney given in the cut stands, grim and silent, on one of the hills near the mines. It is six feet square at the base and forty feet high. Thirty feet of lime-stone and ten feet of bricks. Part of the bricks have fallen away and nature has tried to hide the breach by a profusion of beautiful vines. Large trees have grown in the excavation at the side made to receive the melted ore. It is so old that no one can tell by whom it was built or when it was used. A man who has lived in Mine La Motte for sixty-two years said he had never known any one who knew anything of its history.

In another part of the county a sand-stone enclosure was recently discovered in the woods which had evidently been used to smelt lead in a very primitive fashion.

There was a belief among the old miners that mineral was not found deeper than fifty feet, therefore, no effort was made to sink a shaft until 1844. After the surface mineral was used up they mined by "offsetting," which is simply removing the earth down to the strata of mineral. The ore was drilled and pounded by hand and washed at the little stream that meanders through the town. These primitive methods were continued until 1868.

Carbonate of lead was not known to be ore of lead until in the thirties. It was called "dry bone" and rejected as worthless. In 1838 a Russian named Hagan came to Mine La Motte, entered into an agreement with the Valles, bought up a lot of dry bone and smelted it. It proved to be very profitable and in the following thirteen years 19,000,000 pounds were produced.

That the mineral products of Mine La Motte were known and valued by the Indians long before the coming of the white man is evidenced by the conveying of all trails at that point.

The trails lead north, south, southwest and east. The one from the east later developed into a road and is the oldest wagon road in Missouri. It follows a natural route, one afford-

who hunted with the Indians on the head waters of the Little St. Francios as early as 1750, in speaking of Mine La Motte says: "This lead mine is so rich as to vegetate or shoot a foot and a half out of the earth." And in speaking of this region he relates the following incident: "One day I heard the signal call to my right. I instantly flew thither, and when I came the scout showed me a stump sticking out of the earth knee high, and nine inches in diameter. The Indians took it at a distance for a stump of a tree, and were surprised to find wood cut in a country which appeared never to have been frequented; but when I came near enough to form a judgment about it, I was highly pleased at the discovery, which was that of lead ore."

Philip Renault, a native of France, was a man of fortune and enterprise, and a stockholder in the "Royal Company of the Indies." Under the patronage of this company, another association called the "Company of St. Philippi" was organized to prosecute mining in Upper Louisiana. And Renault representing this company, sailed from France with two hundred miners and laborers, and everything needful to carry on mining operations—even the bricks for his furnace was made in Paris with his name on them. On his way to America he stopped at San Domingo, then a French colony, where he purchased five hundred negroes to work the mines. These were the first negroes ever brought to Missouri. Arriving at the mouth of the Mississippi he ascended the river in canoes to Kaskaskia, thence over the well worn trail, made by the foot of the red man, to Mine La Motte. The mines being very rich at this time, Renault must have taken out much mineral and made large quantities of lead.

The lead instead of being made into "pigs" was moulded in the shape of a collar and hung around the horse's neck. In this manner it was carried to points on the Mississippi, and what was not used in this country was sent down the river on flat-boats, and thence shipped to France. Lead moulded in this way has been found on the ancient road leading from Mine La Motte to the Mississippi. At a later period it was carried on two-wheeled French carts called "charrettes." This method was continued up to the building of the Belmount Branch of the Iron Mountain railroad.

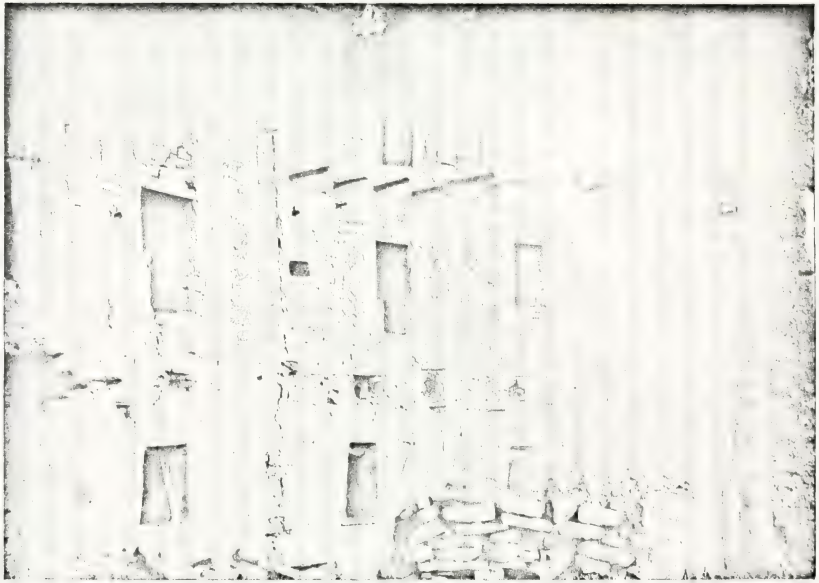
Cave and Cliff-Dwellings of the Southwest

BY KATHERINE SUMNER

THE mile after mile of rolling valleys, level mesas and desert wastes strewn with ruined mounds, have their antithesis in rugged bluffs and precipitous canons studded with cave and cliff-dwellings. Soft sandstone outcroppings, lying between harder rock strata, extend along the face of the bluffs and canons of the southwest, forming a gray-white line which may be traced as far as the eye can reach. In many places weathering agencies have worn away the softer strata and have formed caves where today may be seen hundreds of deserted human habitations of the crudest construction. Evidently an ancient people once took refuge in these heights, and their erstwhile homes are known as cave-dwellings or rock-shelters.

Cave and cliff-dwellings are classed together because their differences, though striking, are doubtless due to the period in which they were built rather than to race conditions. The natural hollows or caves, hidden away in the rocky walls of the canons and adapted by more or less masonry to human occupancy, show the primitive needs of the cliff-dwellers, and the substantial stone structures perched on the high cliffs of the canons and bluffs, show the evolution of the human animal toward creature comforts. Moreover, from a careful comparison with mesa forts and valley pueblos the dwellings located in the caves appear to have been the initial effort of a people forced by circumstances to bar their doors.

Cave-dwellings are, as a rule, much smaller than cliff-dwellings, or any of the ruins seen in the valleys or on the mesas. They remind one of the homes of the swallows, for in their lo-



CLIFF DWELLING SHOWING TWO STYLES OF OPENINGS

cation and construction they are not dissimilar to the nests of that bird. Evidently when the natural concave hollows in the canons and bluffs were not deep enough to shelter a growing family the cells were still further excavated by human hands. Sometimes, too, the front of a cave was walled up with rough masonry, and there are rare examples of plastered rooms. These dwellings are generally, however, simply rock-shelters, with small, natural openings and without plaster or artificial stone work.

Doubtless many cave-dwellings have been passed and repassed by explorers, and their existence is not to this day suspected because of the slight external sign of human handiwork. Within, however, the caves bear unmistakable marks of former occupancy. Blackened heath stones show the position of long continued fires, and the walls are usually discolored by smoke. The floors of the rooms are strewn with charcoal, fragments of pottery, rude implements and weapons of bone and unpolished stone. Mortars and pestles are also seen in the cave-dwellings, and occasionally there is found unbroken pottery vessels which closely resemble those of the valley, mesa and cliff-dwellers. There are no evidences in the caves, however, of the burial of dead, and no rooms which in any degree resemble *estufas*. These facts support one of two theories,—that the cave-dwellings were used as temporary shelters, or that they were occupied prior to, and represent much earlier human conditions than do the other ruins of the Southwest.

Except for their proximity and possible relation to the more important ruins, cave-dwellings are worthy of slight consideration; but an intimate and practical acquaintance with the dwellings of the caves leads to the conviction that the history of their by-gone occupants is necessarily interwoven with that of the people who once inhabited the old pueblos and cliff-houses of the region.

Cliff-dwellings, some boasting only one or two rooms and others veritable castles in size, are seen in the perpendicular crags of some of the most rugged canons of the Southwest, probably the most notable being in the canon of the Rio Mancos and in Canon de Chelly. These picturesque piles of masonry were ap-

parently restricted in size only by the dimensions of the solid rock ledge upon which they were erected, and were shelterd from the wind and weather by mammoth sandstone canopies. The buildings are, however, in perfect harmony with the surroundings and the best preserved ruins of the Southwest.

Owing to the peculiarities of their location and construction cliff-dwellings are comparatively few in number and are scattered over a limited territory. The sites of all seem, however, to have been selected with a view to defense, for they are usually inaccessible from above and exceedingly difficult of approach from below, occupying vaulted and eroded hollows thousands of feet above the bottom of the canons. No attempt has been made to improve the natural advantages of these locations, and there is no visible sign of an effort to enlarge or to diminish, or in the slightest degree to change the native conditions. In only a few cases, indeed, has a cavity served as a room, although there were some tempting sites for such treatment. The rear of a cavern was sometimes used as a back wall of a communal-village, but more often a line of masonry closed off the low part of the cave. Only rarely, moreover, were any expedients employed to make the houses either easier or more difficult of access; but in two or three places there are stone steps, cut in the cliffs, which lead to the dwellings. On the brow, too, of a branch canon of the Mancos, there are the remains of a single wall opposite a cliff-dwelling, where the natural barriers had not afforded sufficient protection against invasion from the mesa.

CIVILIZATION OF THE CLIFF-DWELLERS

Close examination of old cliff-dwelling shows that the builders possessed considerable knowledge of architecture, for the masonry of the many-storied houses consists of roughly dressed stone, nearly uniform in size and laid in overlapping courses. The walls, vertical and thick at the base, gradually diminish in width as they rise, and usually intersect at right angles. No knowledge of the properties of lime, however, seems to have been possessed by the inhabitants of the ruins, although mortar, made of a clay soil rich with peroxide of iron and infusorial shells, is

even now, where not exposed to the elements, almost as hard as rock. Spaces between the building stones were everywhere neatly filled with rock chips and mud cement, for chinking seems to have been an almost universal custom, as well among the cliff-dwellers as among the valley and mesa people.

A certain degree of native genius is evident in the designing of the cliff-dwellings. It was a clever ingenuity that accepted and turned to practical use the natural protection offered by the overhanging rocks. It was, moreover, a cunning skill which adapted the miniature stone cities to fit the rough platforms and ledges, and which imitated so closely in external architecture the aspect of the neighboring rocks that the buildings seem almost a part of nature's handiwork.

The civilization of the inhabitants of the cliffs is more evident than is that of the races that peopled the other ruins of the southwest. In the first place, the pottery, in the making of which industrial skill may be displayed, is superior to that found in any of the other dwelling, both in texture and in ornamentation. The remains of reservoirs, too, for the storage of water, and of dams and ditches for irrigation, as well as the indications in some dwellings of a house water supply derived from small trenches, prove the exercise of considerable sagacity. Bourds and seeds, stored in the cliffs, show that the residents of the canons were provident agriculturists. An artistic ideal, moreover, is displayed in the curious inscriptions which are sometimes found etched or painted on the face of vertical sandstone cliffs, and in the decoration of the interior walls of *estufas*,—structures which were apparently more elaborate, as well as more frequent in the cliffs than in the valleys or on the mesas.

Just why tillers of the soil chose to live in the cliffs will probably never be known. It is equally impossible to tell why the valley and mesa dwellers selected the dry, sandy plains and plateaux rather than the well watered mountain slopes. Still another unsolved problem is the relative age of the ruins. A comparison, however, of walls belonging to cliff dwellings outside of caves, though in a measure protected by them, and of walls of structure in the open, often shows the latter to be higher and better preserved; and if the houses standing today in the cliffs

had been exposed to the elements common to the floors of the rooms, in the refuse heaps near each group of ruins, in the open spaces or inner courts and in the recesses under and between jutting rocks. Sometimes, too, there are grave mounds on the mesas above the cliff-dwellings.

Skeletons are found shrouded in feather cloth, or wrapped in straw or rush matting. They are usually partially mummified, and some bodies have been discovered with hair on the heads and perfect finger nails. A sitting or a crouching position, with the knees drawn up to the chin, seems to have been the approved mode of burial, though there are exceptions to the rule. The skulls, which often have perfect teeth, sometimes show distinct artificial flattening, and in several cases they have been found covered with deer skin caps. In one instance, too, the feet of a mummy were incased in moccasins. The hair is usually a coarse black, but there have ben found a few examples of blond locks, and even of red mixed with white, which have given rise to contradictory surmises. It is generally believed, however, that the inhabitants of the old ruins of a dark race, and that the blonds were albinos. The dead here, as in other parts of the Southwest, seem generally to have been furnished with comfortable resting places, and to have been provided with the necessities of life, in the way of food, drink and weapons of defense.

Relics taken from the graves and storage cists of the cliff-dwellings, though much more numerous and varied, are nevertheless, similar to those found in the valley and mesa ruins; and to all intents and purposes they might have been made by the same hands. Although it has been asserted that the pottery manufactured by the cliff-dwellers is flat bottomed, and that of the valley and mesa people is rounded and indented at the base, the facts do not support this statement, for both varieties have been taken from the cliff-dwellings. Hundreds of round straw mats, made of coarse grass and blackened by soot, have also been picked up in the cliffs. These mats were evidently used under oval-bottomed vessels, and some of them were apparently worn upon the heads of water-carriers.

Among the articles found in the cliff ruins are stone and bone implements, large pieces of flint, moccasins and pouches made



AN ANCIENT CLIFF DWELLER

of the hide of deer and mounted sheep, baskets and straw matting, feather cloth and cord, milkweed and yucca fibre twine and rope, bone needles, firesticks, cotton cloth, perforated shells, bundles of reeds and balls of salt wrapped in corn husks. Pottery, maize meal, seeds, gourds and pumpkin shells, too, have been taken from the graves and storage cists. The cliff-dwellers, however, knew nothing of the potters' wheel or of the use of any of the metals, although pieces of curiously woven cloth, foreign nut shells and salt indicate communication with the inhabitants of the west and south.

The Little Wars of the Republic

BY JOHN R. MEADER

Part XII. Some Negro Insurrections

UP TO the time when slavery disappeared in this country, fears of negro uprisings always existed, to some degree at least, in the slave-holding states. Again and again the possibility of such insurrections was considered more or less seriously and plans were made to guard against them, for there were many who felt that, were a genuine leader to appear among the blacks, it would not be easy, in view of their peculiarly emotional temperament, to hold them in check.

Studied retrospectively from the viewpoint of the twentieth century, and with the records of history to aid in making the analysis of the conditions that existed in the South some hundred years ago, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the fears of the people of that time were largely groundless. Certainly on two occasions at least, the natural leader—the much talked of Moses—put in his appearance, and while both of these inciters to rebellion succeeded in working their followers up to the pitch of excitement necessary for open insurrection, their inability to maintain the spirit of independence that they had awakened proved conclusively that the slave population was not the right sort of material with which to conduct serious warfare. It was the same story in each uprising. The blacks were brave enough—and brutal enough—until they were brought face to face with serious opposition, but the moment they found that the whites had rallied and were on the defensive their courage disappeared and they fled in all directions.

That the slaves in many instances, and many places, may have

had good excuse for an uprising, our knowledge of conditions existing in those days leaves little reason for doubt. Strangely enough, however, not more than one of the three conspicuous insurrections was due to retaliation for personal abuses, and it is not entirely certain that there was the slightest ground, even for this outbreak, and this opinion is somewhat supported by the fact that in both instances in which the record of causes and events is anything like complete, the trouble was occasioned, not by any action on the part of the whites, but either by lust and cruelty or a sort of religious frenzy, on the part of the self-appointed leaders of the little revolutions.

The first uprising, now popularly known as "Gabriel's Insurrection," occurred in Virginia during the first year of the nineteenth century. In this case the trouble began on the plantation of Thomas Prosser, not far from Richmond. Among Prosser's slaves was one named Gabriel, a man who was distinguished not only for his intelligence but also for his remarkable influence among the slaves in that section of the country. To his class of people he was a natural leader, the adviser to whom they turned in all emergencies, and while his readiness to defend his position by force had brought him into several conflicts that had left their scars upon his person, nothing in his actions had led the whites to look upon him as a man to be feared, or even watched with anything more than ordinary care.

In 1800 Gabriel was about twenty-four years of age; very tall in stature, and a man who is described as having had "a gloomy, insidious brow," and "a long, stern visage." His particular friend was a negro named Jack—"Jack Bowler," as he was commonly called—a slave who lived on a neighboring plantation. A trifle older than Gabriel—three or four years, perhaps—Jack was a perfect giant, both in size and in strength, being more than 6 feet 5 inches in height and possessed of most unusual muscular power.

Although older and stronger than Gabriel, Jack made no effort to usurp the former's rights of leadership, and willingly granted to him the title of "General Gabriel." From every indication, therefore, it may be assumed that it was Gabriel who furnished the brains for the plot, although Jack was his most

faithful and able lieutenant. With no wrongs to inspire their vengence, other than the fact that they were held in slavery by masters who had never been anything but kind to them, they evolved a most vicious plot in which they interested about a thousand slaves, all in the vicinity of Richmond.

The plan, as outlined by Gabriel and Jack, provided for a night assault upon Richmond, a city which was then poorly guarded after dark. By attacking the city when the people were asleep, they believed that they would be able to kill all white males without much trouble—the women they purposed to divide among the members of the mob. As there was a large store of arms and ammunition at Richmond, their success in gaining possession of the city would give them the means with which to arm the slaves throughout the State, and would enable them to wage their war of extermination to a finish.

Early in the evening, one day in the latter part of August, 1800, a large number of the conspirators assembled in a wood not far from Prosser's plantation, and, an hour or two later, the march toward Richmond began. Though the sun had shone all day, and the early evening had been pleasant, a tremendous summer storm broke soon after the mob had started, the down-pour being so great that the blacks were driven to shelter.

Among the conspirators there was one negro who was not fully in sympathy with Gabriel's movement against the whites, and when the storm burst upon the army in all its fury, he felt that it was a direct act of divine interposition. During the excitement occasioned by the effort to find suitable shelter, therefore, this youth—a boy named Pharoah, owned by William Mosby—made his escape, swam a creek, and, arriving in Richmond just before the citizens had retired, told his story. Without delay, Governor Monroe was notified of the impending danger, with the result that, within an hour, the volunteer companies of militia were called out, and everything was in readiness for the invaders.

As soon as the fury of the storm had somewhat abated, the impatient army of blacks began their march again. A stop was made at Prosser's house, as Gabriel had stipulated that the work of extermination should begin with his master, but, as the latter

had been warned by a negro woman, he made his escape as the mob approached, and, creeping through the woods, hastened to alarm his neighbors.

Firearms being difficult to secure at this period, the negro army had but few guns and little ammunition. The most common weapons were scythe blades and other farm implements, Gabriel having assured his associates that these would be sufficient until such time was they might be able to arm themselves properly. Fortunately the storm not only checked their progress at the beginning of their march, but it also filled the streams to such a degree that it was difficult to ford them, while the last river that they had to cross on the road to Richmond was so badly swollen as to be almost impassable. A few of the more daring plunged in, and several were drowned before their companions could rescue them.

It was while this strange army waited on the banks of the river debating what should be done that the news reached them that their plot had been discovered and that the militia was already on the road preparing to intercept them. No other word was needed. Without waiting to investigate the truth of the rumor, the negroes fled in every direction.

As the names of many of the conspirators were known, measures were taken to arrest them, and, during the next few weeks, a large number were tried before the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Of these, a few were acquitted for want of evidence; those who were found guilty were promptly hanged. Although a reward of $300 was offered for his capture, Gabriel succeeded in keeping out of sight for several weeks, but his hiding place was at last discovered and he was brought to trial and convicted on October 6. A few days later he was executed.

Although the local historians devote considerable space to the negro uprising in Louisiana, in January, 1811, and there is ample evidence in the columns of the public press that the affair was regarded most seriously, anything like complete details of these events are wanting. We are told that the insurrection originated on a plantation in St. John the Baptist parish, situated on the banks of the Mississippi, some thirty-six miles above New Orleans. From there the revolt among the slaves extended to

the neighboring plantations, though what the cause, or fancied cause, of the trouble may have been is information that has been carefully omitted by the historians.

Once the revolt started, however, it quickly gained ground, and before the conspirators had marched more than a mile or two, they numbered fully five hundred. To give a more military aspect to the affair, flags were borne and the blacks marched to the music of the drum and the fife.

It is not known today just what the negroes intended to do. They started toward New Orleans, and, early in their march, set fire to five plantations, but whether they proposed to exterminate all the whites en route to New Orleans and then capture the city, no authority seems to be able to say. We do know, however, that the uprising, quickly as it was suppressed, caused consternation among the whites. When warned that the blacks were approaching, the planters fled with their families to a place of safety, leaving their homes and other property to the anything but tender mercies of the mob.

The one notable exception to this rule was a planter named Trepagnier, for, once he had removed his wife and children from the danger zone, he returned and single-handed faced the rioters. Gayarré relates the incident as follows in his "History of Louisiana:"

"Having provided himself with several fowling-pieces which he loaded with buckshot, and having taken his stand on a high circular gallery which belted his house, and from which he could see at a distance, he awaited calmly the coming of his foes. In a short time Bacchanalian shouts announced their approach, and they tumultuously made their appearance at the front gate which led to the planter's residence. But, at the sight of the double-barreled gun which was leveled at them, and which they knew to be in the hands of a most expert shot, they wavered, and lacking self-sacrificing devotion to accomplish their ends, finally passed on, after having vented their disappointment and wrath in fearful shrieks and demoniacal gesticulations. Shaking at the planter their fists, and whatever weapons they had, they swore soon to come back for the purpose of cutting his throat.

They were about five hundred and one single man, well armed, kept them at bay."

In view of the fact that it was this sort of spirit that they displayed when confronted by Trepagnier's shot-gun, it is not surprising that they were so easily vanquished. News of the uprising, of course, spread quickly, and it was not many hours before help started toward the whites from two different directions. From Baton Rogue, Major Milton set out at the head of the regular troops stationed there, while General Hampton, heading the forces from Fort St. Charles and the New Orleans' barracks, hurried north.

With so many well-trained and well-armed men, it was an easy matter to surround the blacks. Sixty-six of the rioters were either killed on the spot, or were executed immediately after the battle. Sixteen prisoners were sent to New Orleans for trial, and all were finally hanged. All who could escape, including many of the wounded blacks, fled to the swamps, where scores died. According to Martin's "History of Louisiana," the bodies of the dead were decapitated, and the heads, fixed on high poles, were left along the banks of the river as a warning to possibly rebellious slaves.

Nat Turner, who succeeded in terrorizing the white residents of Virginia and part of North Carolina twenty years later, was a religious fanatic, and the war that was waged for two or three days under his direction was unquestionably the effect of a disturbed brain. Personally, Turner was feeble in body, but he had a shrewd and alert mind that caused him to be greatly respected by the negroes, both as a preacher and a prophet. Several of his predictions were realized at various times, and when, during the early part of August, 1831, the sun assumed a most singular appearance, the frightened slaves called upon Turner to explain the phenomenon.

Although assured by the whites, with whom he consulted, that the disturbances were due to natural causes, the prophet saw too good an opportunity to gain control of the minds of his fellows to make him wish to quiet their superstitious fears. Instead, he prepared papers, written apparently in blood, in which a series of mystic symbols—figures of the sun, the crucifix, and

unintelligible combinations of numbers—were interspersed with practically meaningless words. Though evidently the reflection of a disordered mind, his interpretation of the mysterious writings took powerful hold upon the slaves, and when Turner visited several counties in the two states, he found it a simple matter to enlist the negroes in any plan that he suggested.

It has been stated that Turner planned a general insurrection, and that his scheme was defeated only through a mistake as to the date of meeting. Whether true or not, it is apparent that the preacher had some such idea in mind, for late on the night of Sunday, August 21, he met some twenty followers in the woods near Southampton, and proceeded to the home of his master, Joseph Travis. As the family had long been asleep, no difficulty was found in entering the house by means of a ladder.

It had been agreed that Turner should shed the first blood, so, armed with a hatchet, he led the blacks to the room in which the white man slept. Travis did not awake until the first blow was struck, but, as the hatchet glanced, the wounded man sprang from his bed, shouting for help. At this, another negro—a man named Will—instantly struck him dead with an axe, and the wife and children, even to the infant in the cradle, quickly met the same fate.

After rifling the house of all valuables, and taking Travis's arms and ammunition, the murderers proceeded with their work of indiscriminate murder. Breaking into the house of Levi Waller, they soon murdered him, as well as his wife and ten children. Near the place there was a school attended by girls, and all, with one exception—a twelve-year-old girl who escaped and who was found hiding behind a hedge—were killed. Whenever they passed a barn, they stole the horses; wherever they found valuable property, they took it, so that, while their numbers increased greatly—for they found many slaves quite ready to join them—all were well armed and mounted.

Naturally, the news that the negroes had revolted spread rapidly, and terror reigned throughout several counties. When the band of blacks galloped up to the home of a woman named Mrs. Vaughan, she was so paralyzed with fear that she made no effort to escape, although she had watched their approach for

some distance. She, with several members of her family, were killed at once, one daughter, a high-spirited and extremely beautiful girl, who had attempted to escape and give the alarm, was shot in the door yard.

After several other butcheries had been committed, and the armed force had been materially augmented, Turner felt that they were strong enough to attack the neighboring county seat, the town of Jerusalem. A few miles from this place they were confronted by a body of white men armed with guns loaded with small bird shot, but, at the first discharge the negroes turned and fled to the swamps.

Not discouraged by their ignominious rout, however, the blacks collected their scattered forces, and, the next day, attacked the home of Dr. Blount. Here they met with determined opposition, for the doctor, as well as his fifteen-year-old son Simon, who later distinguished himself in the United States Navy, and another white man, were armed with muskets. When the negroes were within twenty yards of the house, the three opened fire, with the result that one negro was killed and another fatally wounded. The rest ran away.

This was the last serious attack that Turner's army made, for, by this time, the people were not only preparing to exterminate the butchers, but, the news of the insurrection reaching Norfolk, Commodore Warington immediately took charge of affairs, and troops and marines were despatched with all speed to the scene of the revolt. By the time they arrived the citizens, aided by the local militia, and headed by General Eppes, had the situation well under control, although another week passed before peace was thoroughly restored.

In the meantime the blacks were hunted through the swamps like beasts of prey. When a negro was caught, there was a summary execution, which was generally followed by immediate decapitation, and there is no doubt but that, in the excited state of the public mind, some innocent negroes suffered with the guilty. Later, reason prevailed once more, and the members of the mob who were captured were taken to Jerusalem for regular trial, and later were executed. Turner himself hid for weeks under a pile of fence rails, but he was at last discovered, and

after a fair trial, during which he admitted that his master had always been kind to him, he was hanged, on November 11. The victims of his inhuman fanaticism numbered fifty-five, chiefly women and children. The one redeeming feature of the horrible affair was that Turner had stipulated that there should be no violation of the women, and this order was carried out to the letter, a fact which, remembering the brutal passions of the negroes, is worthy of remembrance.

Nathan Hale, Yale's Martyr Patriot

BY JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY, A. M., LL.B.

HISTORIAN EMPIRE STATE SOCIETY, SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE full meed of honor has never been paid to Nathan Hale, one of America's foremost patriots, a trusted friend of Washington and a martyr to liberty in the most critical crisis of the Nation's History. Even his Alma Mater, Yale, from which he graduated with marked distinction, has failed utterly to honor the memory of this patriot, and it is hoped that even this meagre sketch will aid in advancing the efforts now being made by certain faithful alumni and friends of Yale to present to the University a statue of Hale in bronze, taken from the beautiful plaster cast by the eminent sculptor, Wm. Ordway Partridge.

Nathan Hale died what men call a shameful death, yet he was in truth the Lycidas of our heroic dead. So simple, manly and so conspicuous for high moral courage was his character. 'Tis indeed most fitting his Alma Mater should even at this late hour recall the lesson of his martyrdom and fulfill the prophecy of one of her well loved poets, Francis Miles Finch:

"Neath the blue morn, the sunny morn,
He dies upon the tree;
And he mourns that he can lose
But one life for Liberty;
And in the blue morn, the sunny morn,
His spent wings are free.

"But his last words, his message words,
They burn, lest friendly eye
Should read how proud and calm
A patriot could die.
With his last words, his dying words,
A soldier's battle-cry.

"'From fame-leaf and angel-leaf,
From monument and urn,
The sad of earth, the glad of heaven,
His tragic fate shall learn;
And on fame-leaf and angel-leaf
The name of Hale shall burn.'

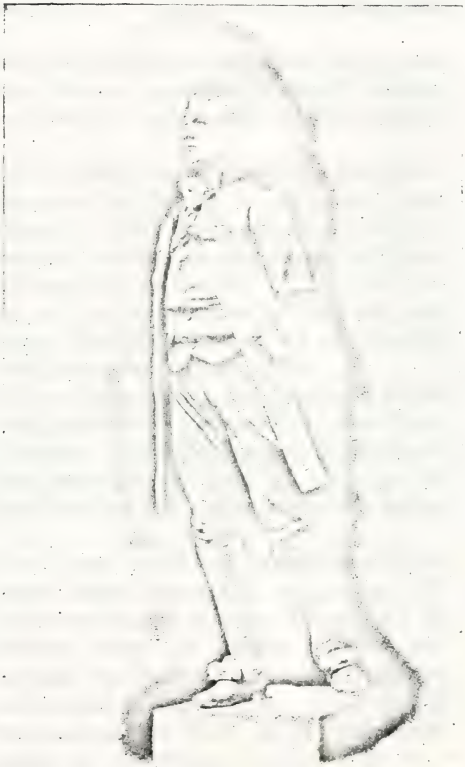
Looking over the excellent life of Nathan Hale by William Ordway Partridge we note that he was born of good substantial stock, and that his mother had artistic and literary inclinations which afterwards became brilliantly manifest in the son's all too short life. He entered Yale at 16 and in college was an all round man, an ideal character physically, mentally and spiritually. He was a prominent athlete, one of Linonia's famous debators and possessed a grace and charm which attached all people to him.

One of his classmates was Col. Benjamin Tallmadge who had charge of Andre during his imprisonment, and another was Generel Hull, one of the charter members of the Society of the Cincinnati.

He graduated at 18, and was a schoolmaster at East Haddam and New London, Conn. And as one of his pupils said: "His manners were engaging and genteel and his scholars all loved him, and yet while not severe there was something determined in the man which gave him a control over the boys that was remarkable."

He was about 6 feet in height with broad chest and graceful figure, features regular and face marked with intelligence and strength. His eyes were blue, his hair brown and his expression was serious.

His father having married again brought into the family a step daughter, Alice Adams, to whom Hale became strongly at-



YALE'S MARTYR PATRIOT

Born at Coventry, Conn , June 6, 1755, executed as a spy by order of Sir. Wm. Howe, Sept. 22, 1776



tached, but the father opposed their marrying and, under his order, Alice was given over to Elijah Ripley, a merchant, and thus naturally Hale's face expressed the sorrow and disappointment he had sustained at the very threshold of his young manhood.

When New London heard of the fight at Lexington, Hale made an impassioned speech in favor of marching at once to Boston, saying, "Let us not lay down our arms until we have gained independence."

He was soon made an officer and was active in the defense of New London against the attack of British warships, and when on Sept. 24, 1775, Washington called the Connecticut troops to Boston he went with them and was introduce by Jonathan Trumbull to Washington. Thereafter to the day of his death he possessed the confidence of the Commander-in-Chief and was as being idolized by his men whom he paid from his own pockets when they were ill fed and mutinous.

By this time his early love, Alice Ripley, had become a widow with one child, and it was understood she and Hale were to be married at the close of the war. Until his death correspondence was kept up between them, and while she lived to a great age she remained true to her first love, her last wandering words being: "Write to Nathan."

After the fatal battle of Long Island and Washington found himself and his small army fenced about with the greatest difficulties he realized a spy must be sent, to learn the enemy's intentions. Colonel Knowlton called his officers together and asked for a volunteer to enter the British lines, stipulating that he must be one who understood military plans. Hale was ill and arrived late at the meeting, but when no one responded to the impasisoned appeals of Knowlton, Captain Hale in a cheerful, determined voice said, "I will undertake it," and, in spite of the advice of his faithful friend and classmate, John Hull, and his fellow officers, he called upon Washington, received his instructions and accompanied by Sergeant Hempstead and Asher Wright of his own company, on that memorable eve, Sept. 15, 1776, started on his fateful expedition. Clothed in the garb of a schoolmaster, and taking with him his

college diploma as proof of the character, he succeeded in passing through the entire British army, as is shown by the drawings found, at his capture, in his shoes, and the Latin notes as to the strength of the British, which notes so astonished Gen. Howe when spread before him.

After two weeks' stay within the enemy's lines he started on his return, but while in the tavern kept by widow Chichester, near Huntington, Long Island, becoming somewhat animated and over-confident in his speech, he was recognized by some Tory who, it is said, was a family connection of his. It was he who betrayed him. On Hale's mistaking an approaching boat as the one which was to carry him to his own camp, he was met at the shore by levelled muskets and, being obliged to surrender, was taken on board the guard ship Halifax and so to Howe's headquarters. So impressed was Howe with Hale's personality and the accuracy of his work that he offered him a full pardon if he would enter the British Army, but Hale refused every bribe, and though Howe was unwilling to execute Hale, as was Washington to sign the death warrant of Major Andre, yet he sent the order to his brutal Provost-Marshal William Cunningham, and, after a night spent in prayers and in writing letters, at daybreak on September 22, Hale was hung like a common felon. So passed out of this life one of the bravest and youngest of all those heroes who died that this country might be free.

As Mr. Partridge has well said, "the names of Achilles and Hector, pale before the simple self-sacrifice of the Xian hero Hale."

Mr. E. Gibbs, at one time Librarian of the New York Historical Society, some 30 years ago, wrote the following as an appropriate epitaph to Hale:

"Stranger beneath this stone
Lies the dust of a Spy
Who perished upon the Gibbet yet,
The Storied Marbles of the Great
The Shrines of Heroes,
Entombed not one more Worthy of Honor,
Than him who here
Sleeps his last sleep.

Nations
Bow with Reverence before the Dust
Of him who dies
A glorious death
Urged on by the Sound of the Trumpet
And the shouts of
Admiring thousands.

But what Reverence, what honor
Is not due to one
Who for his country encountered
Even an infamous death
Soothed by no sympathy
Animated by no praise."

In the now completed statue in plaster, on view in Mr. Wm. Ordway Partridge's studio, 15 West 38th Street, the sculptor has rightly represented Hale on his way to execution, moving forward to his fate, not as the cowed prisoner, but ready, courageous and serene, having no appearance of self-consciousness in the calm, noble, uplifted countenance on which is stamped the majesty of willing self-sacrifice for his country's freedom. It is to be noted that the sculptor has been careful to portray his ideal in the costume and with the bearing which history fully justifies.

The dress is the simple costume of a schoolmaster of the time which he had assumed as a disguise. He was a gentleman by instinct, heredity and education, yet the sculptor has wisely avoided in his design the extreme of either the costume of a court gentleman of the period or on the other hand the uncouth garb of the country yeomanry.

The spot where Hale was buried is unknown, but it is supposed to be near to the place of his execution, which was, according to the most reliable records, in the grounds of the old Beekman House, on Beekman Hill, on First Avenue, between 51st and 52nd Streets, known in 1776 as Military Park, the house being then the headquarters of Generals Howe, Clinton and Carlton. Strange to say this, too, is where Andre received his final in-

structions before going up to the Hudson to meet Arnold. On this spot there is now a public school building.

The pathetic mystery of the location of Hale's burial place is beautifully portrayed in the following lines: "

"Somewhere beneath the thundering city's pave;
Somewhere in the vast spaces beyond Time,
A fame sublime;
And that is all we watchers here below
May dream or know
Of him the tranquil and intrepid soul."

It may be that some of the members of the patriotic societies of the Sons and the Daughters of the Revolution, and of the American Revolution, will join together in an effort to discover where the remains of Nathan Hale rest, and when found, take measures to have the same properly marked by an appropriate memorial. In the movement of the Yale Alumni both Mr. Charles T. Catlin of '56, and Mr. Peter Flint of '80, have been most active, and the former, whose letter here follows, has been early and late an earnest and eloquent advocate of the cause.

A school boy for years under the shadow of the grand old elms of New Haven with three brothers in Yale, and my father an alumnus of 1826, very naturally I learned to love and reverence her noble teachers and her inspiring history, and now in my life's afternoon I have deemed it a privilege to have been able to have written often and with living enthusiasm on the subject of Yale's Martyr Patriot, Nathan Hale.

Following is the Letter from Charles T. Catlin, Yale, '56

My Dear Mr. Pumpelly:—I rejoice to know that through the columns of the Americana the general public is to be enlightened and inspired, respecting the noble character and career of Nathan Hale, and the sublime act of self-sacrifice that made him forever foremost among the martyrs in the Cause of American Liberty. . . . You have asked me to say something of the Yale movement to honor his memory by a statue.

I gladly respond with the following statement: The undertaking began in 1898; Mr. Wm. Ordway Partridge being selected as the sculptor after a long and critical study of his models by the Alumni interested. From the beginning it has been an undertaking by Alumni and friends of Yale, and is intended as a gift from them to the University. It is to be the offering of honest, devoted, patriotic, loyal, unselfish sons and friends of the University, in recognition of a long and sadly deferred memorial obligation, and in token of Yale's unfailing love, remembrance and honor for those who have honored *her*.

Subscriptions amounting to nearly one-fifth of the cost of the statue, (total cost to be $20,000), are already registered, and devoted friends are striving to secure the rest. A special appeal to the corporation of Yale to take action in approval of the statue was made June 19 of the present year, (it was formally "offered" in *1908*), and that body has voted to make the matter a "special order" for their meeting, September 18.

As an Alumnus who has served the memorial cause of Hale for thirteen faithful years, I join with you, sir, whose honored family association with Yale* has enriched you with the true fervor of her spirit,—in trusting that this meeting in September will set Yale right, and bring, at last, due honor to the name of Nathan Hale.

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES T. CATLIN, YALE, '56,
Chairman Exec. Committee Alumni Hale Statue.

*As Mr. Catlin refers to my association with Yale, I would say that my father was a graduate from there in 1826 and a most devoted alumnus. I had also three brothers at Yale. Also I myself was for years a schoolboy up on Hillhouse avenue, near dear Prof. Silliman's home in New Haven, and there I learned to so love beautiful "Old Yale" and revere her inspiring history that now in my life's afternoon, I deem it a privilege to have been able to have paid this my humble tribute to the memory of Yale's Martyr Patriot of the Revolution, Nathan Hale.

JOSIAH C. PUMPELLY.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LII

Aftermath of the Carthage Tragedy. Trial and Acquittal of Those Charged With the Crime

IT is a strong portrayal of conditions existing in Hancock county on the morning of the 28th of June, 1844, that Mr. Gregg gives; and one which forever must vindicate the Latter-day Saints of Nauvoo as a law-abiding, peace-loving, unfanatical community. These are his words:

"The sun rose on as strange a scene as the broad Hancock prairies had ever witnessed. At the three corners of a triangle eighteen miles assunder, stood a smitten city (Nauvoo) and two almost deserted villages, (Warsaw and Carthage)with here and there a group of questioning men, anxious to hear the news of the night. Toward the two villages the more courageous ones were returning to find their several abodes unsacked and untouched. The wet and heavy roads leading to the county seat from the South and East were being traversed by the refugees of the night, now returning and wondering that they had homes to return to. All knew that a great crime had been committed, by whom they knew not; and they knew not how, upon whom, where, or in what manner retribution might fall."[1]

The marvel of that morning was—as it has been the marvel ever since, and will be in all the generations to come—that the

1. "History of Hancock County," Gregg, p. 323.

"Mormons" at Nauvoo did not wreak vengeance upon the inhabitants of Carthage and Warsaw at least, if not upon all the people of Hancock county, as being involved in the responsibility, as the Saints might well believe,[2] for the murder of their Prophet and Patriarch. The means of vengeance at their command was ample. There was in Nauvoo a body of the best trained militia in the state of Illinois or in the United States, numbering about four thousand men.[3] And though the state arms had been surrendered by them a few days before, like all people in the Western states of those days—and all the more so because of their late experiences in Missouri—the people of Nauvoo were well armed,[4] and could have swept Hancock county as with a besom of destruction. This, to their everlasting credit, they did not do; but were true to their pledged word to Governor Ford, and to the instructions of their Prophet.[5]

Willard Richards was the only one who had escaped death or wounding in that awful assault upon the prison. John Taylor was struck by four bullets,[6] but he survived and finally succeeded Brigham Young in the Presidency of the Church. By the aid of the few people who remained at Carthage—for most of them had fled in terror—the bodies of the Brothers Smith were removed

2. The expression may seem harsh, but the facts warrant it; for though granting that some there were among the non-Mormon population of Hancock county, who, while anti-Mormon at heart, refused to countenance any but lawful measures "for redress of grievances" (Hist. Hancock County, Gregg, p. 320), yet they were so far apathetic that they took no positive stand in favor of law and order; and notwithstanding their "conservatism." they allowed mob lawlessness to assert itself and reap its harvests.

3. Bancroft's Hist. of Utah.

4. The truth of the statement is demonstrated by the fact that when Captain Singleton, on the morning of the 27th of June, called out the Legion within the city limits for review, about two-thirds of the Legion assembled, "nearly all of whom were well armed, although all the state arms had been taken away; which fact caused Captain Singleton and his company to express their astonishment. The Captain made a remark to the effect that it would not do to come against such a force as this." (Church Historians' Compilation from Journals of Richards and Woodruff *et al., Mill. Star,* vol. XXIV, pp. 599, 600.) Singleton had been sent to Nauvoo by Governor Ford with about sixty militiamen to take charge of the city, lest a mob should attack it after learning that the Legion had given up the state arms. See also Governor Ford's message to Illinois Legislature Dec. 17, 1844. It is published *in extenso* in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Jan. 1, 1845.

5. See chapter LI, this History.

6. One midway of the left thigh; another a little below the left knee, it was never extracted; another tore away the flesh to the size of a man's hand from his left hip and spattered the wall with the blood and mangled fragments; another entered the fore part of the left arm, a little above the wrist, and, passing down the joint, lodged in the palm of the hand. ("Life of John Taylor," 1892, p. 139.)

to the Hamilton Hotel, as also Elder Taylor. Here a consultation between the two survivors was held and the following announcement made of the tragedy to the Saints at Nauvoo:

CARTHAGE JAIL.

8 O'clock 5 min. P. M. June 27.

Joseph and Hyrum are dead. Taylor wounded, not badly. I am well. Our guard was forced as we believe, by a band of Missourians from 100 to 200. The job was done in an instant, and the party fled towards Nauvoo instantly. This is as I believe it. The citizens here are afraid of the Mormons attacking them; I promise them no.

W. RICHARDS.

N. B.—The citizens promise us protection. Alarm guns have been fired.[7]

JOHN TAYLOR.

This note was addressed to Gov. Ford, supposed to be in Nauvoo; Gen. Dunham, Col. Markham; or Emma Smith; in the hope that one or the other of these persons would be readily found at Nauvoo. It was not easy to find a messenger. The note was first entrusted to two men of the name of John and William Barnes; but these being afraid to go to Nauvoo carried it to Arza Adams, living about two miles north of Carthage, who, piloted by Benjamin Leyland over a blind road—for they feared to travel the main one—arrived in Nauvoo a little after sun-rise. Varying reports of the tragedy had preceded them, and a dozen men were discussing the rumored event when Adams delivered the official announcement from Richards and Taylor.

The evening before, George D. Grant, whose home was about a mile and a half east of Carthage, and constable David Bettisworth, had arrived within three miles of Nauvoo with the news of the death of the Brothers Smith, when they met Governor Ford and his escort *en route* for Carthage. The Governor, fear-

7. It is alleged that these alarm guns—cannons—were the signal agreed upon to announce the death of the prisoners. Upon hearing a cannon fired a merchant of Warsaw rode direct to Quincy and reported that Joseph and Hyrum Smith and those who were with them in jail were killed; that they were attempting to break jail and were all killed by the guard. It is also charged that hearing a cannon fired was what hastened Ford's departure from Nauvoo. "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith," by John Taylor, published in Tyler's "Mormon Battalion," Introduction, pp. 58, 59. "The Martyrdom" is also published in Burton's "City of the Saints," Appendix III. Littlefield also alludes to the signal cannon as above. ("The Martyrs," p. 90.)

ing the immediate vengence of the citizens of Nauvoo upon the other inhabitants of Hancock county, compelled these men to return with him to Carthage where he held them until the county records and other public documents were removed from the court house, and the people of Carthage given a chance to flee for their lives. As soon as released Grant again rode to Nauvoo with the sad intelligence of the murder, and most probably was the bearer of a second note from Richards and Taylor, and Samuel H. Smith,[8] a brother of the martyrs; and also an order from Governor Ford suggesting self defence on the part of the citizens, and a word of caution and assurance from their friend General Miner R. Deming, all of which follow:

12 o'clock at night, 27th of June,
Carthage, Hamilton's Tavern.

To Mrs. Emma Smith and Major-Gen. Dunham, &c.

The Governor has just arrived; says all things shall be inquired into, and all right measures taken.

I say to all the citizens of Nauvoo, my brethren, be still, and know that God reigns. Don't rush out of the city—don't rush to Carthage—stay at home, and be prepared for an attack from Missouri mobbers. The Governor will render every assistance possible—has sent out orders for troops. Joseph and Hyrum are dead. We will prepare to move the bodies as soon as possible.

The people of the county are greatly excited, and fear the "Mormons" will come out and take vengeance. I have pledged my word the "Mormons" will stay at home as soon as they are informed, and no violence will be on their part, and say to my brethren in Nauvoo, in the name of the Lord, be still, be patient; only let such friends as choose come here to see the bodies. Mr. Taylor's wounds are dressed, and not serious. I am sound.

WILLARD RICHARDS,
JOHN TAYLOR,
SAMUEL H. SMITH."

"Defend yourselves until protection can be furnished necessary. June 27th, 1844.

Signed, THOMAS FORD,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief."

8. In the life of John Taylor (p. 145) it is erroneously stated that Grant was the bearer of the first Richard-Taylor note making official announcement of the death of the Prophets. But he doubtless was the bearer of the second note given in the text above.

"*Mr. Orson Spencer.*

DEAR SIR:—Please deliberate on this matter—prudence may obviate material destruction. I was at my residence when this horrible crime was committed. It will be condemned by three-fourths of the citizens of the county. Be quiet, or you will be attacked from Missouri."

M. R. DEMING."[9]

Governor Ford, having written the above message and given assurances to Elders Taylor and Richards that the murder of the Brothers Smith should be investigated, and expressing his sense of responsibility in the matter, rode out to the public square of Carthage and advised all present to disperse, as he expected the Mormons to come and take summary vengeance upon the people of Carthage. Upon this announcement the people fled in every direction; and the Governor himself made a hasty march to Quincy.

On the day following the martyrdom the bodies of the Brothers Smith were taken to Nauvoo, where they were met by a sorrow-smitten throng of several thousand people on Mullholland Street, about a mile east of the Temple. Headed by the City Council, Major General Jonathan Dunham and staff, and other officers of the Legion. The procession moved slowly into the city, amid the lamentations of the people, to the Nauvoo Mansion where the bodies were committed to their families and other immediate kindred.

In the streets about the Mansion ten thousand sorrowing people were assembled, and these were addressed by several leading citizens, among whom were the counsel for the murdered men, *Messrs.* Reid and Wood, W. W. Phelps, Stephen Markham and Dr. Willard Richards. The latter admonished the people "to keep peace, stating that he had pledged his honor and his life for their good conduct." The people then "with one united voice resolved to trust to the law for a remedy of such a high handed assassination, and when that failed, to call upon God to avenge them of their wrong."[10]

On the 29th of June the bodies of the Martyrs laid in state in

9. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, No. 12, July 1st, 1844.
10. Church Historians' Compilation of Facts of the Martyrdom, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 503.

the Nauvoo Mansion where they were viewed by a constant throng of people who filed in and out of the Mansion rooms from eight o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. At that time the doors were closed the coffins with the bodies were removed from the outer boxes which were then filled with bags of sand and taken to the cemetery where they were deposited with the usual burial ceremonies. About midnight the bodies were taken by a few trusted friends[11] and buried in the basement of the then building Nauvoo House. They remained there until the fall when they were removed at the request of Emma Smith, the Prophet's wife, to a spot near the Nauvoo Mansion overlooking the Mississippi; and there, side by side, lie the martyrd[12] Brothers. "In life they were not divided; in death they were not separated."

The murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith were never punished. The law outraged by the "deep damnation of their taking off," was never vindicated. The honor of the state of Illinois pledged by the executive of the state and the officers of the state militia under his command at Carthage,[13] was neither redeemed by fulfillment nor by making retribution fall upon those guilty of the murder which broke the pledge.

The Governor on arriving in Carthage urged upon the two

---

11. These were Demick B. Huntington, Edward Hunter, William D. Huntington, William Marks, Jonathan H. Holmes, Gilbert Goldsmith, Alpheus Cutler, Lorenzo D. Wasson, Philip B. Lewis and James Emmet, the last named acting as guard. As to the final resting place of the Smith brothers, a grandson of Joseph Smith says: "It is a short distance from the Nauvoo House [which is near the 'Manison'] on the banks of the Mississippi." (Frederick M. Smith in a communication to W. A. Linn. *Story of the Mormons*, p. 308.)

12. See Note 1, end of chapter.

13. Governor Ford admits having given this pledge in the following passages: "If these men [the Smith Brothers] had been the incarnation of Satan himself, as was believed by many, their murder was a foul and treacherous action, alike disgraceful to those who perpetrated the crime, to the state, and to the Governor, whose word had been pledged for the protection of the prisoners in jail, and which had been so shamefully violated; and required that the most vigorous means should be used to bring the assassins to punishment." (Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 367). Again he said: "I pledged myself for their safety, and upon the assurance of that pledge they surrendered as prisoner. * * * The pledge of the securiey to the Smith's was not given upon my individual responsibility. Before I gave it I obtained a pledge of honor by a unanimous vote from the officers and men under my command to sustain me in performing it. If the assassination of the Smiths was committed by any portion of these, they have added treachery to murder, and have done all they could to disgrace the state and sully the public honor." (Proclamation of Governor Ford "to the People of the State of Illinois," published in *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Extra, of June 30th, 1844.)

survivors of the tragedy, Elders Taylor and Richards, the importance of keeping the people of Nauvoo quiet, to persuade them to forego all thoughts of revenge or retaliation. Before the arrival of the Governor, however, the two brethren in their first note announcing the death of the Martyrs had said— "The citizens here [i. e. in Carthage] are afraid of the 'Mormons' attacking them: *I promise them no.*" Signed W. Richards; Elder Taylor, wounded as he was, also signed this note. On his part Governor Ford gave such pledges to vindicate the law by bringing the murderers to justice as to enable the two surviving brethren to give assurances in their second communication to their people that the Governor would see to it that all things would be inquired into, "and all right measures taken." Two days later, as we have already seen, the proposition to leave retribution and the execution of the law to the constituted authorities of the State was presented to and unanimously adopted by the multitude of ten thousand that thronged the streets about the Nauvoo mansion, while the bodies of the martyrs were being prepared for burial. In writing to Brigham Young, president of the Apostles' quorum, on the 30th of June, Elder Richards said:

"The saints have entered into covenants of peace with the Governor and government officers not to avenge the blood of the martyrs, but to leave it with the Executive, who had pledged the faith of the state for their safekeeping. . . . The Governor appeared to act with honest intentions, we bring no charge against him—will wait patiently his proceedings in the matter."[14]

In a letter to A. Jonas, Esq., ten days later, the same writer reporting the status of things in Nauvoo, said:

"Can still give you the fullest assurance that all is perfect peace, at Nauvoo, calmly waiting the fulfillment of Governor Ford's pledge to redeem the land from blood by legal process."[15]

14. Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 649.

15. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 775. See also Richards' letter to Mr. Tho. H. Owens, July 16th, 1844, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, p. 40. Some of the Saints in Nauvoo, however, naturally grew somewhat restive under the law's delay. In the latter part of July Bishop Geo. Miller called on some of the Twelve and requested the privi-

On the 1st of July Governor Ford sent two special commissioners to Nauvoo, Colonel Hart Fellows and Captain A. Jonas to ascertain what were the "feeling, disposition, and determination of the people there, in reference to the late disturbances;" and to "ascertain whether any of them proposed in any maner to revenge themselves, whether any threats had been used, and what was proposed generally to be done by them. These questions were propounded to the City Council as the only authority of the city now known to the country that would pacify the public mind and satisfy the Governor of the determination of the citizens of Nauvoo to sustain the supremacy of the laws. In response to these inquiries the city council in a formal series of resolutions unanimously adopted said, that for the purpose of

lege of passing some resolutions against the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum. "The brethren told him to be quiet and see what the Governor and state authorities would do; that Dr. Richards had pledged himself that the brethren would be quiet, and the Lord had said: 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay.' Miller left the council saying: *'Fat men for patience!'"* (Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, p. 136.)

Leonora Taylor, wife of Elder John Taylor, on the 22nd of July, evidently growing impatient of the very deliberate actions of Governor Ford, in the matter of bringing the murderers to trial, and meantime permitting the mob forces about Warsaw to continue in hostile attitude and in armed resistance to the legal authorities, wrote a very vigorous letter to the Governor reminding him of his pledges to vindicate the law. The latter is published in *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, p. 87. A few excerpts will disclose the spirit of this very forceful letter, and also exhibit how strong were the feelings suppressed by the people of Nauvoo, in order to follow the pacific instructions of their leaders:

"Sir, I am sorry to say the murderers and mobbers are still at large in our neighborhood; as there have been no steps taken to bring them to justice, they have taken fresh courage and held meetings to carry out their work of destruction. I have been told they have sent messengers to Missouri to collect all the force they can to come and exterminate the Mormons after harvest. * * *

"Mr. Taylor does not know of my writing this letter. Nothing but the urgency of the case could have induced me to remind your Excellency of your promise to bring the murderers to justice. If a step of that kind is not taken soon I much fear that it cannot benefit us as a people. * * *

"My feelings as a wife and mother of helpless children, together with the afflictions of an injured people, all constrain me to beseech of you to exert the power and authority which the people and God have given you in the cause of the oppressed. You shall have our prayers that wisdom may be given you from on high to act in this case to the glory of God, your own honor, and that of the state we live in.

"Your Excellency was warned of our brethren's danger, who were murdered, but could not believe that men were so base and degraded. The same men are now plotting our destruction.

"As an individual who feels herself injured, and also in behalf of an oppressed, injured and persecuted people, I again beg your official interference. Your Excellency cannot now be mistaken in the men nor their designs; I beseech you then, for the honor of our bleeding country, for the sake of the suffering innocence and the cause of humanity, by the wounds of my husband and the blood of those murdered victims, to use prompt measures for our protection and the bringing to justice of those murderers."

insuring peace and promoting the welfare of the county of Hancock and the surrounding country, they would rigidly sustain the laws, and the Governor of the state as long as he sustained them in their Constitutional rights; for the greater assurance of peace, they suggested that as the Governor had taken away from the people of Nauvoo the public arms, so should he also take the public arms from the mob party; to further secure peace, friendship, happiness, and to allay the excitement they announced their determination to reprobate private revenge on the assassinators of Joseph and Hyrum Smith; the City Council pledged itself for the city of Nauvoo that no aggressions would be made upon the citizens of the surrounding country, and invited them as friends and neighbors to the practice of the "Golden Rule," at the same time pledging themselves to observe it; lastly they highly approved the pacific course of Governor Ford in his efforts to allay excitement and restore peace; "and while he does so," concludes the resolutions, "and will use his influence to stop all vexatious proceedings in law until confidence is restored, so that the citizens of Nauvoo can go to Carthage or any other place for trial, without exposing themselves to the violence of assassins, we will uphold him and the law by all honorable means."[16] A public meeting of the citizens was called which was addressed by Mr. Jonas and others, among them a Mr. Chambers, Editor of the *Missouri Republic,* and Mr. Field, Editor of the *Reveille,* St. Louis. The Resolutions adopted by the city council were read and endorsed by a hearty "amen" at the public meeting. A vote of thanks was given to all who had in any way given their influence for peace and good order; and afterwards a communication signed by *Messrs.* W. W. Phelps, Richards, and Taylor was addressed to the Church at large beseeching the Saints everywhere to hold fast to the faith," and to be "quiet, peaceable citizens, doing the works of righteousness."[17]

No more complete surrender of the case into the hands of the constituted officers of the State for vindication of the law could have been conceived or made by any people. No more complete

16. The resolutions are published at length, as also the communications of *Messrs.* Fellows and Jonas to the City Council, and the commissions and instructions of Governor Ford to them, *Times and Seasons* for July 1st, 1844.

17. *Times and Seasons,* July 1st, 1844, p. 568.

or intelligently pledged support to the law and officers charged with the duty of administrating it could have been given. The Saints of Nauvoo did all—as was abundantly acknowledged by the officers of the State,[18] that they could be asked to do. Let us see how well the State through its officers discharged its obligations to its "Mormon" citizens.

The Governor's representatives, *Messrs.* Fellows and Jonas, were not only commissioned to make inquiries at Nauvoo, already considered, but they were authorized to "make similar inquiries" at Warsaw. Also "ascertain how far false rumors have been put afloat for the purpose of raising forces; what is the purpose of the militia assembled, whether any attack is intended on Nauvoo. Ascertain also, whether any persons from Missouri or Iowa intend to take part in the matter;"[19] if so they were to be forbidden to take such part in the name of the Governor of Illinois.

The Governor's commissioners, accompanied by *Messrs.* Wood and Conyers, mayor and ex-mayor of Quincy, respectively, and other gentlemen visited both Carthage and Warsaw in the interest of peace. At Warsaw, when Captain Jonas in a public address called upon the people to say if they would support the Governor in enforcing the law, and in upholding the constitution, "unanimously refused to give the pledge." The same evening a Mr. Skinner of Carthage, who professed to speak in the name of the citizens of Hancock county, expressed the same sentiment. He deprecated as impossible the idea of a settlement if the Mormons were to remain. A committee of the citizens of Warsaw waited upon Governor Ford, informing him of their fixed conviction that it was necessary one of the parties should

18. Governor Ford, in his Proclamation of the 29th of June, says: "The Mormons surrendered the public arms in their possession, and the Nauvoo Legion submitted to the command of Capt. Singleton, of Brown county, deputed for that purpose by me. All these things were required to satisfy the old citizens of Hancock that the Mormons were peaceably disposed; and to allay jealousy and excitement in their minds. It appears, however, that the compliance of the Mormons with every requisition made upon them failed of that purpose. * * * The Mormons had done every thing required, or which ought to have been required of them" (*Times and Seasons,* July 1st, 1844). And as up to the point indicated by the Governor they "had done every thing required, or which ought to have been required of them," so they continued throughout the proceedings arising from the Carthage tragedy.

19. See *Messrs.* Fellows and Jonas' letter of appointment from Gov. Ford, *Times and Seasons,* July 1st, '44, p. 565.

leave the county, and desiring him to decide which should go. The Governor replied that it was not for him to decide such a question, or to "order any body of citizens, whether Mormons or anti-Mormons, out of the county or State."[20]

The Warsaw committee referred to above left with the Governor a written comunication on behalf of the citizens they represented, expressing their determination to compel the Mormons to leave the State or otherwise abandon their own homes and evacuate the county. The communication also dealt with the "history, character and offenses of the Mormons," from the Warsaw, that is to say, the mob, view point. To this communication the Governor made a written answer in a somewhat caustic but complaining tone. A few excerpts will exhibit the spirit of the letter, as well as confirm some statements heretofore made in this History. After refusing to exercise his influence to assist the Warsaw people to procure the removal of the "Mormons;" or to make a reply to that part of the Warsaw letter treating of the "history, character, and offenses of the Mormons," he says:

"When I came to your county I announced the policy by which I intended to be governed. The law was to be my guide; and this you well understand. I announced this determination in numerous public addresses, and uniformly in my private conversations. I successively obtained a vote to sustain me in this course from every troop stationed at Carthage, or who was visiting there.

"From the detachment of your town and vicinity, who visited Carthage the day before the surrender of the Smiths, I obtained a similar pledge. . . . All the other portion of the Hancock forces under my command were repeatedly and deeply pledged to sustain me in the same course. Under the firm and confident assurance of support thus obtained, I demanded the surrender of the Smiths, and promised them security.

"In doing so, I now acknowledge that I erred, and erred grievously, in relying with too much confidence upon men with whom I was but little acquainted. The idea that men could be treacherous under such circumstances was abhorrent to my nature, and rejected with indignation.

20. The statements are condensed from an article in the *St. Louis Transcript*, written by Mr. Chambers, editor of the *Missouri Republican*, and copied into the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of July 17, 1844. See also Ford's Message to Legislature, published in *Nauvoo Neighbor* for Jan. 1st, 1845.

"Whatever your hatred of the Smiths might be, I was too confident you would respect your honor—the honor of your country and your State, and the rights of defenceless prisoners. I could not believe that so much stupidity and baseness as was necessary for such an enterprise as the murder of defenceless prisoners in jail would be, could be mustered in Hancock county. . . . Upon the whole I cannot too strongly express my indignation and abhorrence of the base and profligate act which has disgraced the State and raised suspicions in the minds of many in regard to my conduct in the matter of the most painful character to my feelings."

Then coming to the matter of influencing the "Mormons" to remove from the State, he says:

"I am in but a poor situation to use influence with the Mormons, to procure their removal. Your own people have destroyed whatever influence I might otherwise have possessed in that quarter to serve you.

"Your own conduct has placed me in a suspicious attitude; and I have no hopes that I could now have a more persuasive influence with the Mormons than I had with the perpetrators of the horrid deed which I sought to prevent. Under the circumstances I cannot ask the Mormons to confide in me.

"It must appear to them that they have been betrayed by somebody, and they do not know whom.

"If you mean to request me to exercise a forcible influence to expel them from the State, I answer you now, as I have uniformly done that the law is my guide, and that I know of no law authorizing their expulsion. From this determination I have not swerved for an instant from the beginning until this time.

"I see nothing now requiring any deviation, and besides, if I were ever so much determined to drive them out, I believe such is the abhorrence against the base deed which some of you have committed, that I could not obtain voluntary aid from the people."

Coming to the vindication of the law by the punishment of the perpetrators of the crime, Governor Ford said:

"An inquiry must be made concerning the murderers; they must for the honor and credit of the State be dealt with acording to law."[21]

21. The governor's reply to the Warsaw Committee is published at length in the Church Historians' Compilation, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXIV, p. 693-5.

Under date of July 12th, our church annalists record that Messrs. Bedell and Backenstos, the latter then clerk of Hancock county, arrived in Nauvoo and reported that Governor Ford had demanded the public arms at Warsaw, and the people there refused to give them up;[22] which action was in harmony with the whole course of conduct on the part of that people.

So much is here set forth in order to exhibit the spirit of the "Mormons" and anti-Mormans respectively, with reference to their regard for law and order, and their desire for peace. In addition to the facts which indicate that the greater loyalty to law and order, and the greater desire for peace to be on the side of the Saints, in any judgement to be formed of the parties it should always be remembered that it was the "Mormons" who were the injured party. It was their leaders who had been murdered while under guarantee of protection from the State, both upon the general principle that a State under all circumstances and constantly will give protection to its citizens—(and more especially those whom it takes into its custody charged with crime) —and the specific pledge of protection on the part of the Governor and his militia officers and men, some of whom were afterwards, beyond doubt, parties to the murder. It was the "Mormons" who restrained themselves while laboring under a sense of outraged justice, and yet with ample means at hand in the Nauvoo Legion for taking a terrible vengence, and breaking up the lawless gangs assembling at various points and threatening the people of Nauvoo as a community with extermination from the State.

In the month of September[23] there was planned on the part of

22. Church Historian's Compilation, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, p. 8.

23. There is some confusion of dates in relation to this projected military movement. Gregg, in the History of Hancock county, says that the "Grand Military Encampment" at Warsaw was appointed for "the 2nd of October," the call having been issued and "circulated by means of hand bills dated Sept. 27th." Yet he chronicles the appearance of Governor Ford on the scene with a military force to disband the "Encampment" as taking place from the 27th to the 29th of October. In his "Prophet of Palmyra," published ten years later than his History of Hancock County—the "History" was published in 1880—he omits these exact dates, but still places the event in October (p. 293). Governor Ford also places the time of his visit to Hancock county to disperse this "Encampment" or "Wolf Hunt," as being on "October 25th." This, however, is an error. The *Nauvoo Neighbor* of the 2nd of October editorially notes the arrival of two independent companies of militia in Nauvoo, "as directed by the Governor." On the 27th of September, Governor Ford and staff, Gen. John J. Hardin and staff, and between 400 and 500 men ar-

the people of Hancock county what was undoubtedly intended to be an extensive military movement against the Saints at Nauvoo and throughout Hancock county. The Historian of Hancock County (Gregg), refers to it as "a Grand Military Encampment," called by "Col. Levi Williams, Major Aldrich [both charged with the murder of the Brothers Smith], and a number of the officers of the independent companies in the neighborhood of Warsaw." Gregg accepts the assurance that "this movement actually intended nothing beyond what was expressed in the call"—viz. "a peaceful military display." "But," he adds, "it gave great uneasiness to the Mormons and their friends."[24] Gregg fails, however, to note that the invitations extended to the captains of the military and their companies in all the neighboring counties to Hancock in Illinois, Iowa and Missouri; that according to Governor Ford the purpose was to attend "a great wolf hunt in Hancock;"[25] and further, according to the same authority, "it was privately announced that the wolves to be hunted were the Mormons and Jack Mormons"; also that preparations were made for the assembling of several thousand men with provisions for six days; that the anti-Mormon newspapers, "in aid of the Movement," commenced anew the most awful accounts of thefts and robberies and impending "Mormon" outrages.[26]

rived. "They were all cordially received and showed a decorum highly praiseworthy. The 28th, being the time of the Nauvoo Legion muster, the Governor and General Hardin reviewed that body, and the Governor's troops being in the city too, gave Nauvoo quite a martial appearance. In the evening at the camp about two miles from the city, one of the soldiers was mortally wounded in a false alarm, and died before morning. The troops left for Warsaw on Sunday morning, the 29th." This was the counter military display on the part of the state to dispense the "Encampment" or "wolf hunt" of the text.

24. History of Hancock County, pp. 326-7.

25. The nature of a "wolf hunt" is described in footnote 14 of ch. XLVIII, this History.

26. Governor Ford's statement is of sufficient importance for reproduction: "In the course of the fall of 1844 the anti-Mormon leaders sent printed invitations to all the militia captains in Hancock, and to the captains of militia in all the neighboring counties in Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri, to be present with their companies at a great wolf hunt in Hancock; and it was privately announced that the wolves to be hunted were the Mormons and Jack Mormons. Preparations were made for assembling several thousand men, with provisions for six days; and the anti-Mormon newspapers, in aid of the movement, commenced anew the most awful accounts of thefts and robberies, and meditated outrages by the Mormons. The Whig press in every part of the United States came to their assistance. The democratic newspapers and leading Democrats, who had received the benefit of the Mormon votes to their party, quailed under the tempest, leaving no organ for the correction of public opinion, either at home or abroad, except the discredited Mormon newspapers at

To counteract this movement and prevent the mischief it threatened Governor Ford issued a proclamation calling for 2,500 volunteers. After an embarrassing delay of several days,[27] and after great exertion on the part of the Governor,[28] he succeeded in raising about five hundred volunteers. With this force, under the immediate command of Gen. Harding, the Governor on the 25th of September, marched into Hancock county. "The malcontents," as Ford calls the movers of this "Wolf Hunt," "abandoned their design, and all the leaders of it fled to Missouri."[29] "The Carthage Greys," continues Ford's account, "fled almost in a body, carrying their arms with them."[30]

Nauvoo was included in the Governor's visit to Hancock county, as already detailed.[31]

The first attempt to arrest those who were supposed to be implicated in the crime at Carthage was made some time previous to this "Wolf Hunt" episode. Murray McConnel, Esq., a somewhat noted lawyer of Jacksonville, Morgan county, was employed by Governor Ford to assist the Prosecuting Attorney, William Elliot, in gathering evidence and getting the supposed guilty parties arested; for "from the first," according to his own statement, the Governor "had determined that some of the ring leaders in the foul-murder of the Smiths should be brought to trial."[32] The result of McConnel's visit to Carthage and Nauvoo was that warants were issued by Aaron Johnson, a

---

Nauvoo. But very few of my prominent Democratic friends would dare to come up to the assistance of their governor, and but few dared openly to vindicate his motives in endeavoring to keep peace. They were willing and anxious for Mormon votes at elections, but they were unwilling to risk their popularity with the people by taking a part in their favor, even when law and justice, and the Constitution, were all on their side. Such being the odious character of the Mormons, the hatred of the common people against them, and such being the pusillanimity of leading men, in fearing to encounter it." (Hist. of Ill., p. 364).

27. Gregg says, "People were reluctant to volunteer, believing that the Governor was engaged in an unnecessary and uncalled for enterprise" (Hist. Hancock County, p. 327).

28. After speaking of the difficulties he encountered in his efforts "to keep peace" (note 26) he states that he "applied to Gen'l John J. Harding of the state militia, and to Colonels Baker and Merriman, all Whigs, but all of them men of military ambition; and they, together with Col. Weatherford, a Democrat, with my own exertions, succeeded in raising about 500 volunteers" (Hist. Ill., pp. 364-5).

29. Why this flight of the leaders into Missouri if the purpose of this "encampment" was the peaceful military display accepted by Gregg as its sole purpose?

30. Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 365.

31. See note 22, this chapter.

32. Hist. Ill., p. 367.

Nauvoo justice of the peace, for the arrest of Col. Levi Williams, Joseph H. Jackson, the two Laws, Wilson and William, the two Fosters, Dr. Robert D. and Charles A.—the last four were living at Hampton, near Rock Island, about eighty miles north of Nauvoo, to which place they had moved after the destruction of the *Expositor* press. "These writs, excepting as to Col. Williams, were all served," says Gregg, "but all refused to go to Nauvoo for a hearing, and no attempt was made to take them there."[33]

When the writ was served upon Thomas C. Sharp at Warsaw he cooly refused service. The following is his own account of the treatment of the officers, published in his own paper:

"Just as our paper was going to press this morning, a man came in and said that he had a writ for me.

"'Well, sir, let me see it.' He produced the paper which proved to be a warrant for the murder of Joe and Hyrum Smith, issued by Aaron Johnson, Justice of the Peace in Nauvoo. After reading, I told Mr. Officer, that if my friends said 'go,' I would go—if not I would stand fast. Accordingly I went out and conversed with the citizens and unanimously they said, 'don't go.' I then told the officer, that he could return and report progress, but I could not go with him, for I had no security for my safety, and, moreover, I was not to be singled out as the sole object of Mormon vengeance."[34]

A second attempt to arrest some of the leaders of the Carthage mob was made in connection with the advent of Governor Ford and his military escort into Hancock county to break up the "Wolf Hunt" movement. Before arriving at Warsaw on

33. History of Hancock County, p. 327. An interesting episode is related in connection with serving the writs upon the Laws and the Fosters. It is detailed in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of the 9th of October, 1844. It appears that John C. Bennett was in Hampton at the time the Deputy Sheriff of Hancock county was serving the writs upon the Laws and the Fosters, and now the *Neighbor*: "The Deputy Sheriff of Hancock county last week went to Hampton to arrest the Laws and Fosters for the crime of murder as charged in the writ. R. D. Foster made a fuss about a 'Dante' come to kill him. The deputy called on Dr. John C. Bennett for his book and read the story of Dr. Foster's following Dr. Bennett to New York to kill him. Says he, 'Dr., is that the truth?' 'I then thought it was true, but I was mistaken.' O, yes, says the deputy, 'perhaps Foster is mistaken too.' He then took out the *Neighbor* and read Wm. Law's affidavit of Dr. Bennett's rascality, and asked Wm Law if it was true? He replied 'Yes!' Bennett then tapped the deputy on his shoulder, took him one side, and said, 'I would not have you think I associate with the Laws and Fosters!'" See note 2, end of chapter.

34. Reproduced from the *Warsaw Signal*, in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Oct. 2nd, 1844.

the 29th of September, Governor Ford learned that Col. Levi Williams, Thomas C. Sharp, and Joseph H. Jackson had crossed the Mississippi into Missouri; going into camp with some of their friends at the settlement called Churchville, opposite Warsaw. Three of Ford's officers, *viz.*, Colonels Baker, Merriman and Weatherford, volunteered their services, if the Governor would go with them, to cross into Missouri with a force and capture these leaders for whose arrest writs had been issued; and also for whose arrest the Governor had made a Proclamation—though it had not then been publshed[35]—offering a reward of two hundred dollars for the apprehension of each of the aforesaid persons. In the afternoon preceding the night arranged for the attempt to capture Col. Baker, it seems, visited the encampment of the refugees, and on his return refused to join in the expedition, and advised his friends against participating in it; "and as there was no authority," as Governor Ford remarks, "for compelling men to invade a neighboring State," the enterprise was abandoned, much to the vexation of the Governor and several others according to the latter's account of the incident.[36] It was this same Col. Baker, according to Governor Ford, who arranged the terms on which the accused consented to surrender, *viz.*,[37] they were to be taken to Quincy for examination under a military guard; the Prosecuting Attorney was to be advised to admit them to bail; they were to be granted a continuance of their trial at the next court at Carthage. Upon this arrangement being agreed upon two of the accused men, Williams and Sharp, surrendered and crossed the Mississippi to Warsaw; Jackson was sick and refused to surrender.[38]

Governor Ford announced this action to the people at Nauvoo in the following note:

"WARSAW, Sept. 30, 1844.

"SIR:—I write to inform you that Williams and Sharp have surrendered and will be sent to Quincy for trial. Jackson has

35. The "Proclamation" bears date of September 27th, and is published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Oct. 2nd, 1844.

Hist. of Ill., p. 366.

37. Late Secretary Hay credits the arrangement to McConnel, the Governor's representative in the prosecution. *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1869.

38. Nothing further is heard of this desperate character, after his refusal to return to Illinois for trial.

not come over and is so very sick that we could do nothing with him if we had him. It will be necessary to get all the witnesses down as soon as possible."[39]

As the Governor on his arrival at Warsaw, the day before, had also demanded the surrender of the State arms, and two cannons and about sixty stands of small arms had been given up,[40] it appeared at last as if some progress towards vindicating the law and keeping the peace was really to be made; and in an editorial of the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of October 2nd, these signs of progress were applauded in the following passage:

"Thus far the proceedings show a desire to retrieve the broken faith and laws of the State, as well as a firm determination to put a 'veto' on mobbing whether it comes creeping among the people as a 'grand encampment' for a 'Wolf hunt,' or springs up blacked as *passant* negroes, for cold blooded murder. Our voice is and ever has been magnify the law and make it honorable."[41]

At the October term of the Hancock circuit court a grand jury was impaneled, and the Carthage murder case investigated. Great anxiety was felt as it was widely rumored that the old citizens intended to interpose obstacles to the court procedure. A number of people from Nauvoo came to Carthage to attend court, and to avoid hotel expenses encamped in their wagons in the outskirts of the town. A number of Indians en route for Iowa—for what purpose is not known—passed through the county, and rumor soon had it that the Mormons and Indians were camped near Carthage which "occasioned considerable uneasiness," says the chronicle. An investigation was ordered that resulted in the report that the Mormon camp at Carthage and the passage of Indians through the county "had no connection with each other."[42]

The court session began on Monday, the 21st of October. In

39. *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Oct. 2nd, 1844.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Gregg's History of Hancock County, pp. 328-9.

his charge to the grand jury the Judge, Jesse B. Thomas,[43] urged the jurors "to do their duty in the case likely to come before them, and leave the consequences." His charge is said to have given general satisfaction. The grand jury began its sessions on Tuesday, 22nd, and on the following Saturday brought in two bills of indictment against nine individuals; one for murder of Joseph Smith, and the other for the murder of Hyrum Smith. The indicted were Col. Levi Williams, of Green Plains, a Baptist minister. Thomas C. Sharp, of Warsaw, Editor of the *Warsaw Signal*.[44] Mark Aldrich, captain of a company of Hancock county militia. Jacob C. Davis, then State Senator, and afterwards Member of Congress for that district.[45] William N. Grover, captain of a company of Warsaw militia under Colonel Williams. Hay speaks of Grover as afterwards becoming a distinguished lawyer for Missouri, and "an eminently respectable and con-

43. The complete list of the officers of the court was as follows: Jesse B. Thomas, Judge; William Elliot, Prosecuting Attorney; Jacob B. Backenstos, Clerk; and General Miner R. Deming, Sheriff. The following composed the grand jury:

Abram Lincoln,	Thomas Gilmore,
James Reynolds,	Benj. Warrington,
Thomas J. Graham,	Reuben H. Loomis,
Wm. M. Owens,	Samuel Scott,
Ebenezer Rand,	James Ward,
Thomas Brawner,	Samuel Ramsey,
Ralph Gorrell,	Thomas H. Owen,
Brant Agnert,	David Thompson,
Martin Yetter,	John J. Hickok.
William Smith.	

44. Sharp was once an anti-Masonic editor of Western New York. He invented the name "Jack-Mason," for all such persons as refused to take part in the anti-Masonic movement of that day and neighborhood, according to a correspondent to the Illinois *State Register*, writing under date of November 1st, 1844. He it was, also, according to this same authority, who coined the phrase "Jack Mormon," an approbrious epithet applied to such non-Mormons of Illinois who did not favor illegal procedure and mob violence of Sharp and his associates against the Mormons. He is also described as having made himself the "organ of a gang of town lot speculators at Warsaw, who are afraid that Nauvoo is about to kill off their town and render speculations abortive." The *State Register* article is copied into the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Nov. 13th, 1844.

45. John Hay, in *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869. Davis is described as a professional politician by Hay, who "dearly loved both Mormon and anti-Mormon votes." He is represented by the same writer as being sorely perplexed on the question of going to Carthage with the mob, at the time some of the Warsaw militia were converted into the mob that marched to Carthage. "It was heavy weather for him. * * * He was so backward in coming forward that his company left him in disgust, and followed the fiery Grover, whose company had gone home to dinner. Davis still could not make up his mind to go home, but got into Calvin Cole's wagon and followed the boys at a distance; so that at last he had the luck (sic!) to be in at the closing scene, and the honor to be indicted with the rest."



DEATH MASK OF HYRUM SMITH

servative man."[46] John Allen, William Voras,[47] John Wills, William Gallaher. Of the last four nothing is known except their connection with this Carthage mob, and their trial for the murder of the Brothers Smith.[48]

On the announcement of the indictments most of the defendants appeared and demanded immediate trial. To this Mr. McConnel, Governor Ford's appointee to assist the prosecuting attorney of the Circuit Court, objected on the ground of not being ready; his witnesses before the grand jury had departed without being recognized; and Mr. Elliot, the chief prosecuting attorney was absent. The cause was postponed until the next term of court, and it was agreed that no *capias* should issue in the interim,[49] if the defendants would pledge themselves to appear at the time agreed upon.

The next term of the court convened on the 19th of May, 1845. By that time the personnel of the court was changed by the new officers taking the places to which they had been elected in the fall of 1844.[50]

---

46. "It seemed fated," says Hay, in referring to another of the prominent actors in the martyrdom, "that every one connected with this affair should have greatness thrust upon him." See note 3, end of chapter.

47. I follow the Historian of Hancock County, Gregg, in the spelling of this name. Hay gives it "Voorhees."

48. According to Mr. Gregg, the Historian of Hancock county, the names of about sixty persons were presented to the Grand Jury for indictment, which list included the Laws, the Fosters, the Higbees, and John Elliot—the last concerned in the kidnapping of the Averys, see *ante*. Gregg says that the evidence was so inconclusive that the jury voted on the whole sixty; but failing to indict they struck off ten and voted again, and so on to the last nine, when the indictment carried. He also says that even these indictments were found chiefly upon the testimony of the three witnesses—Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham—whose evidence on the trial the court instructed the petit jury to disregard (History of Hancock County, p. 330). Our church annals are practically silent upon the matter of these court proceedings, doubtless for the reason that the court was in possession of and dominated by the mob forces, while by threats of violence the Saints were kept away.

49. It is held by Gregg that this agreement was violated by the prosecution "by frequent attempts made by the sheriff and his deputies to arrest some of them during the winter." And especially was it violated in respect of Jacob C. Davis, state senator. "At the opening of the legislature he took his seat in that body. During the winter he was arrested at Springfield by an officer from Hancock county, but was ordered released by resolution of the senate." (Hist. of Hancock County, pp. 329, 336). The violation of the agreement can only be accounted for on the ground of a change in the personnel of the county and circuit court officers, and the very likely belief in the unusual if not utter illegality of the agreement *ab initio*.

50. The personnel of the court officers at the time of the trial were: Richard M. Young, Judge; Jas. H. Ralston, Prosecuting Attorney; David E. Head, Clerk; Miner R. Deming, Sheriff; Josiah Lamborn, of Jackson, was appointed Assistant Prosecutor; and William A. Richardson, O. H. Browning, Calvin A. Warsaw,

On motion of the defense the array of jurors chosen in the first week of the trial was set aside because of alleged prejudice of the county commission and the county sheriff and deputies who selected them.[51] Thomas Owen and Wm. D. Aberenthy were appointed elisors for the case. Neither of these elisors was a Mormon. The first was regarded as a "jack Mormon," the second was known as an anti-Mormon. Ninety-six men were summoned and brought before the court before the requisite panel of twelve men could be filled—"Before twelve were found ignorant enough and indifferent enough to act as jurors," is Hay's summing up of the jury selection.[52] That is not the view of Governor Ford, however. According to him it was not a question of ignorance or indifference as to the trial jury, but one of corruption and intimidation; he says: "One friend of the Mormons and one anti-Mormon were appointed for this purpose; [i. e. to choose the jury] but as more than a thousand men had assembled under arms at the court to keep away the Mormons and their friends, the jury was made up of these military followers of the court, who all swore that they had never formed or expressed any opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused."[53]

The trial lasted from the 19th of May to the 30th. The principal witnesses on the part of the State were two young men who accompanied the Warsaw mob to Carthage, and claimed to have witnessed the whole affair, from the organization of the Warsaw mob out of the disbanded militiamen of that place, to the attack upon the jail and the shooting of Joseph Smith by order of Col. Levi Williams. To these should be added a Miss Eliza Jane Graham, a waitress at the Warsaw House, who served supper to a number of the mobbers as "they came strag-

Archibald Williams, O. C. Skinner and Thomas Morrison were counsel for defendants. The trial jury was as follows:

Jesse Griffitts,	Jonathan Foy,
Joseph Jones,	Solomon J. Hill,
Wm. Robertson,	James Gittings,
Wm. Smith,	F. M. Walton,
Joseph Massey,	Jabez A. Beebe,
Silas Griffits,	Gilmore Callison.

History of Hancock County, Gregg, p. 329.

51. The county commissioners were Geo. Caulson and Andrew H. Perkins, both Mormons; and the sheriff, Miner R Deming, was known as a "Jack Mormon." "Prophet of Palmyra," p. 299.

52. *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1869.

53. Hist. of Illinois, p. 367.

gling in from Carthage" She claimed to have heard their conversation, and to have learned from this the connection of many with the tragedy at Carthage. "She could remember where every man sat, and what he said, and how he said it," says John Hay. "Unfortunately she remembered too much," he continues; a few *alibis* so discredited her evidence that it was held to prove nothing but her own honest and half-insane zeal."[54] The *alibis* under all the circumstances developed in the trial would be easily obtained.

The testimony of Daniels was spectacular and dealt somewhat with the miraculous, which of course discredited it with the court. Daniels collaborated with Lyman O. Littlefield, then a young man working in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* and *Times* and *Seasons* office, and published in a pamphlet the story of the Daniels' experience with the Warsaw mob, and their murderous assault upon the prisoners, wherein he describes an alleged attempt of a ruffian,—supposedly a Missourian, and impliedly a son of ex-Governor Boggs —to decapitate the Prophet after he was dead, and his being prevented by a sudden flash of light from out of heaven, passing its vivid chain between Joseph and his murderers, which paralized the would-be mutalator of the dead, and also the four men whom Daniels avers shot the Prophet, so that they all stood like marble statues, not having power to move a single limb of their bodies.[55] Having published this story before the trial, when brought into court he was confronted with it, swore to its truth, which destroyed the credit of his evidence; and in the

54. *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1869. "No one accused her of wilful perjury," says Mr. Hay, "but her nervous and sensitive character had been powerfully impressed by the influence of Smith and brooding constantly upon his death, she came at last to regard her own fancies and suspicions as positive occurrences." Not having Miss Graham's testimony in hand, how far this characterization of it is just, we have no means of determining.

55. The story of Daniels is incredible, not because it involves incidents that would be set down as "miraculous," but because the story is all out of harmony with what in the nature of things would happen under the circumstances, and the incidents he details are too numerous, too complicated, too deliberate, and would have occupied too much time to be crowded into the space within which necessarily they must have happened, if they happened at all. No copy of the Littlefield-Daniel's pamphlet, as published at Nauvoo, has been preserved in the Church collection of books and documents, but the story of Daniels as then published was reproduced by Mr. Littlefield in 1882; and, in connection with some additional matter, was published in a booklet under the title, "The Martyrs." See notes 4 and 5, end of chapter.

court's instruction, the jury was told to exclude from their consideration all that was said by the three witnesses, Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham.[56]

The spirit of the testimony on the part of the defendants, and, indeed, the nature of the whole trial may be fairly judged by the testimony of Frank Worrell, as given by Mr. Hay, in his *Atlantic Monthly* Article, "Which," he remarks, "we copy for its curious and cynical *bonhomie.*" (!) He represents Worrell as testifying:

"I was one of the guards at the jail. Saw Smith when he was killed. Saw none of the defendants at the jail! Suppose there were one or two hundred there. They stayed three or four minutes. They formed in front of the jail and made a rush. Knew none that came up. . . . Heard nothing that was said. . . . Saw Smith die,—was within ten feet of him. . . . Perhaps a minute after he fell I saw him die. . . . I was pushed and shoved some fifty feet. . . . Did not see Sharp, Grover, or Davis. It was so crowded I could not see much. I know about one-third of the men in the coutny, but none at the jail. I might have been some scared.

"It would be difficult to imagine anything cooler than this quiet perjury to screen a murder. Yet the strangest part of this strange story is that Frank Worrell was a generous young fellow, and the men with whom he carried on the ghastly comedy of attack and resistance at the door of the prison—Sharp and Grover—were good citizens, educated and irreproachable, who still live to enjoy the respect and esteem of all who know them."

When conceded murderers and perjurers can be characterized by a man of the standing of Mr. Hay, as "good citizens," "Mormons" have a right to feel that all moral values are con-

56. "Instructions to the jury had been asked by both parties. The following, among a list of nine asked by defendant's counsel, were given, and probably had most influence on the verdict.

"That where the evidence is circumstantial, admitting all to be proven which the evidence tends to prove, if then the jury can make any supposition consistent with the facts, by which the murder might have been committed without the agency of the defendants, it will be their duty to make that supposition, and find defendants not guilty.

"That in making up their verdict, they will exclude from their consideration all that was said by Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham (witnesses).

"That whenever the probability is of a definite and limited nature, whether in the proportion of 100 to 1 or of 1,000 to 1, or any ratio, is immaterial, it cannot be safely made the ground of conviction; for to act upon it in any case would be to decide that for the sake of convicting many criminals, the life of one innocent man might be sacrificed. (Starkie, 508). Hist. of Hancock County, p. 330.

founded when the events which comprise their history are up for consideration.

"Many other witnesses," says Governor Ford—that is, others than Daniels, Brackenbury and Miss Graham—"were examined, who knew the facts, but under the demoralization of faction denied all knowledge of them."[57] The jury after a deliberation of several hours returned a verdict of "*not guilty.*" This was the close of the trial of the defendants for the murder of Joseph Smith. "The same defendants, for the murder of Hyrum Smith, were required to enter into recognizance of $5,000 each (with 14 sureties) to the June term, 1845. At said term case was called, and Elliott and Lamborn not answering, the cause was dismissed for want of prosecution, and defendants discharged.[58]

"The case was closed," says Mr. Hay, in his account of the trial. "There was not a man on the jury, in the court, in the county, that did not know the defendants had done murder. But it was not proven, and the verdict of 'not guilty' was right in law." "And," he adds, "you cannot find in this generation an original inhabitant of Hancock county who will not stoutly sustain the verdict."

Mr. Gregg both in his "History of Hancock County" and in his "Prophet of Palmyra" takes exception to what he calls Mr. Hay's "fling at the jury, the judge, and people." "And," he remarks, "we venture to characterize it as extremely unjust." Mr. Gregg declares that from personal knowledge of some of the trial jury he knew that instead of being either "ignorant or indifferent," as intimated by Mr. Hay, "they were men of intelligence and proberty and worth." "It is very easy to say," Gregg concludes, on this head, "that a murder had been committed; that somebody had done the deed; but to say that among the Elliots, Laws, Fosters, and Higbees, and a long list of men charged, those five or six who were on trial had done it, *is saying a great deal.*"[59] All which will be conceded; but it is somewhat unfortunate for Mr. Gregg when he undertakes to defend this trial of the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum

57. Hist. of Ill., p. 368.
58. Hist. of Hancock County, p. 330.
59. Hist. of Hancock County, pp. 330, 331.

Smith, he himself suppresses, by failing to mention, some facts in connection with this trial that are emphasized by Governor Ford, namely: the fact that "more than a thousand men had assembled under arms at court to keep away the Mormons and their friends; that the jury, for some of whom Mr. Gregg stands sponsor as to their "intelligence, proberty and worth," were chosen from these "military followers of the court." and who all swore they had never formed, or expressed any opinion as to the guilt or innocence of the accused; that, as Governor Ford further declares:

"During the progress of these trials, the judge was compelled to permit the court-house to be filled and surrounded by armed bands, who attended court to brow-beat and over-awe the administration of justice. The judge himself was in a duress, and informed me that he did not consider his life secure any part of the time. The consequence was that the crowd had everything their own way; the lawyers for the defence defended their clients by a long and elaborate attack on the Governor; the armed mob stamped with their feet and yelled their approbation at every sarcastic and smart thing that was said; and the judge was not only forced to hear it, but to lend it a kind of approval."[60]

"Not guilty!" was the verdict, and undoubtedly the murderers on trial, and many others not on trial in Hancock county, Illinois, went unwhipped of justice at that time. And it is a singular thing that in all cases of persecution and mob violence, where Latter-day Saints have been shot down or murdered in other ways—and there have been many such cases; or where they have died from the effects of exposure or terror, as direct and palpable results of persecutions endured—and there have been many hundreds of such cases—*in no instance has their been a vindication of the law by the legal punishment of those who have assailed them!* Perhaps it is more fitting that it should be so. In the Book of Mormon[61] is a description of conditions that should prevail when that record should come forth to the world; and also a prophecy concerning some who "shall seek deep to hide their counsels from the Lord; and their works shall be in the dark, *and the blood of the Saints shall cry from the*

60. Hist. of Ill., p. 368. For consideration of Governor Ford's relationship to the Carthage tragedy and Mormonism, see note 6, end of chapter.
61. II Nephi XXVIII:2-14.

ground against them;"[62] a prophecy of martyrdom in the New Dispensation notwithstanding 19th and 20th century enlightenment, civilization, and constitutional guarantees of religious freedom. Hence I say it is more fitting that for the martyrdom of the Brothers Smith, as for all others who have fallen in our religious persecutions, and who have been murdered while proclaiming the new message to the world as missionaries, it is more fitting that there should be no legal punishment for their assailants and murderers. It seems to render the martyrdoms more complete; and more fully meets the terms of the prophecy that the blood of the Saints, in the day [i. e., period of time] when the Book of Mormon should be brought forth, should cry unto the Lord from the ground of vengeance, clearly foreshadowing the fact that man would not avenge it.

* * * * * * * *

"And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying, 'How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them, and it was said unto them, that they should rest for a little season, until their fellow servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled."[63]

NOTE 1: MAY JOSEPH SMITH BE CLASSED AS A MARTYR? Whenever the terms martyr or martyrdom as connected with the name of Joseph Smith are used, they are placed within quotation marks by nearly all non-Mormon writers, and certainly so placed by all Anti-Mormon writers. The claim of martyrdom for the Prophet is quite generaly denied; and even in the few cases where admitted it is usually with some modifications that detract from its value; as for instance, when the gentle Quaker Poet, Whittier, commenting on the death of the Prophet says—"He died by the hands of wicked and barbarous men, a martyr—unwilling doubtless, but still a martyr—of his faith." (Little's Living Age, 1848). Two reasons can perhaps be assigned for this denial of the title martyr to the Mormon Prophet, though I have never heard any given. Writers, so far as I know, depending upon the force and authority of a sneer to justify the denial as when a German writer, says, in speaking of

62. For a detailed exposition of the prophecy see the writer's work, "New Witnesses for God," Vol. III, pp. 249-253.
63. Rev. VI, 9-11.

the Prophet's death, "That revolver in the hand of the 'lamb that goes to the slaughter' is highly characteristic." (Mormon Portraits, Wyl., 1886). Of the two reasons to which I refer as ground for denying to Joseph Smith the title of martyr, the first is an exaggerated idea of what constitutes martyrdom; and second the fact that Joseph Smith offered resistance to his murderers.

The conception of martyrdom has been unduly influenced by the martyrdoms of the early Christian centuries, where the witnesses to the Christian verities sought and even provoked martyrdom beyond all prudence, because of the air of sanctity it gave and the fame it promised by the inordinate esteem and veneration in which the martyrs were held. And hence it comes that the idea of a martyr is one who not only suffers death rather than deny his faith, but one who seeks such a death and meets it unresistingly. There is, however, another and equally as true a conception of martyrdom; and that is where in the persistence in, and the maintenance of a cause one suffers toil and danger and finally death because of adherence to this cause, though using all the means that prudence would suggest to avoid both danger and death—these are martyrs, no less than those who clamor for death in attestation of their sincerity. The avoidance of danger and death for some time by both the celebrated Christian martyrs Polycarp and Cyprian, by no means detracted from their character as real martyrs for the cause of Christianity when finally they yielded to the sentence passed upon them by their Roman Judges.[64]

It was self-surrender that Joseph Smith made to certain death. He was clean escaped out of the hands of his enemies. He had crossed the Mississippi from Nauvoo and was surrounded by trusted men who were aiding his departure for the West. One more day would have seen him at the head of a small company of men in the wilderness of Iowa en route for the Rocky Mountains. Then came the pleading of some mistaken and some false friends that he submit to the demands of Governor Ford and trust to his promises of protection, and

64. Polycarp made several flights from the minions of the law who sought him; his hiding place was several times betrayed, until on the last occasion of such betrayal he yielded himself to the officers of the law. (See Naender's History of the Christian Religion and Church, Vol. I, pp. 110-11.) Cyprian acted in much the same manner. On one occasion when the clamor of the multitude demanded that Cyprian, the leader of the Christians, should be thrown to the lions, "prudence suggested the necessity of a temporary retreat, and the voice of prudence was obeyed." On another occasion, when it was evident that he would be singled out as one of the first victims of the imperial edict, "the frailty of human nature tempted him to withdraw himself by a secret flight from the danger and the honor of martyrdom." (Gibbon's Roman Empire, Vol. II, pp. 248-9).

not play the part of the false shepherd who leaves the flock when attacked by wolves. This was more than Joseph's proud spirit could endure, and hence he recrossed the river, against his better judgment, and with absolute conviction that he would be killed, went to Carthage and among a host of publicly and repeatedly avowed enemies, pledged to encompass his death, surrendered to the requirements of the offices of the law. At Nauvoo, eighteen miles away, he had left a body of between three and four thousand men, the best body of militia in the State of Illinois, with arms and other equipments for war. And yet the Smith Brothers voluntarily placed themselves in the hands of the officers. No self-surrender, with every means for successful resistance, could have been more complete; and in fulfillment of the requirements of the Governor, the Brothers Smith went to Carthage unarmed. The matter of their having one six barrelled and one single barrelled pistol with them when assailed was because friends on parting from them left these fire arms with them as detailed in the regular text of this chapter, under circumstances alike honorable and justifiable. These arms offered but a meagre defense against the overwhelming odds of the assailants; nor did the Prophet use the pistol left with him until he had seen his brother shot to death from his side—not until he had looked into the dead face of that brother, calm but bullet-torn, did the war spirit native to his race—his revolutionary ancestry—rise within him and impel him to the conflict at the door where muskets were belching fire and death, where he stood for one splendid moment as some avenging spirit returning the fire of the mob. Much less or far more than mortal man must he have been not to have done what he did. And what he did in that supreme moment of trial and death, does not depreciate him in the esteem of Christian men, nor make him less a martyr to the mission given him of God.

NOTE 2: WERE THE BROTHERS SMITH KILLED BY APOSTATE MORMONS? It is fairly clear from the text of this chapter who the parties were that were immediately responsible for the killing of the Smith Brothers. Yet it is a question discussed in some quarters of late as to whether, after all, it was not apostate Mormons who killed them, the evident intention being not so much to ascertain the truth as to cast the odium for the Carthage murder upon former members of the Church; and of course, by so much, relieve non-Mormons from such odium. The chief seceders from the Church at Nauvoo who, with any color of reason could be charged with complicity in the affair would be the Brothers Law, William and Wilson; the two

Higbee Brothers, Francis M. and Chauncy L.; the two Fosters, Dr. Robert D. and Charles A. It is evident from our church annals and from this History (see Ch. XLIX), that these men were in a conspiracy against the lives of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. And it is also true that they were among those who were charged with the crime, soon after it was committed, and for whom warrants of arrest were issued by Justice Aaron Johnson, of Nauvoo, and upon whom service was made as detailed in the text of this chapter. But they were never indicted, and it is doubtful if more could be charged against them than being accessory before the fact to the crime. It is true, however, that some of them were in and about Carthage during the days immediately preceding the tragedy. On the 25th of June, about midday, word was brought to President Joseph Smith that the Laws, Fosters, Higbees, and others were leaving Carthage for Nauvoo to plunder. This information the Prophet conveyed to Governor Ford who within the hour communicated to his informant that he had ordered Captain Singleton with a company of men from McDonough county to march to Nauvoo to co-operate with the police in keeping the peace; and he would call out the Legion if necessary. (Church Historian's Compilation *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXIV, p. 358).

Later in the afternoon—about four o'clock—report was brought to the Prophet that William and Wilson Law, Robert D. Foster and the two Higbees "had said that there was nothing against these men [the Smith Brothers]; the law could not reach them, but powder and ball would, and they should not go out of Carthage alive." (Historians Compilation *Mill Star,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 358-9).

Chauncy L. Higbee was one of the prosecutors in the *Expositor* press case and as counsel moved the adjournment of that case (*Ibid,* p. 359). He was also counsel for the State in connection with Sylvester Emmonds, Editor of the *Expositor,* Thomas C. Sharp *et al.,* in the trumped up charge of "treason" against the Smiths, and appeared in that case late in the afternoon of the 26th (*Ibid,* pp. 323-4). On the morning of the 27th of June, the same Higbee was in Carthage, and on meeting Dan Jones in the street said: "We are determined to kill Joe and Hyrum, and you had better go away to save yourself" (*Ibid,* p. 439). Closer to the murder than this it is impossible to trace him from any evidence of history. According to Mr. Hay, he later became "a distinguished legislator and judge in Southern Illinois." (*Atlantic Monthly,* December, 1869).

In a list of the leaders of the Hancock county mob, "and those who took an active part in the massacre of Joseph and Hyrum

Smith," the list being furnished by J. B. Backenstos, Sheriff of Hancock county, Francis M. Higbee is the only name among the seceders given by the Sheriff. (Historian's Compilation *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 632-3). When a coroner's jury assembled in the prison and were holding an inquest over the body of Hyrum Smith, Captain Robert R. Smith being among the jurors, the name of Francis M. Higbee was named, whereon John Taylor, present, though savagely wounded, arose and said: "Captain Smith you are a justice of the peace; I have heard his (Higbee's) name mentioned. I want to swear my life against him." Word was immediately sent to Higbee and he left the place. (Taylor's "Martyrdom of Joseph Smith-Tylers Mormon Battalion," p. 53). In a list of the names of those whom he considered active in taking part in the massacre Willard Richards names the two Laws, the two Fosters, the two Higbees, Joseph H. Jackson, Sylvester Emmons, Henry C. Norton, and Augustine Spencer. Unfortunately, however, he does not make it clear whether their "activity" extend to their being in the mob that made the assault upon the jail, or only to their being accessories before the fact, of which there can be no question, and hence "active" in the matter, and equally responsible with those who did the physical deed.

In a communication to the *Upper Mississippian,* from Hampton, near Rock Island—under date of "August, 1844," in denying the charge that the "Laws and Fosters were engaged in the assassination of the Smiths at Carthage, William Law said: "The statement is false; for D.r R. D. Foster, Wilson Law and myself were in Fort Madison, Iowa Territory, at the time of the murder—which fact can be proved by Dr. Bostwick, Gen. Brown, Mr. Bullard, Mr. Reid, and the Hon. John C. Calhoun's two sons with whom we were conversing at the very hour. Chas. C. Foster was then in Burlington, Iowa Territory." Copied into the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of September 25th, 1844).

All that can be now said is that no positive proof exists that any of these Nauvoo seceders were actually with the mob that made the assault upon the jail and killed the Smith Brothers. The mob that did that physical crime was made up from the disbanded Warsaw militia—officers and men—aided and abetted by unknown parties already in Carthage, and they may even have joined in the assault upon the jail; and surely the Carthage Greys, officers and men, were directly implicated in the awful tragedy. The names of those immediately on duty at the jail as a guard, and who "good naturedly resisted until they were carefully disarmed" (Hay), are given by Sheriff Backenstos as follows: F. A. Worrell, officer of the guard. Frank-

lin Rhodes, William Baldwin, Levi Street, lives near Mendon, Adams county, Illinois. Joseph Hawley, lives in Carthage, Illinois. Anthony Barkman, Clabourn Wilson." (Church Historian's Compilation, *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXIV, p. 630).

NOTE 3: "GREATNESS" "THRUST UPON" JOSEPH SMITH'S MURDERERS. I have already quoted in a foot-note of this chapter (note 41) the statement of Mr. John Hay, that it seemed fated that every one connected with the murder of the Brothers Smith should have greatness thrust upon him. In justification of this statement there may be cited from Mr. Hay's *Atlantic Monthly* article the fact that Wm. N. Grover subsequently became "a distinguished lawyer of St. Louis, and United States Attorney for Missouri—an eminently respectable and conservative man," if we accept as final the judgment of Mr. Hay. Mark Aldrich, described by his biographer—Gregg—as a man of great enterprise, went to California in 1850; thence, a few years later, to Arizona, where for five years he was a member of Arizona legislature "and held other important offices in the Territory," dying in 1874. Thomas C. Sharp "atferwards became principal of the public school and greatly esteemed as county judge." He was also a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1847. Jacob C. Davis State Senator at the time of the murder was afterwards elected to Congress from the district where he lived. Col. Levi Williams, the remaining prominent one of the group indicted, and the leader of the mob, had no "greatness" "thrust upon him," but lived quietly at "Green Plains"—no longer in existence on the map, not even as a postoffice—where he died about the year 1858 (Jensen letter from Carthage, Oct. 8, 1888, published in "Infancy of the Church," p. 55). Captain Robert F. Smith, of the Carthage Greys, though not among the indicted murderers was nevertheless an undoubted accomplice in the crime; for with the means at his command to have prevented it, he stopped his company half a dozen times, according to Mr. Hay, in its march from the court house to the jail—a distance of only several hundred yards—"to remonstrate against defects in their alignment; and it was owing to this extreme conscientiousness about discipline that they arrived at the jail when all was over!" This captain of the Carthage Greys "became the great war general, Robert F. Smith," says Mr. Hay, "and marched his troops from Hancock county to the Atlantic with more speed if less science, than he displayed in leading his squad that day from the court house to

jail."[65] When reading of these characters thus veneered by the record of the "greatness thrust upon them," one may not forget that four of them, Aldrich, Grover, Sharp and Davis, were of the number of whom Mr. Hay said—when he records that the jury pronounced them "Not guilty"—"there was not a man on the jury, in the court, in the county, that did not know the defendants had done murder." And as to Robert F. Smith, no war record he made, and no promotion to military honors he received can ever efface the deep disgrace his conduct brought upon himself and the State of Illinois when he betrayed the trust of an officer by conniving at the murder of men placed under his protection. Special pleaders will try in vain to make the world believe that murderers and their accomplices are satisfactory or worthy citizens, and deserve the honors to which "in the corrupted currents of this world" they may attain or even have "thrust upon them." Nor need those who look for retribution to follow evil deeds feel disappointment because justice seems to halt, and even known murderers seemingly go unwhipped of justice. Judgment does not always overtake evil deeds in this world. "Some men's sins are open before hand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after" (I. Tim. iii, 24); but all may be assured that Justice does not sleep nor can He be thwarted—Justice will yet claim his own against the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith.

NOTE 4: ALLEGED MIRACLES AT THE MARTYRDOM OF JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH. It was inevitable perhaps that something miraculous should be alleged as connected with the death of Joseph Smith; that both myth and legend, those parasites of truth, should attach themselves to the Prophet's career. His character was too extraordinary, his mission too great, and his achievements too splendid to escape such a fate; and therefore both myth and legend are supplied in the stories detailing the scenes attendant upon the Prophet's death. Hence we have the legend of the body dragged to a sitting posture by the old well curb by the Missouri ruffian—the supposed son of ex-Governor Boggs; the effort to behead him by the same person; the flash of heavenly light from the clear sky that paralized the arm of the would-be mutilator of the dead; and also paralizing four other persons detailed by Captain Levi Williams to shoot the Prophet

65. Robert F. Smith was made Colonel of the 16th Illinois Regiment at the time of its organization at Quincy, in May, 1861. At the expiration of its term the 16th with its Colonel veteranized, participated in the siege of Atlanta, Ga., and thence marched with Sherman to the sea. Upon the occupation of Savannah, Col. Smith was made military governor, and was brevetted Brigadier-General on the 13th of March, 1865.

after he was set up by the well curb—paralized so that they stood like marble statues having no power to move a single limb and had to be carried away in their helpless condition by their companions! The imagination of the person detailing these incidents adds the delicate suggestion that while the deliberate preparations were being made to shoot him, President Smith's eyes rested upon his murderers "with a calm and quiet resignation; . . . his countenance seemed to betoken his only prayer to be, 'O Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!' " And thus would men fain by forced imaginings link together the tragedy of Carthage with that at Golgotha; The fancy of an "artist" has added to the foregoing scene the detail of a supposed angel in modern clothing with raised hand forbidding the mutilating of the Prophet. Of course this whole fabric of myth and legend comes from the story of Daniels and Brackenbury, and has, unfortunately, found its way into some of our otherwise acceptable Church Works, and still more unfortunately has entered into the beliefs of many Latter-day Saints.

This William M. Daniels after the tragedy at Carthage joined the Church, but soon after the trial dropped out of sight. Mr. Littlefield, who published at Nauvoo in pamphlet form Daniels' account of the murder of the Brothers Smith, says that his whereabouts has been unknown to him since 1846. And then offers the wholly gratuitous suggestion that it was not at all unlikely that "some of the parties implicated in the tragedy at Carthage assassinated him for exposing them." (The Martyrs, page 71). Ford says that Daniels was "afterwards expelled from the Mormons, but no doubt they will cling to his evidence in favor of the divine mission of the Prophet." It was for the refutation of the Governor's supposition that this note, in part, was written. Our Church annals, except for the Littlefield writings, are singularly silent respecting Daniels; also as to Brackenbury, of whom less is known. It was supposed that Brackenbury's testimony would corroborate Daniels', but Hay represents their testimony as conflicting, and because of jealousy Brakenbury contradicted "in his evidence all that Daniels had sworn to." (*Atlantic Monthly*, 1869). Hay also represents that Brackenbury brought out the story of the martyrdom in a series of paintings, that were badly executed.

Littlefield also published a letter in his "Martyrs," from one Wm. Web that corroborates some points in the Daniels story. The letter appears to be addressed to some newspaper (name and place of publication unknown) within some district of Illinois, where Thomas C. Sharp is running for office, and the purpose of

this letter is to damage his political prospects, and hence pretends to detail Sharp's connection with the murder at Carthage. The writer of it claims to be the one who set the body of the Prophet against the well curb, and was posing as the son of ex-Governor Boggs, etc., etc.,—corroborating Daniels. The letter is dated at "Carthage, October 14, 1844." It was not published by the unknown paper to which ostensibly it was sent; but it is alleged to have remained in the office of said paper until a change of owners was effected. The purchaser of the unknown paper, and himself unknown, found the letter among the rejected papers of his predecessor—handed it to a friend (name not given) with permission to keep it over night. The borrower happened to be friendly towards the "Mormons" and allowed two visiting "Mormon" Elders, McEwen and Wareham, to copy it, and they certify on their copy that it is a true copy of the original. This copy comes to the hands of one C. C. A. Christiensen who furnishes Littlefield with a copy of it, and so it gets into our literature to appear and reappear *ad nauseam*. It is wholly apocryphal, and the great, determining facts of Mormonism rest on no such questionable witnesses as Daniels and Brackenbury; nor upon any such documents as this very questionable "Web" letter.

NOTE 5: THE OFFICIAL STATEMENT OF JOSEPH SMITH'S MARTYRDOM. Fortunately for the Church; fortunately for the truth of History, the Church placed on record at an early date an official declaration of the accepted facts and incidents attending upon the martyrdom of her two chiefest men and Prophets: and it is with a deep satisfaction that one can note the absence of the myths and legends that ignorance and superstition would all too willingly attach to the tragedy of their martyrdom.

Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, the Prophet, and his Brother Hyrum. (From the Doctrine and Covenants).

"To seal the testimony of this book and the Book of Mormon, we announce the Martyrdom of Joseph Smith the Prophet, and Hyrum Smith the Patriarch. They were shot in Carthage jail, on the 27th of June, 1844, about five o'clock p. m., by an armed mob, painted black—of from 150 to 200 persons. Hyrum was shot first and fell calmly, exclaiming, *"I am a dead man!"* Joseph leaped from the window, and was shot dead in the attempt, exclaiming, 'O Lord my God!' They were both shot after they were dead in a brutal manner, and both received four balls.

"John Taylor, and Willard Richards, two of the Twelve, were the only persons in the room at the time; the former was wounded in a savage manner with four balls, but has since

recovered; the latter, through the providence of God, escaped, 'without even a hole in his robe.'

"Joseph Smith, the Prophet and Seer of the Lord, has done more (save Jesus only) for the salvation of men in this world, than any other man that ever lived in it. In the short space of twenty years, he has brought forth the Book of Mormon, which he translated by the gift and power of God, and has been the means of publishing it on two continents; has sent the fullness of the everlasting gospel which it contained to the four quarters of the earth; has brought forth the revelations and commandments which compose this Book of Doctrine and Covenants, and many other wise documents and instructions for the benefit of the children of men; gathered many thousand of the Latter-day Saints, founded a great city; and left a fame and name that cannot be slain. He lived great, and he died great in the eyes of God and his people, and like most of the Lord's anointed in ancient times, has sealed his mission and his works with his own blood—and so has his brother Hyrum. In life they were not divided, and in death they were not separated!

"When Joseph went to Carthage to deliver himself up to the pretended requirements of the law, two or three days previous to his assassination, he said, 'I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards God, and towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—he was murdered in cold blood.' The same morning, after Hyrum had made ready to go—shall it be said to the slaughter? Yes, for so it was,—he read the following paragraph, near the close of the fifth chapter of Ether, in the Book of Mormon and turned down the leaf upon it:—

" 'And it came to pass that I prayed unto the Lord that he would give unto the Gentiles grace, that they might have charity. And it came to pass that the Lord said unto me, if they have not charity, it mattereth not unto you, thou hast been faithful; wherefore thy garments are clean. And because thou hast seen thy weakness, thou shalt be made strong, even unto the sitting down in the place which I have prepared in the mansions of my Father. And now I . . . . bid farewell unto the Gentiles; yea and also unto my brethren whom I love, until we shall meet before the judgment-seat of Christ, where all men shall know that my garments are not spotted with your blood.'

"The testators are now dead, and their testament is in force.

"Hyrum Smith was 44 years old, February, 1844, and Joseph Smith was 38 in December, 1843; and henceforward their names will be classed among the martyrs of religion; and the reader in



DEATH MASK OF JOSEPH SMITH

every nation will be reminded that the Book of Mormon, and this book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church, cost the best blood of the nineteenth century to bring them forth for the salvation of a ruined world; and that if the fire can scathe a green tree for the glory of God, how easy it will burn up the 'dry trees' to purify the vineyard of corruption. They lived for glory, they died for glory; and glory is their eternal reward. From age to age shall their names go down to posterity as gems for the sanctified.

"They were innocent of any crime, as they had often been proved before, and were only confined in the jail by the conspiracy of traitors and wicked men; and their innocent blood on the floor of Carthage jail, is a broad seal affixed to "Mormonism" that cannot be rejected by any court on earth; and their innocent blood on the escutcheon of the State of Illinois, with the broken faith of the State as pledged by hte Governor, is a witness to the truth of the everlasting gospel, that all the world cannot impeach; and their innocent blood on the banner of liberty, and on the *magna charta* of the United, is an ambassador for the religion of Jesus Christ, that will touch the hearts of honest men among all nations; and their innocent blood, with the innocent blood of all the martyrs under the alter that John saw, will cry unto the Lord of hosts, till he avenges that blood on the earth. Amen." (Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 135).

NOTE 6: GOVERNOR FORD. (*a*) *Personal Appearance and Character*: "Thomas Ford, Governor of Illinois, was a man rather above the average politician usually chosen among these American states to fill that position. Not specially clear-headed, and having no brain power to spare, he was quite respectable and had some conscience, as is frequently the case with mediocre men. He had a good heart, too, was in no wise vindictive, and though he was in no sense a strong man, his sense of right and equity could be stubborn upon occasion. Small in body, he was likewise small in mind; indeed, there was a song current at the time that there was no room in his diminutive organism for such a thing as a soul. Nevertheless, though bitterly censured by some of the Mormons, I do not think Ford intended to do them wrong." (Bancroft's History of Utah, pp. 172-3).

(*b*) *Was there Complicity on the part of Ford in the Murder of the Smiths?* This question is ably discussed by President John Taylor in his "Martyrdom of Joseph Smith" (Tyler's Mormon Battalion Intro., pp. 57-60); and for a participant in the scenes of the tragedy, and one who suffered greatly because of the Governor's inability to cope with a situation, if not because of his

complicity in the plans of the murderers, President Taylor presents the subject in a commendably dispassionate manner:

"There had been various opinions about the complicity of the Governor in the murder, some supposing that he knew all about it, and assisted or winked at its execution. It is somewhat difficult to form a correct opinion; from the facts presented it is very certain that things looked more than suspicious against him.

"In the first place, he positively knew that we had broken no law.

"Secondly: He knew that the mob had not only passed inflammatory resolutions, threatening extermination to the 'Mormons,' but that they had actually assembled armed mobs and commenced hostilities against us.

"Thirdly: He took those very mobs that had been arrayed against us, and enrolled them as his troops, thus legalizing their acts.

"Fourthly: He disbanded the Nauvoo Legion, which had never violated law, and disarmed them, and had about his person in the shape of militia known mobocrats and violators of the law.

"Fifthly: He requested us to come to Carthage without arms, promising protection, and then refused to interfere in delivering us from prison, although Joseph and Hyrum were put there contrary to law.

"Sixthly: Although he refused to interfere in our behalf, yet, when Captain Smith went to him and informed him that the prisoners refused to come out, he told him that he had a command and knew what to do, thus sanctioning the use of force in the violation of law when opposed to us, whereas he would not for us interpose his executive authority to free us from being incarcerated contrary to law, although he was fully informed of all the facts of the case, as we kept him posted in the affairs all the time.

"Seventhly: He left the prisoners in Carthage jail contrary to his plighted faith.

"Eighthly: Before he went he dismissed all the troops that could be relied upon, as well as many of the mob, and left us in charge of the 'Carthage Greys,' a company that he knew were mobocratic, our most bitter enemies, and who had passed resolutions to exterminate us, and who had been placed under guard by General Demming only the day before.

"Ninthly: He was informed of the intended murder both before he left and while on the road, by several different parties.

"Tenthly: When the cannon was fired in Carthage, signifying that the deed was done, he immediately took up his line of march and fled. How did he know that this signal portended their

death if he was not in the secret? It may be said some of the party told him. How could he believe what the party said about the gun signal if he could not believe the testimony of several individuals who told him in positive terms about the contemplated murder?

"He has, I believe, stated that he left the 'Carthage Greys' there because he considered that, as their town was contiguous to ours, and as the responsibility of our safety rested solely upon them, they would not dare suffer any indignity to befall us. This very admission shows that he did really expect danger; and then he knew that these people had published to the world that they would exterminate us, and his leaving us in their hands and taking of their responsibilities was like leaving a lamb in charge of a wolf, and trusting to its humanity and honor for safe keeping.

"It is said, again, that he would not have gone to Nauvoo, and thus placed himself in the hands of the 'Mormons' if he had anticipated any such event, as he would be exposed to their wrath. To this it may be answered that the 'Mormons' did not know their signals, while he did; and they were also known in Warsaw, as well as in other places; and as soon as the gun was fired, a merchant of Warsaw jumped upon his horse and rode directly to Quincy, and reported 'Joseph and Hyrum killed, and those who were with them in jail.' He reported further that 'they were attempting to break jail and were all killed by the guard.' This was their story; it was anticipated to kill all, and the gun was to be the signal that the deed was accomplished. This was known in Warsaw. The Governor also knew it and fled; and he could really be in no danger in Nauvoo, for the 'Mormons' did not know it, and he had plenty of time to escape, which he did.

"It is said that he made all his officers promise solemnly that they would help him to protect the Smiths; this may or may not be. At any rate, some of these same officers helped to murder them.

"The strongest argument in the Governor's favor, and one that would bear more weight with us than all the rest put together, would be that he could not believe them capable of such atrocity; and, thinking that their talk and threatenings were a mere ebullition of feeling, a kind of braggadocia, and that there was enough of good moral feeling to control the more violent passions, he trusted to their faith. There is, indeed, a degree of plausibility about this, but when we put it in juxtaposition to the amount of evidence that he was in possession of it weighs very little. He had nothing to inspire confidence in them, and every-

thing to make him mistrust them. Besides, why this broken faith? Why this disregard of what was told him of several parties? Again, if he knew not the plan, how did he understand the signal? Why so oblivious to everything pertaining to the 'Mormon' interest, and so alive and interested about the mobocrats? At any rate, be this as it may, he stands responsible for their blood, and it is dripping on his garments. If it had not been for his promises of protection, they would have protected themselves; it was plighted faith that led them to the slaughter; and, to make the best of it, it was a breach of that faith and a non-fulfillment of that promise, after repeated warning that led to their death.

"Having said so much, I must leave the Governor with my readers and with God. Justice, I conceive, demanded this much, and truth could not be told with less; as I have said before, my opinion is that the Governor would not have planned this murder, but he had not sufficient energy to resist popular opinion, even if that opinion led to blood and death." (Taylor's Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, in Tyler's Mormon Battalion, Introduction, pp. 51-60.)

(*c*) *The place in History that Ford Assigns Himself*: "The Christian world, which has hitherto regarded Mormonism with silent contempt, unhappily may yet have cause to fear its rapid increase. Modern society is full of material for such a religion. . . . It is to be feared that, in course of a century, some gifted man like Paul, some splendid orator, who will be able by his eloquence to attract crowds of the thousands who are ever ready to hear, and be carried away by the sounding brass and tinkling cymbal of sparkling oratory, may command a hearing, may succeed in breathing a new life into this modern Mahometanism, and make the name of the martyred Joseph ring as loud, and stir the souls of men as much as the mighty name of Christ itself. Sharon, Palmyra, Manchester, Kirtland, Far West, Adam-on-Diahman, Ramus, Nauvoo, and the Carthage Jail, may become holy and venerable names, places of classic interest, in another age; like Jerusalem, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, and Mount Calvary to the Christian, and Mecca and Medina to the Turk. And in that event, the author of this history feels degraded by the reflection that the humble Governor of an obscure State, who would otherwise be forgotten in a few years, stands a fair chance like Pilate and Herod, and by their official connection with the true religion, of being dragged down to posterity with an immortal name, hitched on to the memory of a miserable impostor. There may be those whose ambition would lead them to desire an immortal name in history, even in

those humbling terms. I am not one of that number." (*Hist. of Ill.*, pp. 359-60).

(*d*) *The Fate of the Ford Family*: The office of governor was the last public trust held by Thomas Ford. At the close of his term in 1846, he retired to private life and obscurity, in which he died penniless, at Peoria, Ill., on the 3rd of Nov., 1850, "leaving his orphan children in a destitute condition," says the introduction to his "History of Illinois." It was during this four years of his retirement that he wrote his History, strongly tinged not only with severity but with bitterness, which is deplored by his literary executor in the Introduction. This executor, General James Shields, for four years sought for a publisher for Ford's History upon such terms as would secure some percentage of the profits to the destitute orphans of its author, and finally succeeded in placing it on such terms with S. C. Grigg and Co. of Chicago. The MSS had been placed in the hands of General Shields while Ford was on his death bed, and he did not feel at liberty to alter its text. "I therefore give it to the public," he says in his brief introduction of it, "just as I received it from the hands of the author, and with the sincere hope, for the sake of his destitute children, that it may meet with an indulgent and generous reception." It seems like the irony of Fate, that the Governor of Illinois, who, whatever other failures may have attended upon his administration, has to his credit the raising of Illinois from bankruptcy, and paying off its three million dollar debt (a very great sum for Illinois in 1842-46) should himself die penniless, and, it is said, filled a pauper's grave!

Misfortune seems to have followed the family after the death of the father. Two of the sons were associated with gangs of "Prairie Riders"—the picturesque name for horse thieves—in South Western Kansas, where they were lynched by vigilantes for their crimes. One, the Elder Brother, Thomas, in 1871; the other, Sewell Ford, in 1874. (*Kansas City Star* of Oct. 16th, 1910, where the story of the lynching and the fact of identification are told in detail; also copied into *Improvement Era*—Utah—for February, 1911).

Misfortune followed the female branch of the family as well as the males. In a special dispatch to the *Los Angeles Times* of March 21, 1910, the following sad story of the last daughter of Governor Ford is told:

"Peoria, (Ill.) March 20, 1910.—With but four mourners the body of Mrs. Anna Davis, last daughter of the late Governor Thomas Ford, was interred beside her mother, father and sister, as darkness settled over Springdale cemetery this evening. No word of eulogy was spoken, no minister read a prayer.

"After three years in the Deaconess Hospital, at Lincoln, Ill., during which she had been the subject of Logan county hospitality, Mrs. Davis died Thursday night, aged seventy-two, penniless, and with but one living relative, a daughter, Mrs. Watson, of Okaloosa, Iowa, who, with scant funds, brought her mother's body here for burial..

"Ford, one of Illionis' greatest Governors, and publisher of a History of Illinois, like his daughter and other members of his family, died penniless in 1850. He raised Illinois from bankruptcy, and paid its three million dollar debt."

The recital of these circumstances is not given here in any spirit of malign satisfaction over the misfortunes of the Ford family, because the Mormon people may have suffered some injustice through the weakness of Governor Ford; but merely to give completeness to our History, and also to say that if these misfortunes are to be regarded as retribution, which is here not insisted upon, it would only prove that in this world weakness is often punished more severely than wickedness; and that some men's sins are open beforehand, going before to judgment; and some men they follow after."

Hinton Rowan Helper and his Book

BY WILLIAM S. PELLETREAU, A. M.

HINTON ROWAN HELPER, whose name must ever be associated with one of the most important episodes in the history of our nation, was born near Mocksville, Davie Co., North Carolina, Dec. 27, 1829. His education was obtained at Mocksville Academy, from which he graduated in 1848. In 1851 he went to California by way of Cape Horn and spent three years in the "Land of Gold," which was the name of a book, giving an account of his adventures. This was published in Baltimore in 1855. Though the son of a slave holder, and inheriting no love for the negro race, his attention was drawn to the fact that slavery as an institution was a curse to the Southern States. In 1857 appeared his great work, which shook the country, and no book was ever published in this land which was more thoroughly denounced, or more strongly commended, and made its author the best known and the worst hated man in America, or ever produced such a lasting effect. Its title was:

"The Impending Crisis
of
The South.
How to Meet It.
By
Hinton Rowan Helper
of North Carolina."

It was published in New York by Burdick Bros., at their place, No. 8 Spruce street.

This book attracted immediate attention. The Abolition Society which had been rapidly increasing for some years, regarded it and its author as a most able champion for their cause, while the united South saw in it a most deadly attack upon their peculiar institution, all the worse because it eminated from one of their own number. Of this work one hundred and forty-four editions were issued, of one thousand copies each. At the outset of the Lincoln campaign an abstract of it was published under the name of "Compendium of the Impending Crisis," and printed and circulated broadcast by the thousand. The work, as the author states was written in Baltimore, and would have been published in that city but for a law of Maryland, which made it a felony "to print or publish any work tending to stir up discontent among the people of color in this State."

The circulation throughout the North was enormous, but in the South it was strictly interdicted. To possess it even was dangerous in the extreme. To order it through the mails would subject a person to the suspicion of being an abolitionist. For a murderer or robber there might be some charity, but for an abolitionist there was but one cry: "Away with such a fellow from the earth." The author informed us that in Arkansas three men were hanged for having the book in their possession. The curiosity to read it, however, was intense. Southern merchants ordering goods from the North secretly gave orders to have several copies packed with the goods they ordered, and they were eagerly read by men who would not have dared to let their possession be known. "Helper's Book," as it was universally known, was the exact complement of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The one appealed to the head and intelligence, and the other to the heart and sentimentality of the country, and combined they did more to destroy slavery than any other power.

The leaders of the Abolition party it must be confessed were fanatical in the extreme. Their hatred of slavery overruled everything else. Seeing no way of destroying slavery in the Union, they advocated the destruction of the Union, so that a part of the country at least, could be freed from the curse. The utterance of Horace Greeley that the Union was "a league with death; a covenant with a Hell," found a ready echo in the freely



Hinton Rowan Helper.

Date of death, March 9, 1909. Date of burial, March 13, 1909. Place of burial, Capital Cemetery, Washington, D. C.

uttered sentiments of William H. Seward, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison. It is curious to observe that a few years later all the talent and influence of these same men were devoted to the preservation of the very Union which they were the first to denounce.

The "American Anti-Slavery Society" in a convention held in 1844,

Resolved, That a political Union in any form between a slave holding and a free community must necessarily involve the latter in the gulf of slavery.

Resolved, That Secession from the United States government is the duty of every Abolitionist, since no one can take office or deposit a vote under the Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor to the slave holder in his sin.

This, we believe, was the first appearance in politics of the word "Secession," afterwards under vastly different circumstances so thoroughly detested.

It was also "Resolved, That 11 years of warfare against the slave power have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union, rivets the chains of the slave. That the only exodus of the slave to freedom unless it be one of blood, must be over the remains of the present American Church and the grave of the present Union. And that the Abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of their agitation to dissolve the American Union."

It is needless to say that large numbers of men who detested slavery and would gladly have seen it abolished, were shocked by these radical utterances. On Feb. 1, 1856, Senator Hale of New Hampshire, presented to the U. S. Senate two petitions from certain citizens of Pennsylvania, praying "that some plan might be devised for the dissolution of the American Union." It received three votes. John T. Hale, William H. Seward and Salman P. Chase, men who in later years were the strongest in the support of "The Union forever." The whole object of "Helper's Book" was to demonstrate by facts and figures the ruinous unprofitableness of slavery as shown only too plainly by the marvelous increase in wealth and population of the North,

and the exact opposite in the case of the South. The poor white freemen of the South were worse off than the slaves. When they labored it was in competition with slaves, and the latter had better wages. There was no one to care for their intellectual advancement, consequently they remained in ignorance. Their wages as agricultural laborers were $7 a month and board. Working on railroads they received $12, while slaves under the same circumstances had $16.

In 1790 the State of New York contained 340,120 inhabitants. Virginia had 748,308.

In 1850 New York numbered 3,097,394. While Virginia had 1,421,661.

In 1790 the imports of the two states were about equal.

In 1853 the imports of New York were $178,270,990. The imports of Virginia were $399,004.

In 1790 the inhabitants of Massachusetts were 378,717. North Carolina had 393,751.

In 1850 Massachusetts had 994,514, all free. North Carolina had 869,039, of which 288,548 were slaves.

Massachusetts and North Carolina each had an excellent seaport. Boston and Beaufort, the latter being one of the safest and commodious on the Atlantic coast.

In 1850 the former was the second in the Union, while the latter was scarcely anything in comparison.

In 1853 the exports of Massachusetts were $16,895,309, and the imports were $41,367,956.

While the exports and imports of South Carolina as the author says: "Are so utterly insignificant that we are ashamed to record them."

Pennsylvania in 1850 expended $1,348,249 for public schools.

South Carolina expended $200,600.

The very dependence of the South upon the North, we give in the author's own words.

"The North is the mecca of our merchants. All our commercial, mechanical, manufacturing and literary supplies come from there. We want Bibles, brooms, buckets and books, we go to the North. We want furniture, crockery, glassware and pianos, we go to the North. We want toys, primers, school books, fashion-

able apparel, machinery, medicines, tombstones and a thousand other things and we go to the North for them all. Instead of keeping our money in circulation at home by patronizing our own mechanics, manufacturers and laborers, we sent it all away to the North, and there it remains, it never falls into our hands again.

In infancy we are swaddled in Northern muslin. In childhood we are humored with Northern gew gaws. In youth we are instructed out of Northern books. At the age of maturity we sow our wild oats on Northern soil; in middle life we exhaust our wealth, energies and talents in giving aid and succor to every department of Northern power. In the decline of life we remedy our eyesight with Northern spectacles, and support our infirmities with Northern canes. In old age we are drugged with Northern physic, and finally when we die our inanimate bodies, shrouded in Northern cambric are stretched upon the bier, borne to the grave in a Northern carriage, interred with a Northern spade, and memorized with a Northern slab."

The author speaks of himself as "the son of a venerated parent, who, while he lived, was a considerate and merciful slave holder, a native of the South, born and bred in North Carolina. Of a family whose home had been in the valley of the Yadkin for nearly a century and a half. A Southerner by instinct, and all the influences of thought, habits and kindred; and with the desired and fixed purpose to reside permanently within the limits of the South, we feel that we have a right to express our opinion." The opinion, then expressed, was that all of the evils of every kind that oppressed the South were due to slavery. And he adds the prophetic words, that unless slavery is abolished within ten years, the South will be to the North what Poland is to Russia, what Cuba is to Spain, and what Ireland is to England.

The commonly expressed belief that "Cotton is King," he completely refutes by the fullest proof that the hay crop of the North far exceeds in value all the crops of cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco and hemp raised in the South.

The thriftiness of the North is placed in vivid contrast to the thriftlessness of the South.

"At the North everything is turned to advantage. When a tree is cut down the main body is used for lumber, paling or railing. The stump for shoe pegs; the knees for ship building, the branches for fuel. While in the South whole forests are cut down, rolled into heaps and burned to clear the soil."

His father's plantation was 200 acres of excellent land, which would command the maximum price of land in western North Carolina. His eldest brother bought his share at the rate of $5 an acre, "which was a larger price than any one else would have given." At the same time, a farm in Pennsylvania, near the Maryland line, sold for $105.50 per acre. The difference being as he says, "The one was blessed by the pure air of freedom, the other cursed by the malaria of slavery."

Long tables of statistics fill the pages, but the most remarkable of all shows the number of slave holders in the South.

Holder of 1 slave	68,820
Holder of 1 and under 5	105,603
Holder of 5 and under 10	80,765
Holder of 10 and under 20	54,595
Holder of 20 and under 50	29,733
Holder of 50 and under 100	6,196
Holder of 100 and under 200	1,479
Holder of 200 and under 300	187
Holder of 300 and under 500	56
Holder of 500 and under 1,000	9
Holder of 1,000 and over	2
	347,525

Mr. Helper insists that the above is deceptive, for it includes slave hirers. His belief was that the true number was 186,551. These was the aristocracy of the South. Through their control of the Democratic party they ruled the country. It was to support their claims that a war was waged costing tens of thousands of lives, and millions of treasure. The only remedy was, in Helper's opinion, for all the non-slave holding whites to unite for utter destruction of the institution which was a greater

curse to themselves than to the slaves. Helper's Book was endorsed by 68 Members of Congress, led by Schuyler Colfax. That such a book should have produced many rejoinders is not surprising, but the only one of any consequence was "Helper's Impending Crisis Dissected." By Samuel M. Wolfe of Virginia. Published in Philadelphia in 1860. It was dedicated to Hon. Thomas S. Bocock and R. M. T. Hunter, "and to all patriots North and South in their endeavors to ensure the successful defeat of Helperism and Shermanism."

The author states that "upon the first appearance of Helper's Book, he intended to answer it immediately, but thought it too contemptible to notice. But finding it had so much importance given to it by Members of Congress during the late contest for speakership, we think that some notice may be taken of the many lies contained in the work of this vile wretch Helper."

The author takes especial care to quote all the expressions used by the Abolitionists to show their hostility to the Union.

He also makes the statement, "Helper stole $300 from his employer, a bookseller in Raleigh, N. C., and fled from the State." A statement which has no other support.

The great value of Helper's Book to the Republican party was fully recognized, and in 1861 he was made U. S. Consul to Buenos Ayres, and held the office till 1867. His travels were extensive in Central and South America. In 1867 he returned to Asheville, N. C., and later resided in New York, where the writer had the pleasure of meeting him. Clad in a full suit of immaculate broad cloth, with expensive shirt bosom, he was the typical Southern gentleman of the old school.

He published "No Joque," "A Question for the Continent," a book devoted to the negro question. Also "Negroes in Negro Land, and America."

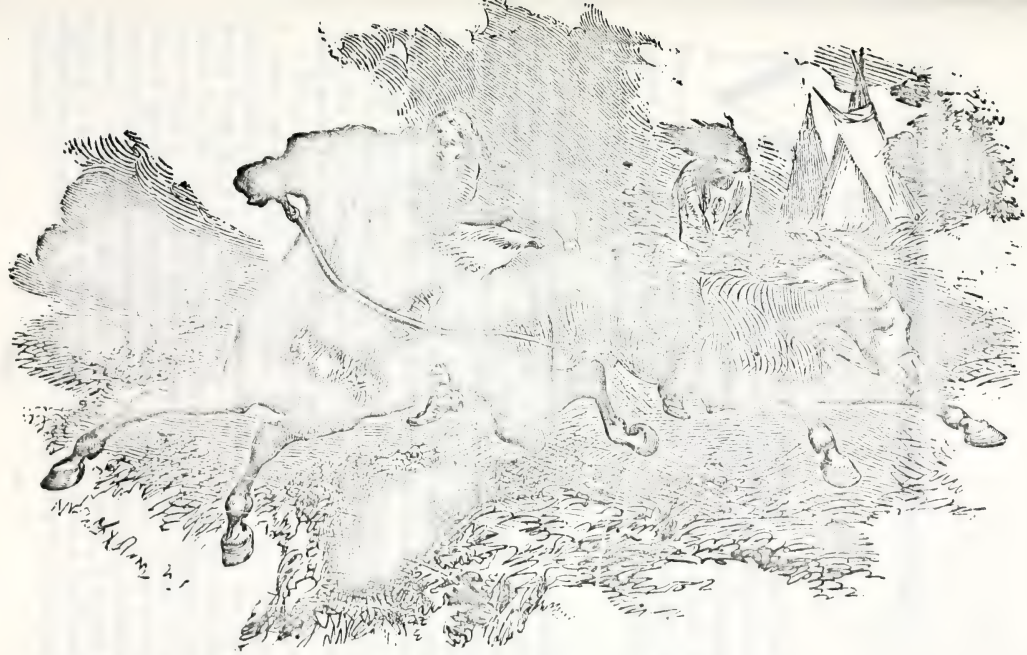
But the great ambition of his life was to establish what he called "The Three Americas Railway." A railroad to run the length of the two continents. To this he devoted his time, his talent and his fortune, having expended in the vain effort $70,000.

The end of this truly great man was painful in the extreme. For a time he had disappeared from public notice. On March 9,

1909, he was found dead in an obscure boarding house on Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, under circumstances which showed only too plainly that he had terminated his own existence. He was heart broken from the failure of the great dream of his life. With no relations or intimate and appreciating friends the remains of a man who had once filled so large a place in the public view, would have been laid in a pauper's grave in Potter's Field. Fortunately the case attracted the attention of Mr. Stephen H. Hines a prominent and public spirited citizen of Washington. Mr. Hines had been foremost in establishing the "Capital Cemetery" and he assumed all the expense of a suitable burial in a place worthy of a man who had once been so famous. It is to be hoped that a suitable monument will soon be erected to mark his last resting place.

Mr. Helper married a Spanish woman, Marie Rodriquez. About ten years ago being stricken with blindness, she returned to Buenos Ayres, where she is now living with a sister.

Cannot the leaders of the Republican party, to which he was so powerful an assistant in the days of its beginning, make it their business to see that Hinton Rowan Helper does not rest in an unmarked grave.



CAN YOU IDENTIFY THIS PICTURE?

The above reproduction is from an old-fashioned wood-cut, picked up on the shores of Long Beach, L. I., early in June, and taken to the Hotel Nassau at the point for identification. A resident of the hotel says it is strangely familiar to him from his early reading, but is unable to state positively whether he has seen it in some old edition of Guyot's Geography, an early American History, or some work of fiction. It evidently represents a white settler endeavoring to escape from an Indian encampment. The present owner seeks information through the readers of this magazine regarding its publication. Who can identify it?

Historic Views and Reviews

The Case of Rev. William Tennant

MR. J. C. PUMPELLY, Historian of the Sons of the American Revolution, is extremely anxious to get in touch with any person who can furnish him with intimate information regarding the case of Rev. William Tennant, the New Jersey clergyman of Colonial days who is buried near the Old Tennant Church in Monmouth County. In writing about this matter Mr. Pumpelly says:

"In reading about psychic research and supposed communications from the spirit proving as it is claimed, even to the most obtuse the immortality of the soul, I have been led to wonder whether we do in fact ever forget. Are our thoughts imperishable and is forgetfulness only a veil drawn between the after-consciousness and past events? The characters may be filled up, but let the veil be withdrawn now or in the hereafter and every incident will become as legible as when first experienced. May it not be that this bringing before every human soul in the life to come the collective experience of his whole past life may indeed make for each one of us our hell or heaven?

"While preparing a paper on Colonial Days in New Jersey, I came across that remarkable incident of the eloquent and saintly clergyman, Rev. William Tennant who after having seemingly been dead for several days—the funeral having been delayed by the pleadings of his physician and intimate friend—came back to life, but when restored to health found his memory of the past a complete blank. During his sister's reading, he asked her what was the book she held before her, and when she replied, 'The Bible,' he asked, 'What is the Bible, I do not know what you mean.' As to knowledge he was again a child and was obliged to recommence his education, beginning with the simplest rudiments."

Mr. Tennant's Remarkable Experience

Now it appears that at the time he was attacked by his serious illness which was the result of over-study, he was conversing with his brother in Latin and suddenly became insensible, and to all appearances dead. Now, when once again, as in his youth striving to relearn what he had lost, and while reading an elementary Latin book with this same brother with whom he was speaking, when so suddenly stricken down, the minister stopped as though he had received a sudden shock and declared that the book seemed familiar to him. In a very short time the veil was wholly lifted, and his past acquirements and knowledge became once more a part of his conscious existence and he had the most clear and vivid recollection of all that had transpired during those days of apparent, or as he firmly believed, of real death. He dared not, he said, relate all he had seen in the spirit land, but the account will be found among his papers after his decease. Unfortunately as he died in the War of the Revolution, these particular papers by a series of accidents were lost, but the thousands who listened to his seemingly inspired ministrations from the pulpit for so many years, knew from his testimony that his soul had really passed from the body and entered the world of spirits, and that he really stood in the full presence of that ineffable glory upon which no man may look and live. This testimony was not only firmly believed by his hearers, but they and his friends listened to his preaching with a reverence and awe that was accorded to no other preacher of that day; and as the converts to Christ were many, we can see plainly that this strange event was foreordained for a great and good purpose.

Without a word as to the much discussed subjects of dreams, trances, and psychic manifestations, we can see one thing, that Tennant's forgetfulness, absolute as it seemed, was in fact only apparent, and the light from his past existence was invisible only because obscured by the bright light from the spirit land. May we not conclude there is no such thing as absolute forgetfulness?

"Bucyrus," a Name of Mystery

"When I linger more than a day or two in a town during my travels here or abroad," said Col. W. C. Lemert in the *Washington Post,* "I usually have to answer questions about the name of my home town. The name is an unusual one, and for many years very few of the home people knew just exactly where the word 'Bucyrus' came from or what it meant. There is a difference of opinion to this day as to the actual derivation of the name, and the most popular explanation is that Col. Kilbourne, who laid out the village, wanted a name that had never been used before in America. Well, he got a none-such, and there have been few towns in the West named for our beloved city.

"The pet tradition in Bucyrus is that Col. Kilbourne was a great admirer of Cyrus, the Persian general, and that the town's name is really in honor of Cyrus, with the 'bu' prefixed for euphony's sake. Then there has been a discussion over the contention that the name was really that of Busirus in Egypt and the spelling changed for no particular reason. Col. Kilbourne, the founder, lived to see Bucyrus much of a town, and he enjoyed coming to it in the early days.

"Anyhow, Bucyrus is the one town in the State whose name is yet a puzzle, and we do not worry much about it. Years ago we had a clever citizen named D. R. Locke, who went to Toledo and became famous as an editor and author of the Petroleum V. Nasby humorous political letters. Locke lived in our section when there was an element friendly to the South before and during the Civil War, and the hotbed of this sentiment was at Wingerts Corners. You recall that the Nasby letters were all dated Confedrit X Roads. That was the Nasby name for Wingerts Corners, and the Petroleum V. Nasby signature was taken from the name of Peter Vail, an old character of Bucyrus, who was noted for his sympathy with the Southern slaveholders. Other characters in the Nasby letters were quickly recognized by old Bucyrus residents, who knew Locke when he was in our midst as an editor. These old Nasby letters are good reading yet, but

you cannot find his book in any library, and I have tried from Washington to Frisco."

To Honor Louisa M. Alcott

There stands today in Concord town, that centre of pilgrimage for all lovers of American letters, a house much the worse for the wear and tear of many generations, almost a tumble-down house, with a barn at the back equally in need of repair. The pilgrims pause with awe before the lovely New England home of Emerson and thrill at the dark pines where Hawthorne walked, and glow with enthusiasm at the "rude bridge which arched the flood," and its commemorative Minute Man, but it is before the dilapidated house of the Alcotts that the heart grows warmest.

There were wonderful men who lived in Concord in those mid-century days, but the strongest, stoutest, bravest man among them all was Bronson Alcott's tomboy girl, Louisa. All her life she bore the burdens of her "Pathetic Family," as she called the Alcott idealists, and there in the orchard house she wrote that story of their struggles that she called "Little Women," the book that enabled her for the first time to see the possibility of comfort for herself and the transcendental family.

It is proposed now to buy the Orchard House with the contributions of those who are grateful enough to its author to wish to see a memorial established. There are probably few women in this country who had an English speaking girlhood and read any books at all who did not rejoice in Meg and Jo, Beth and Amy, to say nothing of Laurie and the glorious company of boys who lived at the dear German professor's school. There should be a sufficient number, says the Concord Woman's Club, which has the matter in charge, to raise $8,000 to purchase the Orchard House and turn it over to a society which would keep it forever in memory of Louisa Alcott.

The Real Miss Alcott

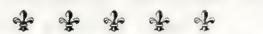
Readers of Miss Alcott's books, "Little Women," "Little Men," "An Old-Fashioned Girl," and all the others, are counted, now by millions. Before Miss Alcott died, when she had written no new book, but was receiving only the royalties from these favorites, her annual income was $16,000.

It would be particularly fitting if the tribute could be paid Miss Alcott's memory now, just about fifty years since she walked down the long path that leads from the Orchard House to the Highway and waved farewell and started off to the war. Her journal of November, 1862, has this note and in all the characteristic things she wrote nothing was ever more true to her character than this:

"November: Thirty years old. Decided to go to Washington as nurse if I could find a place. Help needed, and I love nursing and must let out my pent-up energy in some new way. Winter is always a hard and dull time, and if I am away there is one less to feed and warm and worry over."

There you have Louisa Alcott, full of pent-up energy—must help, loves taking care of people; she loved the stir of war, too, she said, thinking always of the anxiety of "Marmee" when there were so many to feed and warm and so little to do it with, father being an idealist.

Later on, before the time of "Little Women," when the literary Jo was just beginning to find her way to publishers' offices, there are again and again in the diary entries like this: "Made $70. Sent home $30." Or "Made $35. Sent $15 home." She was always fighting and caring for the wounded, whether she was at the front with the soldiers or just struggling in the ranks of breadwinners.



Famous Old Folio Sold

A famous old Pennsylvania folio, the largest book issued from any American press previous to the American Revolution, was

sold recently at Merwin-Clayton's. It was a German translation of Tielmann Van Braght's great work, "Hot Bloedig Toneel of Martelaar's Spiegel," which was printed on the Mennonite press at Ephrata, Penn., in 1748-9. This copy is in the original calf binding, with brass corner pieces and brass clasps. It is considered to be in some respects the most remarkable book of the Colonial period.

The Pennsylvania Mennonites in 1745 requested their brethren in Holland to have Van Braght's work translated into German, but their request was not complied with, so the Ephrata Brethren undertook the laborious task, making the translation, manufacturing the paper, and doing the printing and binding. Fifteen men were kept at work on it during three years, though not without interruption, as the supply of paper sometimes gave out. In the present copy is the rare copper plate frontispiece, representing the Army of Martyrs marching toward heaven. This copper plate was probably executed in Holland, and, according to Hildeburn, an authority on the Ephrata Press publications, most copies of the work were issued without it, as the design was offensive to the Mennonites.



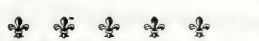
Buried at Master's Feet

An interesting incident in Civil War history was recently brought to light by the death of Henry Green, an East Orange, N. J., negro. In a lively engagement in Virginia during the Civil War a Connecticut regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Willes, then of Hartford, defeated some Confederates and took, among their prisoners, a dozen or more negro slaves. The Union soldiers, hastening the slaves toward a stockade prison, beat one who was walking lame.

"Hold on, sir!" exclaimed Colonel Willes. "Let that black fellow alone." And he brushed away a non-commissioned officer who was striking the negro. The colonel put the slave, Henry Green, on his own horse and took him to the prison. Not

long afterward came the end of the war. "Marse Colonel," the black man—then young and strong—pleaded, "let me go wif yo' all, let me stay 'long wif yo' de rest o' mah life." The Colonel was rich. A servant more or less made no difference. He took Henry Green to the North, and the negro became his personal bodyguard and butler.

Three years ago the Colonel died. In his will he directed that Henry Green, so long as he lived, should be clothed and fed and paid good wages. "And when I die—and when my man Henry dies," he went on, "I want his body buried crosswise at the foot of my grave." Henry died a few weeks ago, and, in accordance with the provisions of the will, was buried "crosswise" at the feet of "Marse" Thomas Willes, in the Hartford, Conn., cemetery.



Joseph Bartlett's Unique Works

Two curious volumes, by Joseph Bartlett, were sold recently at Merwin-Clayton's. One was entitled, "Aphonisms on Man, Mannerisms, Principles, and Things," and is dedicated "To All My Enemies." The other, called "Physiognomy, a Poem," is addressed "To Critics of Every Description; this poem, a delicious morceau for their malicious appetites, is respectfully offered by one who expects, but does not fear, their censure."

These volumes were printed "at the Oracle Office, Portsmouth, N. H., in 1810, for the author." Bartlett was born at Plymouth, Mass., in 1762, and took a Master's degree at Harvard in 1786. He had an adventurous career in England, served in Shay's Rebellion in this country, and opened a law office at Woburn, Mass., which he painted black and called "The Coffin." His satirical poem, "Physiogonomy," in which the principal men of the day were figured, was delivered before the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa Society. He died in 1827.

In the same collection was a copy of the first edition of Aaron Bancroft's "Essay on the Life of George Washington," printed

at Worcester, Mass., in 1807. Bancroft served as a minute-man in the Revolution, and was present both at Lexington and Bunker Hill. In his preface to the book he says that he was not writing for men of erudition, but for the unlettered portion of the community, and he has for their benefit more practically studied simplicity of style.



Exhibit of College Journalism

A history of student periodicals of Columbia University, extending from 1813 to the present day, was afforded in an interesting collection which was on exhibition in the Low Library for several weeks in May and June.

The earliest known Columbia student periodical was the Philolexian, a manuscript paper gotten up by a literary society, and published for the first time February 26, 1813. This was succeeded by the Philolexian Observer, which continued from December, 1813, to April, 1814, and ran through twelve numbers, all in manuscript.

An Observer of this early issue is probably the most interesting thing in the present exhibit. It was presented to Columbia by Bishop Bedell in 1884. He had received it from his father, Gregory to Bedell, 1811, Columbia. In the back of the copy appears a manuscript of a "forensic disputation," held by the society in May, 1814, on the subject of the "Liberal Education of the Female Sex." The disputants were James J. Rosevelt of the class of 1815, a granduncle of Col. Roosevelt; John L. Mason of the same class, later a Judge of the New York Supreme Court, and Gregory T. Beddel of the class of 1811. "The supplement is written on paper of a delicate shade of pink"—suggests the catalogue of the periodical exhibit—"possibly as a compliment to the subject of the debate."

First Real Periodical

But the first real periodical of the Columbia students was Academic Recreations, published first in 1815. It was issued

once a month by the Peithologian Literary Society, a rival of Philolexians. The little magazine contained serious essays, romantic fiction, and "stilted poetry in the style of the nineteenth century." It was printed at the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets, and copies were 25 cents. Academic Recreations holds the distinction of being the fourth oldest American student periodical. It was preceded in point of time only by the Literary Cabinet and the Athenaeum, published at Yale in 1806-7 and 1814, respectively, and the Harvard Lyceum, which began publication in 1810. Brown University's first student periodical came forth in 1824, the University of Pennsylvania's in 1834, and Princeton's in 1835.

A humorous side of the exhibit is revealed in the series of Annual Catalogues begun in 1848. It appears that the college janitor of this period had considerable literary ability, for he was selected to edit the Annual Catalogue, a work now devolving on the shoulders of the leading administrative officers of the university. Yet the janitor seems to have performed the task well, and he honorably retired from the job to give the students a chance at it.

The students, however, soon became reckless and extravagant, resorting to the employment of such modern devices of journalism as engraved cuts, artistic lettering, and colored type. This is said to have so shocked the Trustees that in 1856-1857 they suppressed the student publication and started the present official series of annual catalogues, and the publication has never since been charged with extravagances such as brought its student compilers to grief.

The "Traitor" Professor

Other periodicals of the early sixties were The Undergraduate, later The Quarterly, published at New Haven in the interest of the students of twenty-seven American and foreign colleges, and then in the year 1864. The Columbian, the junior annual which has continued practically unchanged fundamentally up to the present time. An interesting item in one of the war-

time Columbians is an editorial reference to "the traitor Prof. McCulloh," who, it appears, had been expelled the year before for having "abandoned his post and joined the rebels."

Columbia has also published other student annuals, the Senior Year Book, begun in 1885, and the Blue Book, a handbook of campus information for freshmen, issued annually by the Christian Association.

In 1868 The Cap and Gown appeared on the campus, and in 1873 changed its name to Acta Columbia, which continued under that name until it gave way to Spectator, the pretentious student daily of today. Acta's most brilliant history dates back to 1879-1883, when it numbered among its editors Nicholas Murray Butler, now President of the university; Harry Thurston Peck, afterward professor, and John Kendrick Bangs. Since the eighties there have been numerous small shortlived competitors of the established student periodicals, but the leaders have survived them all.

Spectator now is the college news daily. Jester the funny paper, and Monthly the literary magazine. Then there is the Junior Annual, the Columbian, the Senior Year Book, and the Blue Book, the Christian Association annual. The Alumni publish The Alumni News, and the University Quarterly is the official organ. The Society of Architects publishes its annual Year Book; the School of Mines, the Columbia Engineer and The School of Mines Quarterly; and the Law School its Columbia Law Review.

At Barnard the girls issue The Barnard Bulletin, a news sheet; the Barnard Bear, a literary periodical, and The Mortar-board, the junior annual. Teachers' College, Horace Mann School, and Speyer School have also each its quota of student publications.



Small Prices for Stoddard Relics

Some souvenirs, which for many years were treasured by Richard Henry Stoddard, the poet, and his wife Elizabeth, as authentic relics, went at low prices in a recent sale at Anderson's. They were catalogued as "sold, not subject to return."

A small lock of hair in an oval gold-mounted frame, and said to be John Milton's, was knocked down to Walter Scott for only $5. The history of this lock of hair, it is said, may be found in the second volume of Leigh Hunt, Blue and Gold Series. A small lock of hair, said to have been cut from the head of George Washington by his sister after his death, brought even less than the Milton relic, the same bidder obtaining it for only $2.50. It is in a small oval gold-mounted frame, with Mrs. Stoddard's memorandum as to its history.

A quill pen, said to have been used by Humboldt while writing, when he was more than 74 years old, his most famous work, "Kosmos," realized only 50 cents. A half dollar bid also obtained a piece of green material, said to be a part of the bed valance which belonged to Robert Burns. It was accompanied by Mrs. Stoddard's memorandum that it was presented by C. A. Barry, artist of "Loves and Heroines of the Poets," and that it had been given to him by an old Scotch woman, who knew Burns.



Colonel Barstow's Flag of Truce

For a large photograph of William Cullen Bryant, seated writing, and with his autograph signature, dated July 15, 1870, $2.50 was paid. A piece of toweling, used by Capt. Wilson Barstow, as a flag of truce when he went up the James River to bring north the wife of former President John Tyler, fetched 75 cents. Fifty cents was paid for a Civil War relic consisting of a small wooden box with carved flowers and chain decoration, and on top a small silver plate with "Reliquial, R. H. S., 1863," engraved upon it

Twenty-five cents each was paid for a photograph and an etched portrait of William M. Thackeray, the property of R. H. Stoddard, while Stoddard's engraved portrait of Sir Walter Scott and framed photograph of Nathaniel Hawthorne sold respectively for $1 and $1.05.

A copy of "Some Verses," by Helen Hay, presented "To

Mrs. Stoddard with regards of John Hay," realized $7.50. Laid in was a letter by John Hay, dated Nov. 23, 1898, in which he says: "I hope you will like the little book I send you today, by my daughter. Read 'The Days' and 'My Brook.' I am a fond old man—but I can't help thinking they are very good." It was bought on order.

F. W. Morris paid $6.50 for a silk programme of "Romeo and Juliet," with Edwin Booth in the title role. Winter Garden, April, 1864, in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shakespeare. This was the first appearance of Stoddard's poem on Shakespeare.



Prices of Long Ago

"One of the older Manhattanese has shown us the way, the only way to cheapen living," facetiously remarks an editorial writer in The New York Sun. "We are going to take him to lunch in 1863, since he has sent us a yellow—no offence—old newspaper which stimulates the long-hopeless effort towards economy. Uptown to-day, much as we might like what Thomas Calrke (successor to Benjamin and Fuller) might set before us at his "old established and well known Hotel," 94 Chatham street. Brother Leggett also tempts us with 'the choicest viands and delicacies of the season, served up in the best style, at the most moderate prices,' 42 and 44 Chatham street—Brother Leggett tempts us to his 'Saloon' and 'Convenient Lodgings,' whither he has just removed after thirty years at his older stand, but he can wait. We can go to his place in 1910. And we can go no more to the Putnam House on Fourth avenue, that Putnam House which closed its homely, comfortable doors only the other day. On this day in 1863 you may read the bill of fare as you go up in a Broadway stage, the only method of locomotion approved by old New Yorkers. Notice the happy glow on the driver's face. At Christmas time of all days of the year the mellow flame of philosophy and hot rum flashes therefrom:"

THE OLD BILL-OF-FARE.

PUTNAM HOUSE,

357, 359, & 361 FOURTH AVENUE,
Between 26th and 27th sts.,

OPPOSITE THE HARLEM AND NEW HAVEN DEPOT.
LAWRENCE R. KERR, PROPRIETOR.

The Proprietor of this popular Lodging House and Dining Saloon is prepared to accommodate citizens, travellers, and business men, with pleasant Lodgings, and Meals at all hours, in a style equal to any other establishment in the city. He would call attention to the following extensive and economical

BILL OF FARE.

BREAKFAST AND TEA.

Beef Steak	7 cts
Pork Steaks	7 cts
Veal Cutlets	7 cts
Mutton Chops	7 cts
Lamb do	7 cts
Ham and Eggs	19 cts
Fried or Boiled Ham	13 cts
Fried Sausages	7 cts
Fried Fish	7 cts
Fried Clams	7 cts
Fried Eels	7 cts
Fish Balls	7 cts
Porter House Steak	25 cts
Tender Loin Steak	15 cts
Sirloin Steak	13 cts
Broiled Chicken	25 cts
Wheat Cakes	5 cts
Buckwheat Cake	6 cts
Fried Eggs, each	3 cts
Boiled Eggs, each	3 cts
Poached Eggs	13 cts
Broiled Mackerel	13 cts
Milk Toast	9 cts
Dry Toast	6 cts
Fried Potatoes	3 cts
Tea and Coffee, each	3 cts
Cocoa, per bowl	6 cts
Coffee and Cakes	6 cts
Extra Bread	3 cts
Brown Bread	3 cts
Bread and Milk	9 cts
Rice and Milk	9 cts

DINNER.

Roast Beef	7 cts
" Veal	7 cts
" Lamb	7 cts
" Pork	7 cts
Corned Beef	7 cts
" Pork	7 cts
Pork and Beans	7 cts
Meat Pie	7 cts
Pot Pie	7 cts
Clam Pie	7 cts
Boiled Fish	7 cts
Roast Turkey	15 cts
Roast Goose	15 cts
Roast Duck	15 cts
Roast Chicken	15 cts
Chicken Pie	13 cts
Chicken Fricassee	13 cts
Beef Soup	6 cts
Lamb Chops	13 cts
Pork Steak	13 cts
Fried Eggs	

TO ORDER.

Sirloin Steak	13 cts
Tender Loin Steak	15 cts
Porter House Steak	25 cts
Broiled Chicken	25 cts
Veal Cutlet	13 cts
Raw Oysters	13 cts
Stewed Oysters	13 cts
Fried Oysters	13 cts
Pickled Oysters	13 cts

DESSERT.

Plum Pudding	6 cts
Suet do	6 cts
Bread do	6 cts
Rice do	6 cts
Indian do	6 cts
Farina do	6 cts
Tapioca do	6 cts
Apple Dumplings	6 cts
Plum Pie	6 cts
Apple do	6 cts
Mince do	6 cts
Peach do	6 cts
Custard do	6 cts
Cranberry do	6 cts
Lemon do	6 cts
Pumpkin do	6 cts

BRANDY, WINE, PORTER, ALE, &c.

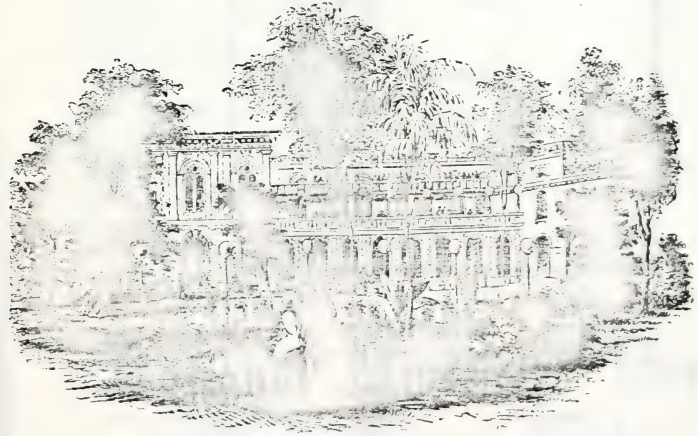
Lodgings 25 cents per night. Open at all hours.

LAWRENCE R. KERR, Proprietor.

"Restaurant prices at that," adds the writer. "Lunch is too cold a word. We shall take pleasant Lodgings (no matter if the neighborhood is a little noisy) at Mr. Kerr's popular Lodging House, and of his extensive and economical bill of fare spare naught except the 'brandy, wine, porter, ale, etc.,' kept doubtless for the accommodation of travellers."



THE FIRST NIBLO'S GARDEN, New York, 1828.



THE INTERIOR OF THE FIRST NIBLO'S GARDEN.

SEPTEMBER, 1911 No. 9

Americana

Illustrated



National Americana Society
154 East Twenty-Third St
New York

AMERICANA

September, 1911

Early days of Niblo's Garden and Theatre

BY ALBERT W. DAVIS

LOCATED on Broadway near Prince Street, over its broad triple-doored entrance flashed a sign bearing the name "Niblo's." This sign was formed of illuminated globes, of more colors than "Joseph's Coat," imported by "Old Billy Niblo" expressly for his garden, which now lies buried and almost forgotten with a skyscraper for its tombstone.

Until the year 1828 the land upon which Niblo's Garden was situated, formed a part of the Bayard farm, and was then used as a training ground for race horses. The whole plot of ground was about that time purchased by S. Van Rensellaer for $15,000. William Niblo, in 1827, was actively engaged in business in that section of New York, now considered very far down town but then in the heart of the city. With a keen appreciation of what would please the public, and the clear foresight of a thorough man of business, he resolved to convert this almost barren spot into a blooming garden and open it to the public. Large trees were transplanted from distant woods, native flowers and plants mingled with the rarest exotics, fountains gushed and threw their spray to catch the sunbeams, and everything was done to make the garden a most attractive spot. In the centre of this pleasant place a neat building was erected and dedicated as a temple of music.

The entertainments given here at first consisted of instrumental concerts; later a few vocalists were added with a piano-

forte accompaniment, and a display of fireworks was given each evening. During the first season the old Bowery Theatre burned however, and the managers, anxious to provide for a company that had just arrived from England under engagement, proposed to Niblo to erect a theatre where they might perform until their own establishment could be rebuilt. Mr. Niblo took the matter in hand and in "fifteen days from the time the foundation was laid a commanding and handsome theatre was actually completed." It comprised a spacious stage, a parquette and two circles of boxes, capable of holding twelve hundred persons. The house and garden were gaily lighted by thousands of colored lamps, for gas was not then to be had. This theatre was called the "*Sans Souci.*" A year later the building was converted into a fine concert saloon and was opened by a grand musical festival on Monday, May 18, 1829. This affair went off so brilliantly that it at once established Niblo's Saloon as the leading place of amusement in New York, a reputation it steadily maintained undiminished for many years. At this time the great Italian troupes used to make their first appearance at the Opera House on Leonard Street, on the site of the first National Theatre, and, after an unsuccessful season there, they would "come up" to Niblo's Garden and, in that popular resort restore their damaged fortunes. Mr. Davis of New Orleans also brought his French Opera Company to New York, and after unsuccessful experiments at the old Park and elsewhere he, too, followed the example of the Italians, and appeared at Niblo's, where he made both money and friends.

Naturally, in view of his continued popularity, Niblo soon erected a larger and better equipped theatre, and added many new attractions to the Garden. Here the wonderful Ravel Family* drew thousands upon thousands for many summers in succession, and here the beauty, wealth, brains and fashion of the city, if not the entire country, met year after year until that September in 1846 when the destructive conflagration occurred, and in less than four hours a heap of black and smoking ruins alone

*Through the kindness of the New York *Clipper*, the authority on things theatrical, I am enabled to add the story of the career of the once well-known Ravel Family; also the first production of the wonderfully spectacular "Black Crook," with the original cast, as it first saw the light of day at Niblo's.

remained where the sun had gone down on a blooming garden filled with a thousand gay and happy people. The ground lay waste and untenated for two years.

It might be well at this point to mention the celebrated Ravel Family who came to this country during the cholera scare of July, 1832. They then consisted of ten performers: Jean, his wife and little daughter; Dominique, the oldest child of Mme. Lanati, a widow whom Gabriel married in Boston; Gabriel, Antoine and Jerome, Miss Emily Paque, whom Jean Ravel married some years later, Louis Marzetti; then only nine years of age, and Jean Pebernard, a favorite prodigy, afterwards disabled by an accident to his foot. They made their first appearance at the Park Theatre during the same month of their arrival in this country, and appeared in Philadelphia on September 13 of the same year. Their performances consisted of rope dancing, Herculean feats, and a pantomimic ballet in four parts, in which the young Gabriel sustained the principal characters. They finally made a tour through the South and West, and in 1834 returned to Europe where they divided into two troupes, Jean Ravel, Dominique and Marzetti traveling in Italy and Spain, while the three brothers proceeded to London where they appeared at Drury Lane. On September 7, 1836, they sailed for New York where they played from October, 1836, until July, 1837. In New Orleans they remained a long time, and afterwards lost all their baggage and properties by the snagging of a steamboat on the Mississippi. Returning to New York, they set sail for France; remained at Toulouse for six months, and in 1842 again returned to New York and opened at Niblo's.

In a short time Gabriel, Jerome and Antoine left for home, Francois remaining behind, and at the destruction of Niblo's Theatre in 1846 they lost $5,000.

In 1858, Mariatta Zanfretta, one of the greatest female tight-rope dancers in the world, was engaged with this compnay. She was a Venetian by birth and first appeared in this country at Niblo's. She never used a balance pole, even when she danced on the rope and stood on the point of one toe. Indeed, her feats have scarcely been equalled. Another addition to the company was Mons. Blondin, a Frenchman by birth, whose right name is

Emile Gravelet. He was the most graceful and daring performer on the tight rope in the world. On June 30, 1859, he accomplished the wonderful feat of crossing Niagara River on a tight-rope, carrying a man on his back at a height of one hundred and fifty-one feet above the rushing torrent below. His appearance at Niblo's was in 1855.

To go back to my story, Mr. Niblo had retired to his beautiful country seat on the East River to enjoy peacefully the fortune acquired by thirty years of active life, but the public missed the Garden; the press bewailed its destruction, and old friends urged him to rebuild. Moved by their wishes and influenced, perhaps, by a desire to renew his long-established and familiar intimacy with the public, Mr. Niblo again returned to the old spot, still a desert, and announced that he would erect such an establishment as should at once prove worthy of the City of New York, as well as a memorial to his own ability as an amusement caterer. His promises were more than fulfilled. The new establishment long held first rank among all places of amusement in New York, and was unequaled by any on the American continent. Indeed it was conceded by many Europeans who had visited all the gay capitals that Niblo's Garden, when the whole establishment was taken into consideration, was unsurpassed even on the continent, containing as it did under one roof a spacious and magnificent opera house, a splendid concert hall and ball room, with richly furnished reception parlors, drawing rooms, dressing rooms and a supper saloon sufficiently capacious to accommodate upwards of a thousand guests.

Independent of these attractions, which were almost nightly thrown open to the public, the entrance halls and lobbies were sufficiently spacious to afford accommodation for an entire audience at one time, and even these were decorated in a style of splendor equal to the interior of our most sumptuous dwellings. The principal entrance was through three arched door-ways near the centre of that then-magnificent building, the Metropolitan Hotel. On passing the outer doors of large plate glass the visitor found himself in a handsome hall. The floor was of variegated marble. The roof, supported by Corinthian columns, was painted in fresco, and the side walls were panelled from floor to

ceiling. Three pairs of splendid doors of richly stained and enamelled glass set in black walnut frames swung noiselessly open to admit the visitors to the vestibule which was twenty-five feet wide and seventy-five feet long, illuminated by ten handsome three light branches. The effect of this entrance chamber was uniquely beautiful. Between the light and attractive marbled columns rising on each side to the roof were glazed doors leading on the right to the gentlemen's saloon, and a spacious restaurant, and, on the left, to a garden filled during the summer with rare and beautiful trees, plants and flowers and, in the evening, when gaily illuminated and crowded with promenaders, this spot presented one of the great attractions of the place. The ceiling of the vestibule, which was supported by richly carved trusses of white and gold, was elaborately ornamented in relief and richly gilded, the blaze of light being brilliantly reflected from every salient point. Ascending by four wide and easy steps the spectator passed into the inner lobby, equally spacious as the last, and beautifully ornamented in fresco painting with gold moulding. On the left of this lobby were three large glass double-doors leading to the theatre or opera house, which was one of the most spacious and complete structures of the kind in America.

The charming Maggie Mitchell, who is still living, filled many successful engagements here and won all hearts by her grace and child-like witcheries. Her truthful representations so closely akin to nature, and the charities she scattered broadcast, completed her fame. We miss the merry "Cricket," the great and only "Fanchon," and her mirthful laugh, the touching simplicity and spotless purity of the little "Pearl of Savoy," while the contagious glee of coy "Little Barefoot" will haunt us for the balance of our days. How much pleasure this beautiful woman contributed to theatre-goers can never be estimated. Men whose hearts had become somewhat hardened by contact with the world's coldness, beneath her influence softened, and were brought to view human nature more charitably than ever before.

Throughout the whole building every seat in the parquette, dress-boxes, upper circle and balconies was furnished with spiral steel springs and hair-stuffed cushions and covered with rich blue damask. The stage was seventy-six by sixty-four feet be-

yond the proscenium, at which point it was forty-five feet in width, being modelled after that of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, then acknowledged to be the best in the world. The orchestra was movable and could by a simple arrangement be adapted to a band of a hundred performers, or reduced to the most moderate compass. The scenery, machinery, costumes and other accessories of scenic display in use at Niblo's were most complete.

Opposite the doors leading to this part of the house was a magnificent saloon for promenade and refreshments. During the intermissions between the performances this splendid *salle* was brilliantly lighted by twenty-one double chandeliers. Every part of the walls and ceilings was painted in fresco and laid in gold panels, and when it was filled with the gaily dressed audience it presented a most pleasing *coup d' aeil,* unparalleled elsewhere. A spacious stair-case of admirable proportions led to the magnificent ball and concert saloon, and to the richly furnished ladies' parlors, drawing rooms, etc., etc. Seven magnificent chandeliers spread a blaze of light throughout this splendid *salon de la danse,* which was one of the finest proportioned rooms in the city, and universally recognized as the most fashionable room in New York for balls or concerts. This portion of the establishment had a separate entrance from Broadway. Visitors passed through the entrance hall to the reception parlors and thence to the splendidly furnished drawing rooms and concert hall or ball room, all of which were on the same floor and entirely separated from all other parts of the building. It was not an uncommon occurrence here during the gay winter season to find the entire building crowded in every part with the votaries of pleasure—the opera house tenanted by a brilliant audience numbering between two and three thousand persons; the ball or concert room echoing to the gay band and the merry feet of the dancers, or to the magnificent harmonies of the Philharmonic Society, listened to by an audience of twelve hundred people, while a thousand more were enjoying the creature comforts of this life in the supper saloon below. These vast assemblages beneath one roof were not, we repeat, uncommon in Mr. Niblo's establishment, yet so admirable was the construction of the building and so perfect the

system of management adopted and carried out, that no confusion or interruption ever occurred, nor did the sound of one entertainment ever penetrate to that portion of the building devoted to another. On some great occasions the entire establishment including the theatre with its immense stage and parquette, was floored over and added to the ball room, the spacious and lofty vestibules, lobbies and passages for promenading, the ranges of boxes for repose and enjoyment of the gay scene, and the saloons and supper rooms for refreshment, were all thrown open together, and thus furnished ample space and accommodations for as many as six thousand persons at one time. May it not then be fairly claimed for this establishment that it was the most perfect in the world for its time?

Among the minor but all important peculiarities of Niblo's Garden may be especially noted the high respectability of the audiences that assembled there, the perfect order and decorum that reigned throughout the entire building, and though last, not least, the admirable cleanliness of the whole establishment in which respect it was positively a pattern to all places of public resort, every part of the building being kept as scrupulously clean as the dwelling of a well conducted family—as neat as a belle's boudoir.

The triumphant success of Madame Sontag, during a series of thirty nights, firmly established Niblo's Garden as the opera house *par excellence,* the auditorium being nightly filled by audiences numbering from two to three thousand persons and presenting a *coup d' aeril* of magnificence and beauty, scarcely ever surpassed.

This celebrated resort, though situated nearly in the heart of the business of the city at the time it was laid out as a garden, was literally "out of town," and our readers may smile when we tell them that Mr. Niblo was obliged to build two large and handsome omnibuses to bring the citizens to his then rural retreat. These were the very first omnibuses ever built in New York city, after the original French models, having platform spring and crank-axles. They ran from the City Hall to the Garden, were drawn by four spirited horses handsomely caparisoned, and were

driven by well dressed Jehus with a civil and sprightly lad attached to each to collect the fare and attend upon the ladies.

A spectacular production known as "The Naid Queen," was once the great attraction at Niblo's, but it never became as celebrated as that production of a later period, which had such a phenomenal career even in the face of the most bitter abuse from the pulpit. This was the never-to-be-forgotten "Black Crook," cradled and nursed into favor at Niblo's Garden.

The piece was to have had its first presentation on Monday, September 10, 1866, but the management found it impossible to make all the elaborate arrangements in time and were so forced to postpone the opening until Wednesday, the 12th. The bill announcing the first production of this piece read as follows:

Every evening and Saturday afternoon at 2 o'clock will be presented an original and Grand Magical Spectacular Drama in 4 acts by C M Barras, Esq., Entitled:

The Black Crook

the sole right of which production has been purchased by Mr Wheatley for New York and its Vicinity. Mr Wheatley is likewise happy in having entered into arrangements with Messrs. Garrett & Palmer for the introduction of their

Great Parisienne Ballet Troupe

under the direction of the famed Maitre de Ballet, Signor David Costa (from the Grand Opera Paris.)

Premier Danseurs assollte.

Mlle. Marie Bonfanti, from the Grand Opera Paris and Covent Garden Theatre London, Mlle. Rita Sangaili, from the Grand Opera Berlin, and Her Majestys Theatre London.

Their first appearance in America.

First premier and Soloist

Mlle. Betty Rigl, from the Grand Opera, Paris. Her first appearance in America.

Second Premiers and Soloists

Mlle. Louise Mazzeri, Mlle. Giovanna Mezzeri,
Mlle. Guiseppi, Mlle. Amele Zuccoli,
Mlle. Lusardi, Mlle. Eugenie Zuccoli,
Mlle. Marie Duclos, Mlle. Helene Duclos,
from Berlin, Milan, Paris and London.

Coryphees

Mlle. E. Rigl, Mlle. Artois, Mlle. Bertha,
Mlle. Amande, Mlle. Elise, Mlle. L. Portois,
Mlle. Nathalie, Mlle. Duval, Mlle. Centbertrand,
Mlle. Doche, Mlle. Gabrielle, Mlle. H. Delval,
Mlle. Lacroix, Mlle. Irban, Mlle. Paulina.
Mlle. Portois, Mlle. Marie,
Mlle. Chereri, Mlle. Helene,
Mlle. Delval,
from Paris, London and Berlin, their first appearance in America, and

Fifty Auxiliary Ladies,

selected from the principal Theatres of London and America.

The Leading Roles

of this the most resplendent, Grand and Costly

Production

ever presented on this Continent will be sustained by the following artists, comprising many well known names and new candidates for public favor, Misses Annie Kemp (Prima donna Contralto from Covent Garden, London, her first appearance in America in six years). Mary Wells, Rose Morton (from royal Lyceum Theatre, London, her first appearance in America). Millie Cavendish, from theatre Royal Drury Lane, London, her first appearance in America).

Messrs. George C. Boniface (first appearance in many years), J. G. Burnett, H. C. Morton (first appearance), George Atkins, from Sadler's Wells Theatre, London (first appearance in America), the well known Pantomimist, Hernandez Foster (his first

appearance at this theatre), J. W. Blaisdell, E. B. Holmes, F. Barry, Rendle, &c., &c.

The Drama produced under the immediate direction of W. Wheatley. The gorgeous and brilliant new scenery by those eminent masters of scenic art Messrs. Richard Marston (of the Covent Garden, London), J. E. Hayes, R. Smith, B. A. Strong, L. F. Server and Walack.

The Dazzling Transformation Scene

painted by The Brothers Brew, of London, for E. M. Smith, Esq., of Astley's Theatre, London, and purchased by Messrs. Jarrett & Palmer at a cost of fifteen thousand dollars.

Especial new Music

composed by Thomas E. Baker, by courtesy of Leonard Grover, Esq., and produced under the Baton of H. G. Dodworth.

Entirely new and superb costumes

by M. Philipe

The glittering and entirely new armors and Ballet Paraphernalia, prepared expressly in Paris by Granger.

Entirely new Properties and appointments

by S. Wallis.

The new stage and Machinery combining the greatest improvements of Europe and America making it equal if not superior to any in the world and constructed at a cost of over ten thousand dollars by those skillful machinists John Fronde of Her Majesty's Theatre, London, and Benson Sherwood of this establishment.

The Complete Gas Contrivances, By C. Murray. The Calcium Lights, &c., for the Transformation scene by Charles Seward of London (Engaged expressly for the occasion), the whole involving an outlay of Fifty Thousand Dollars. Admission 75 cents. Secured seats in Dress Circle $1.00. Reserved seats in Parquet and Parquet Circle $1.50. Family Circle (entrance on Crosby Street), 50 cents. Private Boxes $8, and $10. Seats secured six days in advance.

The cast follows:

Count Wolfenstein	J. W. Blaisdell
Rodolphe	Geo. C. Boniface
Von Puffengruntz	J. G. Burnett
Hertzog	Chas. N. Morton
Greppo	George Atkins
Dragonfin	Hernandez Foster
Zamiel	E. B. Holmes
Skuldawelp	Mr. Rendle
Red Glare	Mr. Clark
Wolfgar	E. Barry
Bruno	Mr. Ellis
Ian	Mr. Little
Casper	Mr. Weaver
Stalacta	Annie Kemp
Amina	Rose Morton
Dama Barbara	Mary Wells
Carline	Millie Cavendish
Rosetta	Miss C. Whitlock

The daily expense of the production exceeded $1,000, but the piece had a continuous run of practically sixteen months, making a profit of about $600,000, half of which went to Wheatley, while the other half was divided between Messrs. Jarrett and Palmer.

French Opinion of the American Civil War

BY LINDSAY ROGERS

Author of "Gladstone and America," "Methods of Famous Literary Men," etc.

THE diplomacy of the American Civil War was from the first of absorbing importance. Great Britain saw in the disruption of the Union the possible annihilation of her commercial rival, and shaped her course accordingly. France, projecting brilliant schemes of conquest, and desirous of establishing an empire on the western continent, thought that the conflict opened a way for the realization of these ambitions, and pursued a policy similar to that of England. The monarchical theories of the southern planters found ready favor in France, and the press there announced the justification of the prediction of De Tocqueville,—that a Democracy was incapable of sustained existence.

But in addition to political considerations, from a foreign viewpoint, the war had an economic importance. Cotton was king in Europe, and the Confederates, by representing that only through their independence could the interrupted supply be continued, appealed to the jealousy and cupidity of the French Emperor. The new tariff was also very unpopular abroad, and little was required to make it doubly odious. European monarchs believed that for the sake of their manufactures the war should cease. The independence of the South, to their minds, offered the surest solution.

The insurgents were quick to realize the advantages which this attitude of Europe held out to them. They saw very early that the outcome of the war could be more readily determined by for-

eign support than by the merits of armies in the field, and in their desperation were eager to offer anything to get recognition, assistance and ultimate independence. For a fleet to establish communication with Europe, they offered Napoleon III a large subsidy in cotton, and told him that when the independence of the South was achieved, he could practically dictate his own trade relations. An even greater temptation for French recognition was the proposal to guarantee the sovereignty of Maximillian in Mexico.

With great stealth and cunning Napoleon listened to the proposals of the Confederates, and although his conduct was very far from inspiring confidence in either his wisdom or integrity, he tried to preserve the semblance of a neutral position. While professing to the American ambassador that he wished to preserve the traditions of France, "our earliest friend and only ally," whose sword helped achieve our independence, he was secretly hatching schemes, the success of which depended upon the downfall of the Republic.

For four years Napoleon plotted with the Confederates a course of action which aimed at the dissolution of the Union. He kept hands off while the construction of Confederate cruisers was begun and nearly completed in French ship-yards. Many times he was on the point of recognizing the South, but his vacillating nature kept him from acting without the assistance of some other European power, and as this was not forthcoming, the final step was never taken. He gave his aid to the establishment of Maximillian's empire in Mexico, and it was only after the conclusion of the war that French troops were removed from the Western Continent.

The study of public opinion in France with regard to the war is important for a number of reasons. In the first place was the attitude of Napoleon, so hostile to the United States and friendly towards the South, in accord with the feelings of the mass of people, and was the Emperor restrained or encouraged by fear of criticism or hope of praise? Secondly, a consideration of public opinion, as expressed in the periodicals and journals of the time, shows to a great extent the extreme censorial influence which was exerted by the government and the complete sub-

serviency which was endured by the editors. In the third place the study is valuable as it shows the opinions which eminent Frenchmen had of the American conflict and of our institutions.

From the opening of hostilities it was realized by both belligerents that a hostile press was greatly to be feared. Many free lance journalists offered their services to both parties, and promised that their assistance would be of much importance in molding public opinion. Felix Aucaigne, a well known French hackwriter, offered to serve the Union cause if the consideration offered was great enough, and M. Dupont, the editor of *Le Nationale,* suggested to John Bigelow, *Chargé D'Affaires* at Paris, that the latter buy a half interest in his paper and make a loan of 50,000 francs on condition that it espouse the cause of the United States.

All of these offers were refused by the United States. The Confederacy, however, made use of Aucaigne for a while, but later they decided that they would send over their own corps of press agents, and among others, Henry Hotze, James Spence and Edwin de Leon were appointed. They were to have an annual sum of $25,000 to use as they saw fit to enlighten public opinion.

But very early in these attempts one insurmountable difficulty was encountered. There was an almost universal antipathy to slavery, and try as the Confederates did, they were unable to convince anyone that this was not an issue in the war. Finally when his ambassadors had reported that everywhere they went questions were asked them as to how they could hope for recognition and assistance, when they were committed to slavery, Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, issued instructions that they were not to discuss this matter with anyone.

Whether Napoleon shared this view is doubtful. In the interviews which he had with Slidell, one of the Southern representatives, he said that the slavery question was an embarassing one, and it is probable that he would have preferred to have the Confederacy come out as opposing it. But desirous as he was of using the South as a means of effecting some personal achievements, he probably overlooked these scruples if they existed. There was no eminent statesman in Europe, however, who dared approve the stand of the Confederacy. Said one writer: "Sla-

very is put forward as a fundamental institution. The minister to whose lot it may fall to make the recognition, after recording his admiration of the struggle thus crowned with success, will have to add that this government would be false to her traditions if she could welcome with heartiness a state, which, at the moment of its entrance into the community of nations, openly professes principles solemnly condemned by the whole Christian world."

Meetings in favor of emancipation were held and all over France influential societies sprang up, numbering among their members some of the most prominent men in the country. It was asserted that slavery was an issue involved in the struggle, and that the recognition of the Confederacy by Napoleon would be a recognition of slavery. Memorials were prepared and presented; resolutions were drawn up, and although the representatives of the South sought to attribute these to Union adherents, they were not successful. In despair, Yancey and Mann wrote home: "We are fully convinced that the public mind here is entirely opposed to the Government of the Confederate States of America on the question of slavery, and that the sincerity and universality of this feeling embarass the Government in dealing with the question of our recognition."

One memorial may be quoted as typical of the number which was prepared. It was signed by practically all of the Protestant clergymen in France and represented, as was claimed, the feelings of their congregations:

"The civilized world," it read, "has contemplated nothing more revolting than a confederation, in great part Protestant, organizing itself and claiming independence, with the openly avowed intention of maintaining and propagating slavery; and laying as the corner stone of its constitution the system of slavery actually in existence in the Southern states, and which may be defined as the right to treat men as cattle. The triumph of such a cause would throw back for a century that of Christian civilization and that of humanity; would cause angels in Heaven to weep, and would rejoice demons in hell. There is a pacific means of hastening the close of the war and of bringing it to conform with the wishes of all friends of humanity; is it not that

the Christians of Europe should give to the cause of emancipation of slaves a striking testimonial that may leave to those who are fighting to maintain the power to oppress them, no hope of ever seeing the Christians give them the hand of fellowship?"

The Catholic church also declared itself opposed to slavery, for when Mann was granted an interview with the Pope, the latter after expressing sympathy for the Confederate States said that it might be wise for them to consent to a gradual emancipation, and that this would materially help their cause abroad.

As soon as war was declared, France was divided into two classes. In the first place there were the aristocrats who thought that they saw in the rebellion the destruction of the Union and the permanent failure of American institutions. The conciliation of this class was practically hopeless. The more important element, however, consisted of those who although they could not be called apostles of Republicanism, nevertheless believed that American institutions should be given a fair trial. They felt that America had already accomplished much for humanity, and that the interests of the world would be promoted by the reconstruction of the Union. The members of this class, while not quite so prominent, were thoughtful, intelligent and progressive.

From the the first, the Union suffered from the misrepresentation of the news of the war. The history of the conflict was written in France by the telegraph, and two or three times a week, items appeared in French publications, crammed full of malicious and improbable fiction. On the basis of these morsels, the editorial writers were accustomed to compose long comments, of a character approved by Napoleon, favorable to the attitude of France, and unfavorable, therefore, to the reconstruction of the Union. In fact this censorship went so far that in the case of *Le Moniteur,* which was the official journal, a member of the cabinet remained in the office of the newspaper until the time for going to press, and before anything could be printed, it had to first be submitted to him.

This misrepresentation of the news had the effect of creating the impression that the cause of the Union was hopeless; that the important victories which the Confederates were reported to have won, presaged their ultimate supremacy, and since the war

was causing hardships in France, the sympathies of many Frenchmen were turned to the South in the hope that continued successes would cause the termination of the conflict.

Seward, the Federal Secretary of State, however, took steps to do away with this misrepresentation, and it was arranged that correct news should be forwarded to the American ambassadors so that they could furnish it to the papers. The periodicals still contained nonsensical statements that Lincoln had said that he would consent to Massachusetts becoming a slave state, if the Union could thereby be restored, and that the United States was carrying on a slave trade with Brazil. One of the most ludicrous was to the effect that Grant was a prisoner in Richmond, and several times the French editors had the end of the war in sight and the Federal Government contemplating submission. "We have always been," wrote Motley in the closing months of the war, "under the influence of some perversion, exaggeration, or absolute fraud, perpetrated by the telegraph working in the interests of our enemies."

The value of this misrepresentation is obvious. It was furnishing Napoleon with a basis for interference and was molding public opinion, partially favorable to the Union into wholesouled advocacy of the cause of the Confederacy. The value of Seward's move, however, was felt, and the gross misrepresentation of news was partially stopped. Napoleon then took another tack. The country began to be flooded with pamphlets setting forth the vital interests which France had in the disruption, and in June, 1862, the attitude of a number of journals which thus far had been fair, was radically changed, owing to Mexican complications which were coming to the fore, and in which the Emperor needed all the support possible.

M. Francois Guillaume Barrillon advanced some very curious ideas in a pamphlet on "Politique de la France et de l'humanité dans le conflit Americaine." After reviewing the march of events in the United States, following the preparation of hostilities, and after extravagantly attempting to foretell the outcome of the conflict and the probable damage, he describes the American menace in the following words:

"Every one knows how ambitious Yankees are, how they are

confident of their power and believe themselves important. Those who doubt this have only to read the American newspapers and they will find numerous examples of this confidence which leads the American people to the most eccentric exaggerations. These exaggerations are often ridiculous, but sometimes they furnish food for serious thought. The question is: What would this people, manifesting so large pretensions, do if they possessed power commensurate with their appetite?"

Then M. Barrillon outlines a possible colonial policy for the United States, and predicts that unless it is checked, the result may be the loss of Martinique and other colonial possessions of France and the domination of the powerful American nation.

"And simultaneously with the results of the political ambitions of the United States," he asks, "will not the European nations have to fear also the results of the manufacturing ambitions of the American Union, to realize which the northern states are already applying themselves with energetic perseverance to exclude the products of foreign manufacturers?

"It is, therefore, advantageous to European powers that the American Union be divided into two nations. They will find in such an event the basis of security in politics and elements of prosperity for their interests. An occasion is presented to ward off the dangers which are pressing, and to let the march of events accomplish this desirable division of the United States, while paying due regard to the requirements of humanity and exacting justice.

"The European powers must seize this occasion which Providence has offered, to make certain from this moment a wise social and political equilibrium in the New World, and to prevent vexations and derangements in the future. France has for a maxim to take the initiative every time there is a great humanitarian mission or general political interest at stake. Recent interventions in behalf of Turkey, Italy and Syria have proved that under Napoleon III this maxim is more revered and more practiced than ever before. It is to France that it belongs to call forth this intervention, the justice and necessity of which I have endeavored to show. Let France, therefore, invite the European powers to join their fleets to hers, in order to send to America

a formidable navy which will cause the immediate cessation of hostilities while awaiting the results of arbitration.

"Let France invite European powers to unite with her in a congress of nations, the mission of which will be to reglulate, acting in concert with delegates from the two belligerents, first the suppression of slavery in the separatist states, and secondly, the conditions of separation, if, as now seems probable, the separatist states insist in isolating themselves."

This is a sample of what was being handed out to the French reading public, with the sanction of Napoleon. It outlines his political views which he had not the courage to act upon, without as Barrillon urged, the cooperation of other European powers. Such pamphlets as these tended to encourage the sentiment that the disruption of the Union was inevitable, and many were led to believe as even did Gladstone, that with the Union divided, America would be less of a menace to Europe.

But even this author could not refrain from voicing the universal sentiment against slavery. The plan which he suggested for its regulation, however, was too radical. A congress of nations, held in Europe for the regulation of slavery in an insurgent faction of the United States of America, could not be thought of for a moment, and this part of the publication had very little influence. Granting that all of his arguments were true, the French people could see no way open for assisting a people which still adhered to a policy universally condemned by the powers of the world.

The most significant pamphlet of this period, however, is that attributed to Michel Chevalier, a senator high in the councils of the government and who enjoyed in the fullest degree the confidence of the Emperor. It was called "La France, le Mexique, et les Etats-Confédérés," and was printed by a house which had close governmental affiliations. The Emperor, it was said at the time, gave his official sanction to everything the work contained, and so it is probably an accurate expression of his views.

Napoleon meant, according to Chevalier, "to regenerate our trans-Atlantic commerce, to restore it, or to create for it profitable avenues and outlets; that our national industry in all time to

come shall be able to provide itself with the materials indispensable to its success.

"Although she had become tributary to the New World," he continues, "Europe had taken no precaution to prevent the consummation of a crisis which she had never forseen, and which for two years she has been enduring. It has cost us something to learn how precarious is the fortune of an industry compelled to seek its raw materials in a single market, to all the exactions and all the vicissitudes to which it must necessarily submit.

"In this respect the secession of the Confederate States of America is an event particularly favorable to France. France cannot hope to find the cotton which her factories need elsewhere than in the South. But the first European power which shall recognize the Confederate States will have a right to obtain much more for the negro than the Federals could secure for him by their 'Union by Victory.' This first power being France, we may be sure that the cause of civilization, humanity and progress will not be forgotten by her. All that is difficult, even impossible while the conflict rages, will become very easy with the return of peace. The emancipation of the blacks, the complete abolition of slavery, can only be the work of peace and time; and an alliance with the South will effect that great social renovation which England with her 'right of search' has so vainly sought to bring about.

"Moreover, slavery cannot possibly be made a serious argument against the recognition of the South. France and England live on good terms with Brazil and Spain; they even protect Egypt and Turkey, and these countries maintain slavery with no show of a disposition to abolish it. France will use her influence to secure a gradual emancipation of the slaves without making slavery a ground for refusing recognition.

"The American war, from which France has suffered more than England, can be useful to us only if the North and South part company definitely and for these reasons:

"1. The Confederates will be our allies and will guarantee us against attack by the North.

"2. Mexico, developed by our efforts, and sheltered from the attacks of the North, will reward all our hopes.

"3. Our factories will be insured the supplies which they require."

The other powers, it was argued, would follow France, "because the whole world knows that France lends her aid only to works of social progress. The navy of France is an argument which, in case of necessity would support diplomatic action."

In this pamphlet, the argument is largely from an economic point of view, and this was the one most calculated to appeal to the French people. It was true that the war was working a great hardships on them. Factories all over the country were closed; cotton was practically unobtainable; men were out of work, and the cost of all commodities had risen. There was a widespread feeling of discontent, and the tenor of Chevalier's pamphlet was to encourage this, and to mold public opinion in support of Napoleon's outlined plan, for at this time he was very anxious to recognize the Confederacy, and was listening to Slidell's proposal to accept $7,000,000 in cotton for a fleet to establish communication with the Gulf.

But these were inspired publications. From the first the Federal Government trusted to the justice of its cause to gain support in France, and no money was expended in subsidizing the press or in hiring agents. On the other hand, although some Confederate support came from adherents who believed that the South was justified in its rebellion, most of the assistance lent by French journals was due to the attitude of Napoleon, or to the efforts of the Southern press agents.

M. Elisée Reclus, in the spring of 1863, was invited to take charge of that part of the *Annuaire des Deux-Mondes* which related to the United States. He was an ardent supporter of the Union, and his appointment to this position on the staff of what was perhaps the most influential French periodical, insured its attitude toward the Union, and several articles from his pen did much to offset the influence of the pamphlets which have just been quoted. The result of his work is best shown by a note which Benjamin wrote in January, 1864:

"In what is perhaps," he says, "the most influential of the French periodicals, *La Revue des Deux-Mondes*, there is scarcely any article, signed by the members of its corps of able con-

tributors which does not contain certain disparaging allusions to the South. Abolition sentiments are quietly assumed as philosophical maxims too evident to require comment or elaboration, and the result of this struggle is in all cases treated as a foregone conclusion, as nothing within the range of possibility except the subjugation of the South and the emancipation of the whole body of negroes. The Emperor is believed by us to be sincerely desirous of putting an end to the war by the recognition of our independence; but powerful as he is, he is too sagacious to act in direct contravention to the settled public opinion of his people."

Thus did the Confederate Secretary of State reckon the power of the press in France, and the checking influence which popular sentiment exerted upon Napoleon. In spite of the censorship which he was exerting over the journals, and the publications which he was inspiring, he had as yet been unable to arouse support among the masses, and even though the Empire was in no sense of the people or for the people, Napoleon feared to act. The elections in France were farces, held to delude the people into believing that they were the controlling element. The State was the Emperor and his officers, but the few grains of self-government that there were, proved sufficient to be the deciding element in the course which was pursued.

M. Malespine, on the staff of *L'Opinion Nationale,* was one of the writers whose faith in the Union never wavered, and it was to this paper that Bigelow went when he wished to have published the story of Napoleon's duplicity with regard to the building of the Confederate navy in French ship-yards. M. Henri Moreau, who was secretary to M. Berryér, Bigelow's counsel, was another writer who helped advance the cause of the North, and for two years his articles appeared regularly in *Le Correspondant.*

On August 26 and 27, 1864, one of the most eminent Frenchmen of the time, Edouard Laboulaye had exhaustive accounts of the struggle in *Le Journal des Débats.* The friendship which they showed for the United States was very different from that ordinarily manifested, and marked a change in the attitude of one of the most influential French journals. The articles were

elaborate reviews of a work by Gasparin on "L'Amerique devant L'Europe." This book laid down three principles which were wholly opposed to the attitude of Napoleon. 1. Slavery was an issue in the war and could not be settled if the independence of the South was achieved. 2. Secession was unconstitutional. 3. The commercial and political interests of France demanded that she remain neutral.

Other articles of like tenor also appeared in various journals, but their insertion was procured by the authors only after great difficulty. In one article, complimentary words concerning the Emperor were insisted upon, even though the whole was a criticism of his policy, and Bigelow wrote to Seward that he had good reason to believe that great satisfaction was given in a quarter where compliments were scarce.

But in spite of these isolated examples, Dayton wrote to Seward in October, 1864, just two months before his death: "The whole government press of the country, so far as it has come under my observation, seems directly or indirectly to make common cause against us. It can have no object but to prepare the public mind for some future action if occasion shall arise for it." Benjamin protested against the attitude of the influential independent journals; Dayton against the government press. The grievances were at this time, however, about equal in importance, for the United States was receiving almost as much support as was the Confederacy. In addition, the misrepresentation of news events had about ceased.

There was, however, one important exception. This was in the case of *Le Patrie*. Just a month after Dayton's note was written, this newspaper suggested that inasmuch as Mr. Lincoln had not received the vote of a majority of the electors of all the states it would not be possible to recognize him as President of the United States. This was part of a conjoint effort to ward off the influence and effect of the election. At this time, *Le Patrie* was copying many items from the London *Times* and other English periodicals, and these were consistently coloring events in America. All such articles were sure to be translated and copied, and the Lincoln argument was one of these.

But the Confederate press agents were getting into difficulties.

Slavery as an issue had not been downed, and no amount of persuasion on the part of the Confederates could induce Frenchmen or Englishmen that the freedom of the blacks was not one of the issue involved in the conflict. Spence, one of the agents, decided to come out openly in opposition to a policy which he saw clearly was fraught with great danger. In a little work on "The American Union," which he had published, and which had a large circulation in France, he declared that the justice of abolition was conceded, and that no longer should European powers withhold recognition on account of the slavery issue.

On account of the publication of this work, Benjamin was put to the necessity, as he thought, of dispensing with the services of his agent, and so informed Spence. The result was that the whole slavery question was reopened and recognition was made now, at this late stage of the war, an impossibility. The Confederate bug-bear had become a veritable "Shirt of Nessus," and had contributed to their failure to secure assitsance from Europe.

On December 1, 1864, Mr. Dayton died. There was a commemoration meeting held, at which many of his friends in Paris and nearby places, delivered addresses, and in these there were some sincere expressions of faith in the Union. One of these by Laboulaye is not only the sterling tribute of an eminent French statesman to an accomplished diplomat, but presents a view of the war which was only too rare in Europe. Laboulaye from the first was an advocate of the Federal cause, and his addresses and articles, which have already been referred to, contributed much to the revulsion of feeling in favor of the Union, which was now taking place.

The news of Lee's flight from Richmond was printed truthfully by the French papers. No matter what their political affiliations, nearly all had come to see that the conclusion of the war would be the supremacy of the Union, and the latest news from the front strengthened this belief. Speaking of Lee's flight, "it would seem indeed," said *Le Constitutionel,* "to herald the close of the war, and the final triumph of the United States."

Le Temps was even more certain: Said this journal:

"It is not only the probable and speedy end of the war whose

duration and severity afflicted humanity, and of which Europe so sorely felt the consequences; it is not only the fortunate, though dearly bought, abolition of slavery; it is a victory of inestimable importance to the liberal interests of the whole world.

"We may testify that never, not even in the darkest times, did we entertain any doubt of the final result. Not only were the resources of the North far superior, and almost inexhaustible, but the faith we have in the destinies of humanity warned us that Washington's work would not perish, and that the great American republic would pass triumphantly through this ordeal.

"Their (the United States) institutions, represented as so weak, have stood the test, and they have succeeded in finding great and successful generals who saved the country without touching on its liberty. Slavery is dead; the republic still standing; and civil war, instead of being the death blow of liberty, has but promoted and strengthened it. Such results are a novelty in history, and great and happy is the nation which first produced them."

This was an eminently fair attitude towards the Union, but the earlier files of the paper show that at the beginning of the war, it too, was inclined to the belief that the outcome of the conflict would be the independence of the South. By February, 1865, an early termination of the war was expected, and practically all of the French newspapers joined *Le Temps* and turned to the side of the Union. Napoleon's schemes had temporarily dropped into oblivion, although the Mexican question had not yet been settled. Nearly all of the friends of the South had disappeared, and the number of the enemies of the North was becoming less and less. So widespread was the sentiment that the war was about over, that when it was proposed to lower the rate of the Bank of France from four and one-half to four per cent., objection was made that the conclusion of the conflict would necessitate an advance, and so the old rate stood.

There were many, however, who could not forget their former sympathy for the Confederacy. In April, 1865, an amendment to the address of the Emperor was introduced into the Corps Legislatif, tendering the thanks of France to the United States

for their heroic efforts to abolish slavery. But this received only a small percentage of the votes cast and failed of passage.

The Paris periodicals of these closing days of the war were full of articles reviewing the history of the struggle from a friendly point of view. The censorship of the press by Napoleon was now less vigorous, and Count de Montalembert of the Institute, Moreau and many others wrote freely. The literature of the period, however, is marred by several articles which were contributed to various journals by Alphonse de Lamartine.

In the fall of 1865, when the end of the war was in sight, he published a particularly virulent article in *La France,* a quasi-official journal. Ten years before, however, Lamartine had made an unsuccessful appeal to American charity, and bitterness which rankled in his heart on account of this, was undoubtedly responsible for the tenor of his writings.

"We can easily understand," he says, "that this people as yet possesses hardly any elements of an American literature. Their journals, innumerable because cheap, are but collections of the advertisements of quacks, recommended by the Barnums of the press, compilations of slanders and invectives daily thrown to the different parties to furnish them with odious names or trivial accusations wherewith to discredit each other and gain subscribers. Their liberty, which is entirely personal, has always in it something hostile to someone else. Such is this people to whom, Mr. Monroe, one of its flatterers said, in order to gain its applause: 'The time has come when you must not permit Europe to interfere in the affairs of America, but when you must thenceforth assert your preponderance in the affairs of Europe.'"

The intent of this passage is obvious. Representatives of the Union were becoming more and more insistent that the French occupation of Mexico should cease; there was a great deal of dissatisfaction in France with the Emperor's colonial policy and support was gradually being alienated from his projects. The independent press largely on account of the Mexican expedition had become entirely favorable to the Union; the system of warnings by which M. Rouher had endeavored to throttle public opinion, had been modified, when Napoleon was forced to concede certain constitutional reforms. Finally there was a grow-

ing sentiment that the Mexican occupation was doomed to failure, and that the attitude of America in insisting on the evacuation of the troops was the just one.

Entire satisfaction, however, with all classes in France was never achieved. At the beginning of the war it was thought and urged that the Union armies would have to be more destructive if they were to gain the victory. When a greater degree of militancy was reached, censure on the ground of bloodthirstiness was the result.

The various interests of France at different times caused peculiar gyrations in public sentiment as expressed in the press, but the influence of Napoleon was everywhere manifested, and up until the end of the war was in sight, with few exceptions, he dictated the policies of the papers. Even when the general attitude was in favor of the Union, there were still some grievances.

France liked neither the price which had been set on the head of Jefferson Davis, the emigration of discharged soldiers to Mexico, nor the trial of the accomplices of Booth behind closed doors. But it made no difference now what the attitude of the French press was, as except in the case of Mexico it could have no effect on the United States, and very soon the Mexican situation was settled to the satisfaction of the Federal Government.

By few will it be denied that the general attitude of the press was unfavorable to the Union cause, but a large part of this sentiment was artificial and due to the stand of Napoleon in endeavoring to have the periodicals support the various schemes which he was hatching, and which depended for their success on the independence of the South and the downfall of the Union. Still there were many in France, as in other European countries, who believed that with the Union divided America would be less of a menace, commercially and politically to France. Still others thought that inasmuch as the war was working a great hardship on French manufactures, and that the independence of the South offered the quickest way for its final settlement, they should use their influence towards this end.

But on the other hand there were many who favored the Union. These believed in the principles which were being fought for by

the Union, but more important was the slavery question, the attitude of the South on which was universally condemned. Among the masses of people, sentiment was about evenly divided. The aristocrats agreed with the South; the thinkers with the North; the rest had no practical influence, but the stands taken by the two factions, neutralized.

From a historical standpoint this absence of extensive public sentiment in favor of the South, except what was inspired by him, kept Napoleon from taking decisive action, although several times he was on the point of openly offering his support to the Confederates. When the successes of the Union armies became known in France, the revulsion of feeling sounded the deathknell to Napoleon's ambitions. The effect of the triumph of American institutions was considerable, and to meet the popular demand, Napoleon was forced to grant several important constitutional reforms.

But one of the most important results of French public opinion of the American Civil War was that it led to the fall of the Second Empire. If it had been more antagonistic to the Union, Napoleon would have recognized the South, sent the fleet which was partially bargained for, and thus radically changed the map of the United States.

But with very little real support by the press he did not thus take definite action, except in the case of Mexico. And here the press condemnation of what Rouher called the "greatest enterprise of the reign" was so strong that it was doomed to failure. Napoleon's prestige was lost, and the confidence of the French people in his ability was shattered. The germ of development which led to this is not to be found in Europe; on the contrary we must look for it in the United States. The existence of the Civil War led Napoleon to attempt to establish French prestige among the Latin nations of Central America, and the attitude of the press led to the failure of the expedition. So, internal troubles in America, and the attitude of France toward them were responsible for the fall of the Second Empire and the disposition of Napoleon III.

Forts Along the Ohio

BY DELIA A. MC CULLOCH

GENERAL WASHINGTON was sent as a bearer of a letter from Governor Dinwiddie to St. Pierre, the French Commander at Fort Boeuf, Jan., 1754, and on his return he recommended that a fort be built at the Forks of the Ohio.

Governor Dinwiddie in his letter to St. Pierre, ordered the evacuation of all of the forts, that had been built by the French, namely,—Niagara, Presque Isle, (now Erie), and Fort Boeuf, and expressed great astonishment that he should trespass on British Possessions.

Washington waited three days while the French Commander wrote his careful reply, and while he was thus detained he was most kindly entertained as a guest, but the contents of the letter of St. Pierre was not satisfactory to Governor Dinwiddie, for it did not imply any haste in withdrawing from these strongholds.

This journey to the head waters of the Allegheny in mid-winter was attended with much exposure, and with several narrow escapes, which to the young Major, with his taste for adventure, and his courageous spirit was full of enjoyment.

The Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, and Aix la Chapelle in 1748, was ignored by the French, and they determined to stand a fight for the whole of this coveted land, claiming it by right of possession, except the narrow strip of seacoast.

To thus protect her rights as she considered it, she went to work to fortify herself by a line of forts from the Forks of the Ohio to the Gulf of Mexico, giving her troops water communication to Canada.

Governor Dinwiddie determined to frustrate their plans, and

on the recommendation of Washington, Captain William Trent was sent with a small detachment of back-woodsmen to build a fort necessary for the protection of a garrison, at the forks of the Ohio.

Captain Trent began the work, but for some reason left it with Ensign Edward Ward and 40 men to finish, and this little band on April 17, 1754, was surprised by an armed force of 1,000 men in canoes and bateaux coming down the Allegheny to attack them.

He was obliged to surrender his small garrison, and they were permitted to march out, and the work that had been accomplished was destroyed. Ward with his men went back to Wills Creek, and there joined Washington, a distance of one hundred and forty miles.

Washington was then ordered to march on Fort Duquesne, a much larger fort that had been built by the French, and a new road had to be built for the army wagons and artillery to pass over, and after great labor Washington reached Great Meadows with one hundred and fifty men.

The French went out from Fort Duquesne to meet him, and the battle that took place resulted in a victory for General Washington and his "ragged detachment," the French Commander Coulon de Jumonville, was killed, and the whole army killed, or taken prisoners.

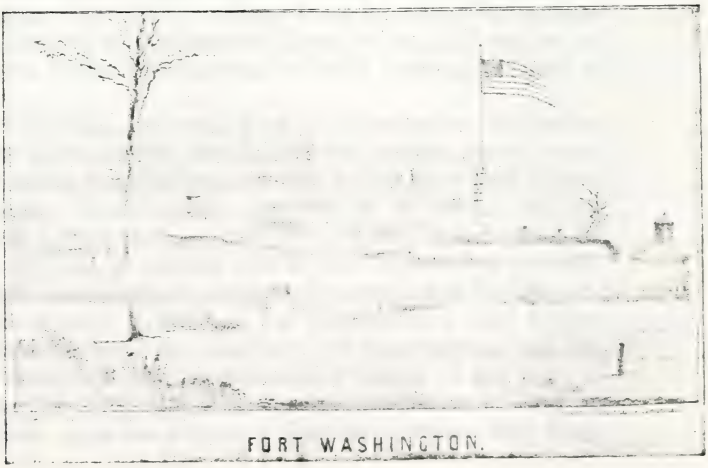
The French then sent out a large force, and Washington fell back to Great Meadows, and had but one day to throw up some small fortifications, which he named "Fort Necessity."

Washington was defeated, but was allowed to march out with drums beating, and all of their supplies, which were small; the sick and wounded were carried back to Wills Creek by their half-starved comrades, and the French returned exultant to Fort Duquesne.

Nothing more was done until Braddock took command of the army, and advanced on Fort Duquesne, Feb. 9, 1755, and met with such a disastrous defeat. He was among the killed, and his body hastily buried, and the wagons driven over the spot to conceal it from the enemy, and all the monument that marks the spot today, is a clump of evergreens.



OLD INDIAN FORT
Point Pleasant, W. Va., built 1787



History gives a pathetic story of the dreadful "slaughter," as it was called, and the terror that filled every heart of the people of West Augusta, and you might say the whole Colony, and the diaries that have been preserved, give us an idea of the great excitement that prevailed, when the melancholy news was brought by the terror-stricken soldiers, fleeing as they supposed for their lives.

Whole settlements were put in confusion, and it is said "that scarcely a man slept in his own house, but all met in companies with their wives and children, and set about building little fortifications to defend themselves."

The French colors continued to fly from Fort Duquesne until taken by the army of General Forbes, November 25, 1758, whose march through the wilderness, across the State of Pennsylvania, is one of the most interesting recorded in history.

The indomitable will power manifested by General Forbes to remain with his army, though he was obliged to be carried on a litter swung between two horses, on account of the great malady that had prostrated him, has been the admiration of all students of American history.

In this same manner he was carried back to Philadelphia after the campaign was ended, arriving there Jan. 18, 1759, and the following Spring, in the month of March he died, and was buried on the 14th of the same month, in Christ Episcopal Church of that city.

When the French evacuated Fort Duquesne before the advance of General Forbes' army, they burned the barracks, store-houses, and blew up the fortifications, and left it all in ruins, and to show how important this point was regarded by the British, William Pitt wrote immediately,—"that His Majesty directs that the ruins be restored, or another fort be built of sufficient strength, to maintain his subjects in undisputed possession of the Ohio."

In 1759, a much larger fort was commenced a little farther inland, in the forks of the Allegheny and Monongahela, and Col. Hugh Mercer with 200 Virginians had charge of the work of preparing the material for its construction, so as to have all things ready upon the arrival of Captain Gordon, Chief Engi-

neer, who was to have charge of the work, under the supervision of General Stanwix, who had succeeded General Forbes.

This fort was erected at an enormous expense, and when completed was a solid, substantial piece of work, but when finished is not certainly known, but General Stanwix returned to Philadelphia March 21, 1760.

It stood on the present site of the Duquesne Freight Station, and all the ground from the point to Third Street, and from Liberty to the Allegheny river, was enclosed by a moat, it was five sided, the two sides facing the land was of brick, the others stockade.

The earth around was thrown up and all was enclosed by a perpendicular wall of brick, on the other side was fixed a line of pickets, on the outside of the slope, and a moat encompassed the entire work.

Case-mates, barracks, store-houses were completed for a garrison of 1,000 men, and 18 pieces of artillery, mounted on bastions, and this strong fort was thought to guarantee the establishment of the British Dominion on the Ohio, and they gave it the name of "Fort Pitt," in honor of England's great Prime Minister, William Pitt. ("Fort Du Quesne, Fort Pitt, D. A. R.")

In 1763, when the Indians under Pontiac had an uprising carrying death and destruction to all the settlements, and many forts had fallen into their hands, Fort Pitt escaped.

Col. Boquet, a Swiss officer who came to America in 1756, and served under Forbes was said "to have been a man of iron will, with an iron hand," he marched out from Carlisle, Pa., and gave battle to the Indians, at Bushy Run, and defeated them, and then pushed on to Fort Pitt to relieve those who were in great distress, small-pox having broken out in the garrison.

He went to work to strengthen Fort Pitt, and built the little "Redoubt" connecting it with an underground passage, one with the fort, and the other leading to the Monongahela river, it was five-sided, and of brick with squared oak logs with two floors, and loop-holes to each floor.

In the Spring of 1764, the Indians began their depredations, and Col. Boquet brought them to terms without striking a blow,

refusing to listen to their Chiefs in their offers of peace, until they would surrender up all of the captives, numbering over three hundred. Some had been so long in captivity that they had forgotten their own language, and did not even know their dear friends that came seeking them, and from whom they had been so long separated.

The ground on which Fort Pitt and the Redoubt stood, was first sold in 1784 to Isaac Craig, and in 1805 it was purchased by General James O'Hara who died in 1819, leaving the old historic property to his daughter, with the request that she should never sell it.

She married William Croghan in 1821, and died in 1827, leaving an only daughter, who married Captain E. W. H. Schenley of the British army, and anxious to honor the wishes of her illustrious ancestor. she presented it to the "Daughters of the American Revolution," April 4, 1894.

When they came into possession of it, they found the stone table that had occupied a place over the front doorway, with the inscription,—"Col. Boquet, 1764," had been removed, and placed in the stairway of the City Hall.

This had been done while it had been used as a dwelling house, to preserve it, but it was restored to its original place by the consent of the "City Fathers," at the request of the Pittsburg Chapter, D. A. R.

The Penn. R. R. owns the land around it, and have made efforts to remove it to Schenley Park, but the old fort still remains impregnable to all assaults, and the general opinion is to remove it from its original site would destroy its historic interest, for it would be "Rome without Caesar."

Major John Craig was in charge at Fort Pitt, and asked permission to erect something stronger as a defense, reporting the fort "in a ruinous condition," and his request was granted, and he constructed a small fort, and named it in honor of the French patriot La Fayette.

Major Craig was the last one in charge of military affairs at the forks of the Ohio, and he died May 14, 1826, in his 84th year, and was buried with both Military and Masonic honors.

Among those who helped to make the history of this fort and

locality from the time that Captain Trent, and Ensign Ward were sent to construct a defense there in 1754, until it was abolished we find these names:—

Washington, Crawford, Croghan, Connally, Braddock, Stobo, Steuben, McIntosh, Ligonier, Halket, Grant, Stanwix, Forbes, Boquet, Amherst, Ecuyer, Neville, Butler, St. Clair, Hand, Wayn, Irvine, Craig.

We must not forget some of these who first found their way through the impenetrable forests, as guides, explorers, surveyors, traders,—namely Zanes, Vanebram, Gist, McCullough, Tomilson, Morgan, Woods, Cresap, Whetzel, and others equally courageous, who went with their trusty flint-locks, ever ready to go to those who were in distress.

And there were many Indians and their tribes, who played a conspicuous part in this history,—Shingiss, king of the Delawares, whom Washington met on his first visit to this locality, and for whose scalp the State offered a large sum; he was conspicuous in all of the treaties, was in the conspiracy of Pontiac, and was buried on the banks of the Allegheny.

There was also,—White Eyes Kilbuck, Guyasuta, Cornstalk, Logan, Black Wolf, Pontiac, Tecumseh, and the noted queen of the Delawares, who reigned in splendor at her town, now Logansport, and who granted an audience to Washington, on his memorable trip to the upper waters of the Ohio.

Fort Henry (Wheeling)

This fort was first named Fort Fincastle in honor of Lord Dunmore, it being one of his tiltes of nobility, but owing to the bitter feeling engendered by his unexplainable conduct in deserting General Andrew Lewis in the wilderness, and also his actions against the colonists at Williamsburg, caused it to be changed, to honor the man whose burst of patriotism before the House of Burgesses, in old St. John's Church, Richmond, had set the Colonists wild with enthusiasm.

Fort Henry is thought to have been planned, and superintended by Major Angus McDonald, in the Summer of 1774, the work done under the direction of Ebenezer Zane, and John Caldwell, and was enlarged in 1777.

The Zanes were of Danish descent, and Ebenezer was born in Berkeley county, Oct. 7, 1747, and died in Wheeling, 1811. He donated the land on which the fort was built.

His father had come down from Pennsylvania and settled on the South Branch of the Potomac, and his sons Ebenezer, Silas, and Jonathan came to the locality of Wheeling at a very early day, with a number of other hardy pioneers.

They did much towards subduing the savages, and making that part of the country open to settlement, possessing bold and daring spirits with love for frontier life, and displayed their courage in numerous encounters with the Indians.

They were pleased with the beautiful farming land, and went right to work "tomahawking" a claim, and soon secured 1,000 acres of fine land, that compared favorably with that they had just left, on the South Branch, that had so impressed John Van Meter, when he explored the country along the Potomac in 1739.

It proved afterwards that they possessed a fine knowledge of good farming land. Ebenezer had great executive ability, and he held many offices both civil and military, and ranked as Colonel in the militia. He owned also the land upon which the city of Zanesville stands, and it was named in his honor.

Fort Henry covered three-quarters of an acre, in a parallelogram, with a block-house at each corner, and a line of pickets eight feet high, extending from one block-house to another. In the enclosure was a store-room and a number of cabins, for the use of the families in the fort.

The principal entrance into it was through a gate-way on the eastern side of the fort, next to Wheeling, which consisted of about twenty-five log cabins. The fort was very important for the protection of these settlers, who could not have remained on their land without this place of refuge.

In 1777 Elizabeth Zane came to visit her brothers, having just finished her education at a school in Philadelphia, and made herself a heroine at the siege of Fort Henry, and none played a more conspicuous part. The powder was exhausted and some had to be gotten from a house sixty yards away, on the outside of the fort.

But who was to execute this daring feat of securing the pow-

der? Elizabeth's voice was heard to exclaim, "I will go; we can spare no one else." Very reluctantly her request was granted, all realizing the great danger to which she would be exposed.

The gates were opened, and with the swiftness of an antelope she ran out in full view of the spell-bound Indians, and the brave girl came back as swiftly as she went, bringing the powder in the skirt of her dress.

To the inmates of the fort this courageous act, no doubt, inspired them to more daring deeds of valor, which resulted finally in the siege being raised.

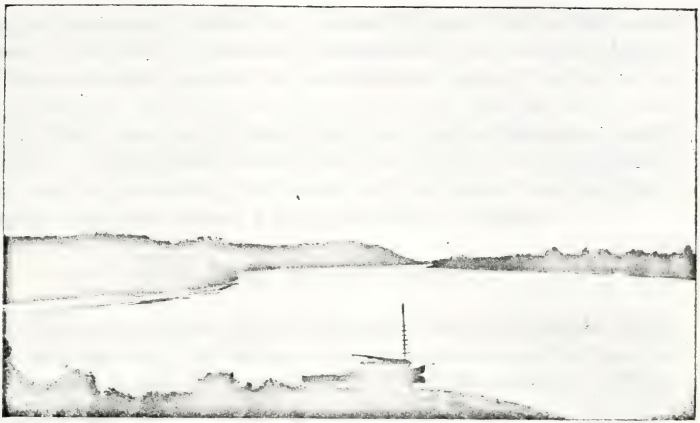
Near this fort not long after, the gallant Major Sam. McColloch made his daring leap over the cliff into Wheeling Creek, being pursued by a roving band of Indians, and he finally met a sad fate at their hands, they not wishing to kill him, but to take him alive, which they succeeded in doing, cutting out his heart while he was yet alive, and eating it, saying,—"they wanted to be made brave like McColloch."

Among the brave defenders of Fort Henry were names that are still to be found on the records of that historic town,—the Shepards, McCollochs, Zanes, Caldwell, Rogers, Linns, Lemons, and many others, who nobly did their part in saving the settlers from a horrible massacre, and gaining a victory over the savage foe; the last attack made upon this fort was in 1782. Logs of this old fort are still preserved.

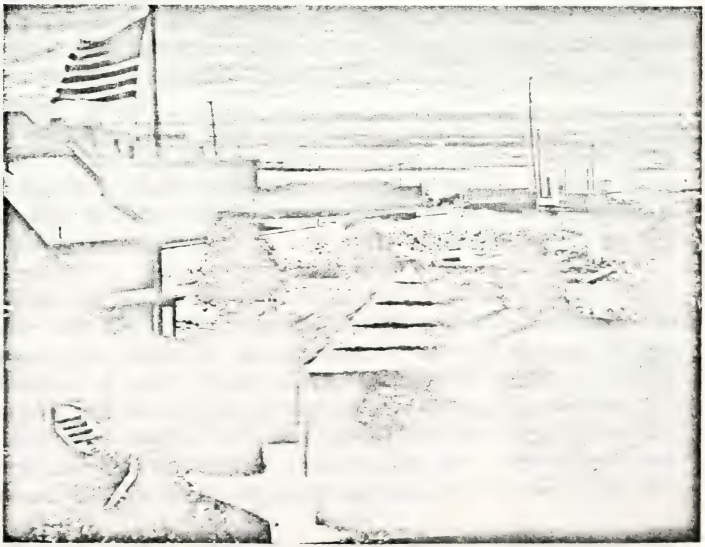
Many of the forts important to the points they protected can be merely mentioned as Fort McIntosh and Fort Laurens, that were built in 1778. General McIntosh on his expedition into the enemies' country, halted at the mouth of Beaver, and built the fort that bore his name and then proceeded seventy-five miles farther, and built Fort Laurens. For want of supplies he became discouraged and fell back to Fort Pitt.

Fort Harmer was next in importance to Fort Pitt, and was constructed by Major Doughty, who was chosen for the work of Gen. Josiah Harmer. Major Doughty combined both Military and Engineering skill, and was an enthusiastic horticulturist, and originated the lucious "Doughty Peach."

Fort Harmer was occupied first by a New England colony, who came to the Ohio in 1788, and settled at this point (now the



THE POINT OF TUEDNAWIE PARK.
Site of the Battle Monument. Gallipolis in the bend on the right-hand side



FORT DUQUESNE AND BLOCK HOUSE, PITTSBURG, PA.

city of Marietta), which they named it after the unfortunate Queen of France. The culture, refinement, and religious spirit of these colonists, gave to the settlement a powerful influence in the affairs of the northwest, and as a city, she has ever been at the front along educational lines, and their colleges have sent out many men, whose influence has been felt in every pursuit of life, and in preserving the history of the people and the Ohio Valley, they have shown a spirit worthy of example.

Fort Blair and Fort Randolph

At the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where it forms the junction with the Ohio, the waters have the appearance of a lake, as it spreads out, surrounded by the Ohio, and the beautiful "West Virginia Hills."

When for the first time this picture burst upon the vision of some early explorer, as they came out of the dense forest that surrounded them on all sides, or to the army of General Andrew Lewis, as they stood in front of their encampment on the high point of land that then extended far out into the river, and gazed upon these two beautiful rivers, how sublime must have been the scene to them.

Perhaps the sun, with its gorgeous setting, was just sinking down behind the western hills, and the towering forests were casting their shadows almost across the streams, and the whole sky was brilliant with the sun's golden glow, this landscape is not surpassed in beauty by any of the noted scenery of the Old World.

Who can realize the stillness of that vast wilderness, at that early day, not a sound but that of their own foot-step, or the echo of the stroke of the axeman, or the soft murmur of the water, as it gently flowed along, nothing to disturb its glassy surface, but the dipping of the paddles of some lone canoe.

A French trading post was located here at the mouth of the river, and in 1764 Mathew Arbuckle, the first white man known to have been in the Kanawha valley, came to dispose of his peltries.

Hanson, with a party of surveyors was at the mouth of the

river in the Spring of 1774, and in his diary preserved in the Wis. His. Soc. he says: "We found here 26 people on different designs,—some to cultivate land, others to attend the surveyors down the river."

He also notes that on the north point, where he met these people is a very fit place to build a fort, as it in my opinion does not overflow, as is the case with the other bottoms, and Mr. Hanson does not allude to any protection being there for the people against the Indians.

The Indians were then hostile to the whites, for in 1755 Mrs. Ingles was taken captive from the New river settlements, and carried away to their Scioto towns, and after three years held among their tribes, she made her escape, and found her way back to the mouth of the Great Kanawha river, by following the streams, and after much suffering reached her friends, more dead than alive, from her long journey on foot.

Travellers who are acquainted with the high mountains of New river country, can realize what this trip meant to a frail, delicate woman, worn out by excitement, and fear of recapture.

De Celeron the French Commander and explorer, with his large party of Frenchmen, in bateaux, canoes, and other crafts, on their way down the Ohio river, taking possession of the country along the Ohio, and all of its tributaries, for the French Crown, were driven by severe rain storms into the mouth of the Kanawha, in 1749.

Here they were delayed, and at their departure they buried one of their six lead plates with inscription, and he makes a note in his diary, which is preserved in the French Archives at Paris that: "We buried at the foot of an Elm on the South bank of the Ohio, and East bank of the Chinondaista the 18th day of August, 1749, a lead plate," but does not give the inscription.

This plate was found in 1846 by some small boys while fishing at the spot named, and was in a perfect state of preservation, with the French inscription so legible, that it left no doubt as to what it was.

It was taken from the boys, in order to preserve it, and for a number of years it was entirely lost sight of, and thought to have

been lost, but recently it has been seen in the Virginia Historical Rooms, at Richmond, Va.

General Washington, with a party of friends, and surveyors, visited the mouth of the Great Kanawha, in 1770, before the memorable battle of Point Pleasant, to look after the land that had been given to the officers for their services in the French and Indian wars.

This locality was well known, both by the whites and the Indians, and it was called by the Wyandottes, Tuednawie, the "junction of the rivers," Great Kanawha was called by the Delawares Keninshekacepe, the "white stone river," and the Ohio in all the different Indian languages, meant "the beautiful river."

Fort Blair was built by General Andrew Lewis' army, after the memorable battle fought with the Indians, Oct. 10, 1774, to protect their sick and wounded, when the main body of the army crossed the Ohio river to join Lord Dunmore, who was then at the Indian towns on the Scioto.

This fort is stated in history as a palisaded rectangle, about eighty yards long, with block-houses at two corners, and it was reported by Captain Russell a short time afterwards, as "a very insufficient, and poorly constructed affair."

The last official act of Lord Dunmore as Governor of the Colony, was to disband the garrison, and he thus left the Kanawha Valley open to the mercy of the Indians, and early in the Summer of 1775, the Indians made a raid, and burned the greater portion of this fort.

At a meeting of Commissioners for Indian affairs at Pittsburg, Oct., 1775, Cornstalk who was present to represent his tribe, thus spoke in reference to the burning of Fort Blair: "I now brothers inform you that some of my foolish young men have burned several houses at the mouth of the Big Kanhawa, they were pursued by the white people, and came home, quite naked, having lost their cloaths, blankets, it happened about ten or twelve days ago."

On Oct. 14th, at the same conference, Dr. Walker replied to Cornstalk: "Brothers the Shawanese, you told us on Wednesday the 12th of this instant, that three of your foolish young men

had been at the Kanhawa, and burned some useless houses, but that the fort was not hurt, we now have proof that part of the fort is burned, and all the houses in it destroyed, except the logs of the store."

General Andrew Lewis was in attendance at this conference as one of the commissioners.

The Virginia Assembly ordered a much larger fort to be built, by the urgent appeals of the settlers, without delay, and Capt. Mathew Arbuckle alluded to before, was sent from Fort Pitt with his company to build it, and he chose the site a square farther up the Ohio river.

It was a large stockade with block houses, and a circle of cabins within the enclosure, in which the settlers lived for protection, until the troublesome times were over.

It was named "Fort Randolph," in honor of Peyton Randolph a member of the Continental Congress, who had died the year before; the garrison consisted of one hundred men, under command of Capt. Arbuckle, with the usual number of officers, and on April 9, 1777, Congress resolved: "That this force should not be called away from the fort for any other service."

Capt. Arbuckle remained in command of the fort until the close of 1777, and was there when Cornstalk was murdered by members of Captain Hall's company, from Rockbridge county, Va., in retaliation for the raid made by Indians, in command of Cornstalk (then a young warrior and a great leader), on Kerr's Creek in 1764, in which the families of these soldiers, who committed this deplorable act, suffered severely, all being killed, or carried off into captivity.

Captain Arbuckle, and Captain John Stewart, of Greenbrier Co., made an effort to quell the riot, but in vain, and standing in the doorway of the tent, thus barring the entrance, came near losing their lives. Cornstalk and his son met their fate bravely.

They were buried on the outside of the fort, and in 1841 Cornstalk's remains were found and taken up, (the spot pointed out by an Indian, passing through the country) and buried in the Court House yard, and there a small monument out of "Gauly rock" has been placed to his memory by the citizens of Point Pleasant, for the great love for the whites, that took possession

of his heart in his old age, in place of the antagonism of his youth, he having come to the fort on a mission of peace. History does not record the evacuation of Fort Randolph as to exact date, but in 1784 it is recorded that Col. Andrew Lewis, (son of General Andrew Lewis, the hero of the Battle of Point Pleasant) visited his many relatives at the mouth of the Kanawha river, and reported that there was little left of the fort.

In 1792-3-4 frequent raids were made by the Indians into the Kanawha valley passing through the locality of Point Pleasant, and the settlers built a small fort, under the direction of Thomas Lewis, the son of General Lewis, who had settled on part of his father's land grant at the mouth of Old Town Creek, where the Indians had crossed the Ohio river after their defeat by the Virginia army under his father.

A large brick building now stands on the site of Fort Randolph and is used as a tenement house, and one can scarcely picture to himself the stirring events that transpired around this spot, and though many of the descendants of those who lived in the circle of cabins within the fort live around Point Pleasant, they possess no written narrative of how they spent their time, or any legends connected with it.

Many valuable collections of arrow heads, pipes, battle axes have been gathered on the site of the fort, and in the locality, and on the farm along the two rivers, proving that it was much frequented by the various tribes, and a village is known to have existed at the mouth of Old Town Creek at an early day, but was thought to have been abandoned on account of the floods of the Ohio and Kanawha rivers.

Fort Washington (Now Cincinnati)

This fort was built to protect the settlement of Judge John Cleves Symmes of New Jersey, who organized a colony and set out from Elizabethtown, July, 1788, by route to Redstone fort, over land, the party numbering thirty people, among them Capt. Benj. Stites, who had explored the country two years before.

Much time was spent by Judge Symmes and the colonists in selecting a site for their settlement, and making arrangements

for the building of their cabins, but the site was not satisfactory, for the floods of the Ohio river covered it the following Spring, and they abandoned it for another.

There were many delays, and finally Judge Symmes with the aid of friends, prevailed upon Congress to give the colonists protection, and in the Summer of 1789 Fort Washington was ordered to be built, and the site chosen was opposite the Licking, "high and healthy, abounding in never failing springs."

This Major Doughty reported to General Knox, he having been selected by General Harmer to make the plan and build the fort, as an efficient officer, to be trusted with the work.

The Spring of 1789 had opened with three settlements stretched along the Ohio river, about twenty-one miles, and all actively engaged in building their cabins and block houses.

The Miami Purchase consisted originally in a grant from Congress in 1787 of one million acres of land, made to Judge Symmes, but after many complications and difficulties it was reduced to between three and four thousand acres.

Fifteen acres was set aside by the government for the site of the fort, which was to be the foundation for the great and progressive city of Cincinnati of today, one of the most delightful of the Western cities.

It was built on the second terrace, a piece of high ground fronting the Ohio river, overlooking a small settlement on the lower bank, and out of reach of the floods of the river.

The site was the ground now occupied by Third and Fourth streets, and Ludlow and Broadway, and was heavily timbered with black and red oaks, hickory, ash, and black walnut, and this was close at hand, to be used in the building of the fort.

According to the plan it was to be a perfect square, two stories high, with four block houses at angles, with high pickets, with hued logs from the labor of the soldiers, and the lime burned, and the rock necessary found in great abundance, also gotten out by the soldiers, and the lighter timber used was secured at Limestone, by purchasing the flat-boats abandoned by the emigrants at one or two dollars a boat, thus making the cost of the fort very small. (R. R. Jones, "Colonial Wars.")

The size of the fort measured twenty feet square for each

block house, and about one hundred and eighty feet on each side between the four block houses at the angles of the fort. The barracks were one in the middle of each of the four sides. The one facing the Ohio river had six rooms, each twenty feet.

These rooms were arranged three on each side of the gateway, which was twelve feet wide, and a triangular extension on the west side which was terminated by a fifth block house.

This fort when finished was the most substantial fort in the western country, and the officers were complimented for the excellence of it, and on their industry and attention in pushing the work to completion, and General Harmer wrote to General Knox that: "He would honor it with the name of Washington."

It had a fine esplanade extending along the whole front of the fort about eighty feet wide, enclosed with a high paling on the brow of the bank, the descent sloping to the lower bottom. (R. R. Jones, Colonial Wars). The flag of the new Republic floated from its flag-staff within the fort situated on its high terrace eighty feet above low water mark and its beautiful stripes as they were unfolded to the breeze, met the gaze of the fearless pioneer, as he poled his bateaux or river craft up and down the Ohio river, and must have given him encouragement to build his cabin and seek shelter under the shadows of the fort.

The great victory of "Fallen Timbers gained by General Anthony Wayne put an end to the Indian warfare, and the great Northwest was opened for peaceful settlement, and with the ending of this campaign, the importance of Fort Washington and other western forts declined.

After the Treaty of Greenville, August 3, 1795, the Indians retired beyond the limits laid down in the treaty, and Fort Washington in 1908 was abolished, but the noble patriot did not live long to enjoy his triumphs, and he died like many others have done, who had climbed the ladder of fame, in great obscurity in a log cabin at Presque Isle, Dec. 15, 1796, and was buried at his request under the flag-staff of the fort.

In 1806 Fort Washington was shorn of much of its former glory, by the garrison being divided with Fort Pitt, and in 1804 the government acquired a tract of land at Newport, Kentucky,

and in 1804 the flag was lowered and the garrison was removed and Newport barracks sprung into existence.

This fort remained through the War of 1812, and the Mexican war, and the war between the states, and in 1894 Fort Thomas was built on the bluffs overlooking the Ohio river, seven miles above the Licking, and after ninety years of occupation the garrison was again removed, much to the sorrow and regret of the citizens of Newport, to where it still remains, and known as Fort Thomas (1911).

A great interest was aroused in 1899 by the Historical Societies of Ohio, and among the most active were the "Colonial Wars," to locate the original site of Fort Washington.

With the aid of the War Department enough facts were gathered to fix the spot, and a monument was erected upon the site made out of native Ohio stone designed to represent a block house nine feet above ground surrounded by a chain railing supported by four old cannon.

On it are two bronze tablets, the one on the west contains the dedicatory inscription, the lower inscription is an outline map of the main portion of the fort, and the streets that intersected it, and on June 14, 1901, it was unveiled and the ceremonies attending it were of great interest.

The city of Cincinnati grew up around Fort Washington from a small colony, and in 1814 it was incorporated as a city, and in 1800 it had a population of only 750, and today it numbers over 400,000.

At the close of the Revolution the "Order of Cincinnati" was organized by the officers of the Continental army for the relief of the widows of their comrades, and Cincinnati was named in honor of this order.

The Little Wars of the Republic

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART XIII.—THE PATRIOTS' WAR

IT IS not easy—even with all the facts that we have at hand to-day—to look back and with any degree of clearness unravel the tangled mass of international animosities and complications that contributed to incite the popular uprising that came to be known as the Patriots' War. That the Northeastern Boundary question—only recently settled—had much to do with exciting this feeling against Great Britain there can be no doubt, while the problem of pauper immigration, which first began to attract attention in the year 1837, added fuel to the fire by materially increasing the Native-American sentiment. Add to this the feeling of general distress that the financial panic of 1837 had carried to every section of the country, and we may be able to form a slight idea of the strength of the undercurrent of unrest that swept during this year from one end of the land to the other.

As a cause of discord, the boundary question alone was sufficient to keep the Secretary of State and the British Minister busy, for while this matter had long been a subject for diplomacy it was no nearer a settlement than ever, and scarcely a week passed that reports of trouble did not come to light—in Maine or Massachusetts if not in New Brunswick. As it was but a step across the boundary, wherever it might be, and as nobody knew where the correct border was located, it is not hard to realize that any attempt to possess the disputed territory would necessarily be met by vigorous protest, especially when the effort was in line with the establishment of State jurisdiction.

By an act of legislature, passed on March 3, 1837, the State of Maine provided to make a census enumeration with a view to the equitable division of the surplus revenue of the Government which had then been apportioned, and all went smoothly until one of the enumerators of Penobscot county, Ebenezer Greely, went to Madawaska, a village in the disputed territory, and began counting the people. Here he was arrested by a New Brunswick warden and was taken to Woodstock, where he was immediately discharged by the sheriff.

Deeming this discharge to be tacit authority to continue his work, Greely returned to Madawaska to complete his unfinished enumeration, but he was again arrested by the same warden, and this time he was carried to Fredericton, where, instead of being released, he was sent to jail. As he at once notified the Governor of Maine of his plight, the latter addressed a formal complaint to Secretary of State Forsyth, and the matter became one for diplomatic correspondence between the Department of State and the British Minister.

This was but one of several incidents that occurred to threaten the comparatively peaceful relations existing between the two nations, and how much they had to do in exciting the anti-British sentiment that soon took possession of the country it is not easy to say. That they should have been settled by ordinary diplomatic arbitration is self-evident; that this is exactly what would have happened had conditions not been so ripe for a popular uprising there is little doubt. With rebellion against the Crown actively under way in Canada, however, such happenings had the natural effect of inflaming the minds of a certain class of Americans against Great Britain, with the result that they became only too willing to aid the Canadian rebels in their struggle for liberty.

That the dispute over the boundary question and the Native-American riots—inspired in protest against so-called pauper immigration—had much to do with inspiring this attitude is shown by the fact that when the Canadian rebellion was originally projected, the efforts made by its leaders to secure American assistance met with practically no response. But subsequent events, both here and in Canada, soon changed the trend of

American thought, and after the battle of St. Eustache, when the patriots who had taken refuge in the church were either shot or burned alive, even the strenuous conciliatory measures taken by the American residents of Canada at a mass meeting held at Montreal, failed to restrain the wave of sympathy that broke in many sections of the United States, and especially in the cities along the Canadian border. Enthusiastic mass meetings were held at Buffalo, Rochester, Troy, Lockport, Ogdensburg, Oswego, Burlington, St. Albans, and other places, at which resolutions were passed, money collected, and contributions of all kinds of provisions successfully solicited.

As the Patriots were pressed back, the succession of defeats increased and retarded the spread of the sentiment of sympathy on this side of the border. In many sections volunteer companies were organized, and when William L. Mackenzie, the leader of the Canadian insurgents, on whose head a price had been placed, succeeded in escaping to the United States and appeared at a mass meeting in Buffalo, the excitement reached so high a pitch that the more cool-headed sympathizers felt the necessity of urging more caution. Despite their warnings, however, the work of preparing for a Canadian invasion proceeded. The flag of the insurgents, a tricolor with two stars, was openly displayed in several American cities, while enlistment offices were opened, not only to secure volunteers, but for the collection of arms, ammunition, clothing and provisions.

As Mackenzie was thoroughly convinced that England would never permit such a wholesale invasion from the United States as had been planned, he crossed to Navy Island, in the Niagara River just above the Falls, and, with some twenty-five men to support his action, established a provisional government. By proclamation he offered free grants of land to all volunteers, and a series of paper money was issued, the same to become payable upon the establishment of the government.

And it was a heterogeneous company that assembled in response to the Mackenzie proclamation. A small proportion of the volunteers were Americans of respectability who had enlisted through their hatred of Great Britain, but the majority were adventurers, men out of employment, or boys who looked upon

the event as an occasion for an exciting holiday. Among the adventurers were a few men of superior ability— engineers, surgeons, and experienced military officers. One of these was Rensselaer Van Rensselaer of Albany, who was made military commander. Under his direction the island was properly fortified and the troops—now constantly increasing in numbers—were efficiently drilled.

Under such favorable conditions it was but a few days before Mackenzie's force numbered more than six hundred men, and there was arms and ammunition, including cannon, as well as all kinds of provision to meet all the needs of the army.

To ascertain just what sentiment existed in the border towns and villages, Silas Fletcher was sent out to reconnoitre, and he reported the greatest enthusiasm everywhere. In some places the people had met him and, in procession, with cheers and flags, had escorted him through the town. Everywhere the people were eager to aid the insurgents. Contributions of every variety of goods that could possibly be used by the men, were constantly being made, until there was more bread and blankets than could possibly be utilized by twice the number of soldiers.

That Fletcher's report was not overdrawn is indicated by the action of the Secretary of State who wrote letters to the Governors and District Attorneys of Vermont, New York, and Michigan, informing them that it had been reported to him that the border was in arms, and urging them to be watchful, and to prosecute without discrimination any attempt to promote an invasion of British soil.

The response that the Secretary received to his letters was not encouraging, for things had gone so far that in some places the veterans of the War of 1812 were enlisting in a body. From Buffalo, Mayor Trowbridge wrote to President Van Buren that the invasion of Canada was being openly planned on the streets of the city; that men were being enrolled for this avowed purpose, and that arms and ammunition were being collected. A few days later—probably before this letter reached Washington —the Buffalo contingent met in front of the theatre, and, when they finally departed, took with them two hundred stands of

arms and two field pieces belonging to the State, which had been left in the hands of the sheriff for safe keeping.

From Plattsburg, Rochester, Ogdensburg—all along the border—the reports were of similar character. Everywhere fully three-quarters of the people were in complete sympathy with the rebels—everywhere troops were drilling in anticipation of a call to invade Canada—everywhere arms were being collected and bullets were being made.

On December 24 the Governor of Upper Canada sent Colonel McNab with a small force to occupy Chippewa and prevent the landing of the invaders, and four days later the Governor himself, with more than four hundred men appeared as a reinforcement. At first it was reported that the Canadian troops had landed on Grand Island, and, as this was American territory, the rumor caused great excitement. Mass meetings were held to protect against British invasion, and Judge McLean was sent to Colonel McNab with a letter from the District Attorney of New York informing him that trespassing upon American soil would not be tolerated.

To this the Canadian officers replied that there was no truth in the rumors as none of their plans in any way required the use of American territory. Moreover, every assurance was given that all operations would be conducted in strict accord with the rules of war, yet, scarcely a day later, all these promises were violated.

As it had been found extremely difficult to move all the men and stores from the New York shore to Navy Island, the Patriots had leased a small steamer, *The Caroline,* to run between Fort Schlosser and the insurgents' camp. Although known as "Fort Schlosser" it had been many years since there had been a fort at this point, the old French fortifications which gave it its name having been long since destroyed. At this time, therefore, there was nothing at the settlement but a house or two, a small inn, a warehouse and the wharf from which *The Caroline* was to sail.

It was not many hours before Colonel McNab learned, through the reports of a man named Alexander McLeod, that the steamer had been hired by the rebels and that her first trip was to be made on December 29, and he immediately commanded Captain

Drew of the Royal Navy to organize an exhibition to go secretly and destroy the craft.

McMaster tells us that it was a moonless night, and near midnight when the attack was made. At this time volunteers were arriving so rapidly that it was next to impossible to find means of transportation for them, and the inn was so crowded that a number of the enlisted men had been provided with sleeping quarters on board the boat. Suddenly they were awakened by the cry, "Turn out, boys, the enemy's coming." But, before they could gather their wits the work of destruction began.

It will never be known how many lives were lost during this engagement. The captain of *The Caroline* afterwards testified that there were thirty-three men on the boat before the arrival of Captain Drew, and that, when the fighting ceased, twelve were missing. Captain Drew himself admitted that "five or six were killed on deck," but the only body that was ever found was that of Amos Durfee, who lay on the wharf shot through the head.

It did not take long for the news to spread from one border town to another and it was with the greatest difficulty that the more conservative citizens kept their excited neighbors from massing and crossing the line into Canadian territory. As soon as possible the news that the Canadian officers had led a force into American territory and had taken lives and destroyed property on the shore of New York State was also sent to Washington. As the result, General Scott was immediately despatched with letters to the Governors of Vermont and New York requesting them to call out the militia and be prepared for service. In the meantime, at the request of the Secretary of State, the British Minister—Henry S. Fox—had taken the matter to Sir Francis Head, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, asking an explanation, but the only excuse offered was in the form of a vituperative attack in which the men on *The Caroline* were branded as a "gang of pirates," and there was an attempt at justification by the use of arguments that, had all the statements been true, could have in no sense justified such an act of outlawry.

Early in January, Mackenzie was arrested while near Buffalo, but he was soon released under heavy bonds. A day or two later Navy Island withstood a heavy bombardment, but as no more

men could reach the insurgent headquarters, and as provisions were running low, conditions began to become so desperate that the army finally deemed it wise to return to Grand Island and surrender. All were allowed to depart except the commander, Van Rensselaer, who was arrested.

If matters had been adjusting themselves in New York, however, popular excitement was on the increase in Michigan and Vermont. At Detroit an enlistment office was opened, and, on January 4, 1838, having seized four hundred stands of arms at the arsenal at Monroe, the several hundred men who had enlisted for the invasion left on schooners with the intention of making a stand on Bois Blanc, a British island opposite Fort Malden. Unfortunately for the success of their plans the companies became separated. The main body, on the *Ann*, landed at Sugar Island, which was American territory, while the second body finally reached Bois Blanc, where they raised the standard of the patriots and issued a proclamation establishing a provisional government. The next day, when those on board the *Ann* attempted to correct their blunder, the boat was fired on and seized by the Canadians.

As this left the volunteers on Bois Blanc without supplies, it was not long before they found themselves in so desperate a condition that they appealed to Governor Mason, who came to the island in a steamboat and dispersed the troops.

While other attempts were made, during the winter, to carry out a plan of invasion, they were no more successful, and as these fruitless projects left thousands of refugees in the country—without a plan of action, without money, and without a leader—a mass meeting was held at Lockport in March at which a society was organized as an attempt to improve the situation. It was called the Canadian Refugee Relief Association.

Although all the border towns had their quota of refugees, the greater number had found an ideal hiding place in the Thousand Islands, and it was by these conspirators that the next plot was hatched. On the morning of May 13—at 2 a. m.—the *Sir Robert Peel,* a steamer plying between Prescott and Kingston, was boarded at Wells by some forty thoroughly disguised men, who, with cries of "Remember the *Caroline!*" drove the crew

and passengers ashore, and, after robbing the boat, fired it and stood by until it had burned to the water's edge.

On June 2, early in the morning, the American steamboat *Telegraph* was attacked while passing Brockville, Upper Canada, but the captain refused to stop and the three shots that took effect did but little damage. Both incidents became matters for diplomatic correspondence, but as it was generally agreed that one country could do nothing without the cooperation of the other, and, even then, only with the help of fully five hundred men, the inquiries were dropped. At the some time, greater precautions were taken, troops being ordered to Sackett's Harbor, Plattsburg, and Swanton, and steamers well armed were kept on duty on Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

In spite of the fact that every attempt at the invasion of Canada had met with failure, the Patriots' sympathizers in Michigan were unwilling to rest without trying once more to gain a foothold on British soil. That the chance of premature discovery might be obviated, a secret society was organized under the name of Sons of Liberty, and it was to these lodges that the duty of enrolling and drilling men was assigned. This plan worked so well that the day for the invasion was finally set for July 4, the point of attack being Windsor, but the entire scheme fell through because, at the last moment, the guard on the Detroit arsenal was changed, making it impossible for the army of invasion to secure the arms and ammunition that it required. A similar society—the Hunters—had lodges in many places from Vermont to Michigan—and, in November, an effort was made to send a party into Canada from Ogdensburg, but the plan was frustrated through the interference of Government officials.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LIII

Joseph Smith, Personal Appearance and Character

IT will be well to pause now and contemplate the central figure of our History and what he accomplished—Joseph Smith and his work. Sixty-seven years have passed since his death; eighty-one years since he organized the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; eighty-eight years since the Book of Mormon was revealed to him; ninety-one years since he received and proclaimed his first vision; one hundred and six years since he was born. Sufficient time therefore has elapsed in reference to all these several events in which Mormonism had its origin to apply somewhat the test of time to this man and his work. And first I speak of the man himself.

During his life time, and since, a great diversity of opinion has obtained concerning Joseph Smith , even as to his personal appearance and bearing as well as to his character. These diverse opinions, however, may be classified, and naturally they fall under three general divisions: first, his enemies who hated him cordially, and unreasonably—their views are wholly unfavorable; second, those to whom he was an enigma that eluded analysis and defied classification; these have sought to balance the account of strength and weakness; of honesty and fraud; of charlatan and honest fanatic, but without achieving any marked success in satisfactory results—their analysis and speculations leave him still an enigma; third, his immediate and enthusiastic disciples—their views of him are wholly favorable, and

tinged perhaps with something akin to superstitious reverence, that magnifies every virtue and blinds them to every fault. Men still say of the beloved—"Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee!"[1]

The first class report that "from the age of twelve to twenty years he is distinctly remembered as a dull-eyed, flaxen hair prevaricating boy—noted only for his indolent and vagabondish character, and his habits of exaggeration and untruthfulness." "A person of questionable character, of intemperate habits, and latterly a money-digger."[2] Again his enemy: "The extreme ignorance and apparent stupidity of this modern Prophet, were by his early followers, looked upon as his greatest merit, and as furnishing the most incontestible proof of his divine mission —these have ever been the ward-robe of impostors." And yet this same enemy in the same paragraph says: "But it is obvious that all those deficiencies [i. e., lack of opportunities for education, etc.] are fully supplied by a natural genius, strong inventive powers of mind, a deep study, and an unusually correct estimate of the human passions and feelings. In short, he is now endowed with all the requisite traits of character to pursue most successfully the humbug which he has introduced. His address is easy, rather fascinating and winning, of a mild and sober deportment, when not irritated. But he frequently becomes boisterous by the impertinence or curiosity of the skeptical, and assumes the bravado, instead of adhering to the meekness which he professes. His followers, of course, can discover in his very countenance all the certain indications of a divine mission."[3]

Another enemy describes him as "wild and intemperate, even dishonest and tricky in his youth." And again the same author: "That he was an immense imposition upon the credulity of man, and knew himself to be such can hardly be questioned."[4] "Smith

1. Solomon's Songs iv:7.
2. Origin and Progress of Mormonism, Tucker, 1867, p. 16; also p. 388. The latter from a letter of Rev. Jesse Townsend, Palmyra, Dec. 24, 1833.
3. Howe's Mormonism Unveiled, pp. 12, 13. Edition of 1834. Hunt in his "Mormonism," 1844, paraphrases Howe's description. See pp. 6, 7.
4. Kennedy's "Early Days of Mormonism," 1888, see pp. 12-16. Kennedy admits that some of the things said of the Prophet and his family may have been dictated by envy or malice (p. 17). Charges of this kind made against the Prophet and his family, when living in New York, were considered and refuted in Chapter III and IV of this History.

is a course plebean person in aspect," says the Rev. Henry Caswall, writing of the Prophet in 1843; "and his countenance exhibits a curious mixture of the knave and the clown. His hands are over large and awkward, and on one of his fingers he wears a massive gold ring. He has a down cast look, and possesses none of that open and straight forward expression which generally characterizes an honest man."[5] Stephen S. Harding, who knew the Smith family in Palmyra, and later by the fortunes of American politics was for a brief period Governor of Utah during her territorial days (from July, 1862 to June, 1863) wrote, in 1882, the following description of the Prophet: "He was about six feet high, what might be termed long legged, and with big feet. His hair had turned from tow-colored to light auburn, [Harding was describing the Prophet after several years of his own absence from Palmyra] large eyes of a bluish gray, a prominent nose, and a mouth that of itself was a study. His face seemed almost colorless, and with little or no beard. * * * At that time his weight was about one hundred and fifty pounds, he had not a dollar in the world, and his character was such that credit was impossible."[6]

Gregg in referring to the Prophet says, "His motives were not honest, nor was he prompted by either revenge or ambition." He ascribes to him in youth "an untutored and feeble intellect" that had grasped at nothing beyond "mere toying with mysterious things;"[7] and indeed holds that the Prophet's intellectual force had always been overrated.[8] Yet even Gregg makes a remark that leads me to believe that the Prophet was an enigma to him. He says: "That such a career as was his, with such results following, could be run in that enlightened nineteenth century, and in a land where Christianity and civilization have shed

5. "Prophet of the 19th Century," 1845, page 223.
6. Harding's letter is given *in extenso* in Gregg's "Prophet of Palmyra," pp. 34-56. That Harding's letter was written in a spirit of malice cannot be doubted; both from the spirit of the writing itself, and by recollection of the fact that Harding was engaged in a bitter controversy with the people of Utah when he was Governor of the Territory, 1862-3; and when, on the petitions of the people—chiefly Mormons—he was removed from office by President Lincoln. His letter to Gregg twenty years later on "The Early Days of Mormonism" was the opportunity of a small soul "to get even" with a people who had caused his dismissal from public office.
7. Gregg's Prophet of Palymra," p. 4.
8. *Ibid*, 56, note.

their benign rays, is a mystery which the writer prefers to leave his readers to solve."[9]

It was to be expected that Governor Ford of Illinois would give a description of the Prophet, and naturally one as unfavorable as his prejudice could draw. He refers to him as the most successful impostor of modern times. "A man who, though ignorant and coarse, had some great natural parts which fitted him for temporary success, but which were so obscured and counteracted by the inherrent corruption and vices of his nature, that he never could succeed in establishing a system of policy which looked to permanent success in the future."[10] It is here where time and the survial of the system of religion and philosophy founded by Joseph Smith, comes to the rescue of the Prophet, and vindicates him from all such estimates of his character and work as are portrayed by Governor Ford. Our Governor author continues:

"It must not be supposed that the pretended prophet practiced the tricks of a common impostor; that he was a dark and gloomy person, with a long beard, a grave and severe aspect, and a reserved and saintly carriage of his person; on the contrary, he was full of levity, even to boyish romping; dressed like a dandy, and at times drank like a sailor and swore like a pirate. He could, as occasion required, be exceedingly meek in his deportment; and then again rough and boisterous as a high way robber; being always able to satisfy his followers of the propriety of his conduct. He always quailed before power, and was arrogant to weakness. At times he could put on the air of a penitent, as if feeling the deepest humiliation of his sin, and suffering unutterable anguish, and indulging in the most gloomy foreboding of eternal woe. At such times he would call for the prayers of the brethren in his behalf, with a wild and fearful energy and earnestness. He was full six feet high, strongly built, and uncommonly well muscled. No doubt he was as much indebted for his influence over an ignorant people, to the superiority of his physical vigor, as to his greater cunning and intellect."[11]

Linn contents himself with quoting some of these alleged de-

9. "The Prophet of Palmyra," Gregg, p. 2.
10. History of Illinois, p. 354.
11. History of Ill., p. 355.

scriptions of the Prophet in his youth; and for pen-pictures of him later in life uses Josiah Quincy and Rev. Henry Caswell.[12]

This brings us to the second class who have described Joseph Smith and attempted some estimate of his character, but find him an unsolvable riddle. A writer in the *Christian Reflector*, referring to his life and character speaks of the Prophet as having been "Born in the very lowest walks of life, reared in poverty, educated in vice, having no claims to even common intelligence, coarse and vulgar in deportment." And yet this writer is compelled to admit, for he does admit, that this man to whom he ascribes these defects of character, never-the-less, "succeeded in establishing a religious creed, the tenets of which have been taught throughout the length and breadth of America. The Prophet's virtues have been rehearsed and admired in Europe; the ministers of Nauvoo have been found a welcome in Asia; and Africa has listened to the grave sayings of the seer of Palmyra. The standard of the Latter-Day Saints has been reared on the banks of the Nile, and even the Holy Land has been entered by the emissaries of this wicked impostor. * * * He founded a city in one of the most beautiful situations in the world, in a beautiful curve of the 'father of waters,' of no mean pretensions, and in it he has collected a population of twenty-five thousand, from every part of the world. He planned the architecture of a magnificent temple, and reared its walls nearly fifty feet high, which, if completed, will be the most beautiful, most costly, and the most noble building in America."[13]

Remarkable achievements these for one "reared in poverty," "educated in vice," having no "claims even to common intelligence, coarse and vulgar in deportment!"

Smucker, one of the fairest of all non-Mormon writers, says:

Joseph Smith was indeed a remarkable man; and, in summing up his character, it is extremely difficult to decide, whether he were indeed the vulgar impostor which it has become the fashion to consider him, or whether he was a sincere fanatic who believed what he taught. But whether an impostor, who for the

12. "Story of the Mormons," pp. 12, 13, and 311.
13. The article from the *Christian Reflector* is quoted in Smucker's "History of the Mormons," pp. 180-1.

purposes of his ambition, concocted the fraud of the Book of Mormon, or a fanatic who believed and promulgated a fraud originally concocted by some other person, it must be admitted that he displayed no little zeal and courage; that his tact was great, that his talents for governing men were of no mean order, and that, however, glaring his deficiencies in early life may have been, he manifested, as he grew older, an ability both as an orator and a writer, which showed that he possessed strong natural gifts, only requiring cultivation to have raised him to a high reputation among better educated men. * * * But whether knave or lunatic, whether a liar or a true man, it cannot be denied that he was one of the most extraordinary persons of his time, a man of rude genius, who accomplished a much greater work than he knew; and whose name, whatever he may have been whilst living, will take its place among the notabilities of the world."[14]

The most noted of this second group of commentators upon Joseph Smith, however, is Josiah Quincy, a member of the famous Quincy family of Massachusettss, a graduate of Harvard, 1821: Mayor of Boston from 1845-1849. Mr. Quincy visited Nauvoo in May, 1844, forty-three days previous to the Prophet's martyrdom, and though his "Figures of the Past" was not published until 1882, the year of his death, yet his recollections of the Prophet and his impressions of Nauvoo were drawn from his journal, written at the time of that visit, and from numerous letters written to his friends about that same period. Mr. Quincy places his pen-portrait of Joseph Smith at Nauvoo with similar portraits of such eminent Americans as John Adams, Daniel Webster, John Randolph, Andrew Jackson and the French soldier and statesman, Lafayette.

Mr. Quincy opens his article on Joseph Smith at Nauvoo in the following remarkable passage:

"It is by no means probable that some future text-book for the use of generations yet unborn, will contain a question something like this: What historical American of the nineteenth century has exerted the most powerful influence upon the destinies of his countrymen? And it is by no means impossible that the answer to that interrogatory may be thus written: Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet. And the reply, absurd as it doubt-

14. Smucker's "History of the Mormons," pp. 181-3.

less seems to most men now living, may be an obvious commonplace to their descendants. History deals in surprises and paradoxes quite as startling as this. The man who established a religion in this age of free debate, who was and is today accepted by hundreds of thousands as a direct emissary from the Most High,—such a rare human being is not to be disposed of by pelting his memory with unsavory epithets. Fanatic, impostor, charlatan, he may have been; but these hard names furnish no solution to the problem he presents to us."[15]

After giving an account of his arrival at the "Mansion" early in the morning, and in a rainstorm, and getting his first view of the Prophet under not very favorable conditions, he says:

"Pre-eminent among the stragglers by the door stood a man of commanding appearance, clad in the costume of a journeyman carpenter when about his work. He was a hearty, athletic fellow, with blue eyes standing prominently out upon his light complexion, a long nose, and a retreating forehead. He wore striped pantaloons, a linen jacket, which had not lately seen the washtub, and a beard of some three days growth. This was the founder of the religion which had been preached in every quarter of the earth. * * * A fine looking man is what the passer-by would instinctively have murmured upon meeting the remarkable individual who had fashioned the mould which was to shape the feelings of so many thousands of his fellow-mortals. But Smith was more than this, and one could not resist the impression that capacity and resource were natural to his stalwart person. I have already mentioned the resemblance he bore to Elisha R. Potter, of Rhode Island, whom I met in Washington in 1826. The likeness was not such as would be recognized in a picture, but rather one that would be felt in a grave emergency. Of all men I have met, these two seemed best endowed with that kingly faculty which directs, as by intrinsic right, the feeble or confused souls who are looking for guidance. This it is just to say with emphasis; for the reader will find so much that is puerile and even shocking in my report of the Prophet's conversation that he might never suspect the impression of rugged power that was given by the man."

Mr. Quincy spent the day in Nauvoo, chiefly in the company and in constant conversation with the Prophet. Of Nauvoo itself he said:

15. "Figures of the Past," p. 376, 9th edition.

"General Smith ordered a capacious carriage, and we drove to that beautiful eminence, bounded on three sides by the Mississippi, which was covered by the holy city of Nauvoo. The curve in the river enclosed a position lovely enough to furnish a site for the Utopian communities of Plato or Sir Thomas More; and here was an orderly city, magnificently laid out, and teeming with activity and enterprise."

Mr. Quincy presents no solution to the riddle that Joseph Smith's character presented to him. "I have no theory to advance respecting this extraordinary man," he tells us early in his chapter on the Prophet; and in closing it he says:

"Born in the lowest ranks of poverty, without book-learning, and with the homliest of all human names, he had made himself at the age of thirty-nine a power upon earth. Of the multitudinous family of Smith, from Adam down (Adam of the 'Wealth of Nations,' I mean), none had won the hearts and shaped human lives as this Joseph. His influence, whether for good or for evil, is potent to-day, and the end is not yet. * * * If the reader does not know just what to make of Joseph Smith, I cannot help him out of the difficulty. I myself stand helpless before the puzzle."

We come now to the third class who have left on record their report of Joseph Smith, his appearance and his character, *viz,* his immediate friends and disciples. I know it behooves one to be guarded both in setting down and in accepting the report of a great character from his disciples who come under the magic spell of his personality. These are as apt to magnify his virtues and overlook his defects as his opponents are to magnify his defects and overlook or deny the existence of his virtues. Both Love and Hate can be blind, but to opposite things, one to faults, the other to virtues. On the whole, however, Love can be trusted to be truer than Hate, since to the latter malice lends its venom, and recognizes no limits in its desire to destroy that which it has marked for destruction.[16]

16. Elsewhere, upon the relative value of the testimony of disciples and enemies of Joseph Smith, I have said: If of these testimonies it shall be said they are borne by men who were Joseph Smith's friends and followers—interested parties, bent on perpetuating the frauds he inaugurated—I would reply by asking: Whose testimony do Christians accept as representing the true character of Jesus Christ? Certainly not the testimony of the Sadducees and Pharisees; but the testimony of Mathew,

What Joseph Smith was to his immediate disciples may be gathered somewhat from the reflection of Elder John Taylor who was with the Prophet in his martyrdom: who also succeeded Brigham Young in the Presidency of the Church and who himself was a strong character. When lying wounded in Carthage jail and Williard Richards brought to him the final word which confirmed his worst fears—Joseph Smith was dead—he experienced the following sensations and indulged in these reflections:

"I felt a dull, lonely, sickening sensation at the news. When I reflected that our noble chieftain, the prophet of the living God, had fallen, and that I had seen his brother in the cold embrace of death, it seemed as though there was a void, a vacuum in the great field of human existence to me, and a dark gloomy chasm in the kingdom, and that we were left alone. Oh, how lonely was that feeling! How cold, barren and desolate! In the midst of difficulties he was always the first in motion; in critical positions his counsel was always sought. As our Prophet he approached our God, and obtained for us His will: but now our Prophet, our Counselor, our General, our Leader was gone, and amid the fiery ordeal that we then had to pass through, we were left alone without his aid, and as our future guide for things spiritual or temporal, and for all things pertaining to this world or the next, he had spoken for the last time on earth!"[17]

Later, when on a mission in France, 1850, in a public discussion with ministers of different denominations, who assailed the character of the Prophet, Elder Taylor said:

"I was acquainted with Joseph Smith for years. I have traveled with him; I have been with him in private and in public; I have associated with him in councils of all kinds; I have listened hundreds of times to his public teachings, and his advice to his friends and associates of a more private nature. I have been at his house and seen his deportment in his family. I have seen

of Peter, of James and John—"his friends and followers," the infidel exclaims—"interested parties, bent on perpetuating the frauds he inaugurated!" Will the Christian world because of that preposterous claim that Christ's friends and followers are not proper witnesses of his life and character, give up the evidence supplied in the testimonies of his friends to the uprightness and purity of his life, and the divinity of himself and his mission? Ah, no! They will ask rather, who so competent to bear testimony of his life and the divinity of his character as those who intimately knew him, who lived with him, who shared his joys and his sorrows; who were in sympathy with his life's mission and could enter into its spirit? I only ask that the same reasoning be applied to the testimony of the friends of Joseph Smith.—"New Witnesses for God," Vol. I, p. 218.

17. "The Martyrdom of Joseph Smith," in Tyler's "Mormon Battalion," pp.51-2.

him arraigned before the courts of his country, and seen him honorably acquitted, and delivered from the pernicious breath of slander, and the machinations and falsehoods of wicked and corrupt men. I was with him living, and with him when he died; when he was murdered in Carthage jail by a ruthless mob with their faces painted, and headed by a Methodist minister named Williams—I was there and was myself wounded in my body. I have seen him under all these various circumstances, and I testify before God, angels and men that he was a good, honorable, virtuous man—that his doctrines were good, scriptural and wholesome—that his precepts were such as became a man of God—that his private and public character was unimpeachable—and that he lived and died as a man of God, and a gentleman.'"[18]

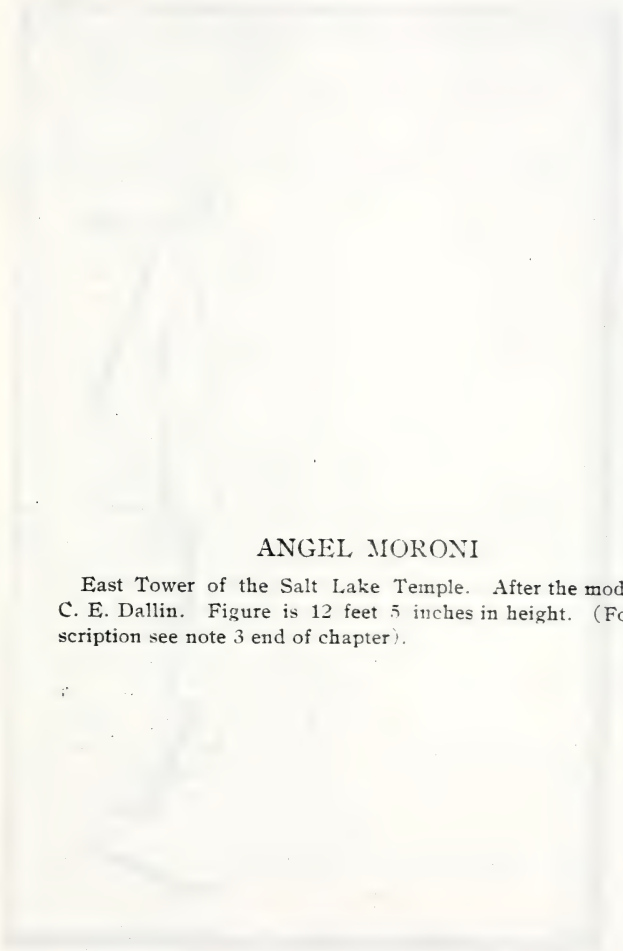
Brigham Young, the successor of Joseph Smith in the Presidency of the Church said of the Prophet:

"From the first day I knew Brother Joseph to the time of his death, a better man never lived upon the face of the earth. * * * Joseph Smith was not killed because he was deserving it, nor because he was a wicked man. I know that to be so, as well as I know that the sun shines. * * * I know for myself that Joseph Smith was the subject of forty-eight lawsuits, and the most of them I witnessed with my own eyes. But not one action could ever be made to bear against him. He was innocent and virtuous; he kept the laws of his country and lived above them; out of the forty-eight law suits, not one charge could be substantiated against him. He was pure, just and holy as to the keeping of the law.[19]

Of the immediate disciples of Joseph Smith who have left pen-portraits of him; and estimates of his character, Parley P. Pratt, one of the earliest converts to Mormonism—joining the Church when it had been organized less than six months—is, perhaps, the most conspicuous. In his autobiography occurs the following pen-portraits of the Prophet, physical and mental:

"President Smith was in person tall and well built, strong and active; of a light complexion, light hair, blue eyes, very little beard, and of an expression peculiar to himself, on which the eye naturally rested with interest, and was never weary of be-

18. "Public Discussion in France," published in "Orson Pratt's Works," 1851, pp. 23, 24.
19. "Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, pp. 40, 41.



ANGEL MORONI

East Tower of the Salt Lake Temple. After the model by C. E. Dallin. Figure is 12 feet 5 inches in height. (For description see note 3 end of chapter).



Angel "Moroni" East Centre Tower of Salt Lake Temple.



holding. His countenance was ever mild, affable, beaming with intelligence and benevolence; mingled with a look of interest and an unconscious smile, or cheerfulness, and entirely free from all restraint or affectation of gravity; and there was something connected with the serene and steady penetrating glance of his eye, as if he would penetrate the deepest abyss of the human heart, gaze into eternity, pentrate the heavens, and comprehend all worlds.

"He possessed a noble boldness and independence of character; his manner was easy and familiar; his rebuke terrible as the lion; his benevolence unbounded as the ocean; his intelligence universal, and his language abounding in original eloquence peculiar to himself—not polished—not studied—not smoothed and softened by education and refined by art; but flowing forth in its own native simplicity, and profusely abounding in variety of subject and manner. He interested and edified, while, at the same time, he amused and entertained his audience; and none listened to him that were ever weary of his discourse. I have even known him to retain a congregation of willing and anxious listeners for many hours together, in the midst of cold or sunshine, rain or wind, while they were laughing at one moment and weeping the next. Even his most bitter enemies were generally overcome, if he could once get their ears.

"I have known him when chained and surrounded with armed murderers and assassins who were heaping upon him every possible insult and abuse, rise up in the majesty of a son of God and rebuke them, in the name of Jesus Christ, till they quailed before him, dropped their weapons, and, on their knees, begged his pardon, and ceased their abuse.[20]

"In short, in him the character of Daniel and a Cyrus were wonderfully blended. The gifts, wisdom and devotion of a Daniel were united to the boldness, courage, temperance, perseverance and generosity of a Cyrus. And had he been spared a martyr's fate till mature manhood and age, he was certainly endowed with powers and ability to have revolutionized the world in many respects, and to have transmitted to posterity a name associated with more brilliant and glorious acts than has yet fallen to the lot of mortal. As it is his works will live to an endless age, and unnumbered millions yet unborn will mention his name with honor, as a noble instrument in the hands of God, who, during his short and youthful career, laid the foundation of that Kingdom spoken of by Daniel, the prophet, which should break in pieces all other kingdoms and stand forever."[20]

20. See Chapter XXXI, this History.
20. Autobiography Parley P. Pratt, pp. 47, 48.

This, of course, is the language of eulogy; but one feels that it is honest eulogy; for Parley P. Pratt was intimately associated with Joseph Smith for fourteen years; he shared his toils, labors, persecutions, and imprisonment while the Prophet lived, and afterwards continued to preach the Gospel taught by that Prophet until the close of his own sad, toilsome and eventful life. Parley P. Pratt's pen-portrait of Joseph Smith, more than any other passage in Mormon literature, represents what Joseph Smith was and is to his people, no matter what the world may think him to be; and in their abiding affection for him is seen the fulfillment of one of the promises he received of God, namely: "*Thy people shall never be turned against thee by the testimony of traitors.*"[21] This was given out from Liberty Prison in March, 1839, while the Saints were being expelled in a body from Missouri. And the singular fulfillment of it up to the present, and the absolute certainty of its fulfillment in the future, justifies belief in the inspiration of that prediction.

There is, however, a view of the Prophet that may be taken other than that of the uncritical and perhaps fanatical personal disciples who knew him, and saw and felt only his virtues and his strength in those virtues. A view that would in itself be truer and even more just to the Prophet than unreasoning adulation; and that is the view of the intelligent believer in the Prophet and his mission. Such a view would exclude the report of the Prophet's enemies since it would recognize the fact that they spoke from malice and are unworthy of belief. But such a view would also modify the mere adulation of the enthusiasts among the disciples who see only the perfection of the object they adore. This last view would keep in mind that it is not given to mortal man to live an utterly blameless life nor stand forth before his fellows a character perfect throughout. It would hold

21. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 122. The context of the passage in which the sentence occurs is worthy of reproduction: "The ends of the earth shall enquire after thy name, and fools shall have thee in derision, and hell shall rage against thee. While the pure in heart, and the wise, and the noble, and the virtuous, shall seek counsel, and authority, and blessings constantly from under thy hand. *And thy people shall never turn against thee by the testimony of traitors;* And although their influence shall cast thee into trouble, and into bars and walls, thou shalt be had in honor, and but for a small moment and thy voice shall be more terrible in the midst of thine enemies, than the fierce lion, because of thy righteousness; and thy God shall stand by thee forever and forever."

in constant remembrance that it had been given to the Christ alone to present to the world the one perfect character, and live the one sinless, and perfect life; and that the Christ was not merely man but was super-man; he was not only divine but Deity; and one great purpose of his earth-mission was to reveal Diety to the world, and hence, indeed, through him, "God was manifested in the flesh."[22]

It is but just also to the Prophet to say that he made no claim for himself of either impeccability or infalibility. "Where is the man that is free from vanity?" he asked on one occasion. "None ever was perfect but Jesus," he continued; "and why was he perfect? Because he was the Son of God, and had the fulness of the Spirit, and was greater than any man."[23]

Referring to this subject upon another occasion he said: "I do not think there have been many good men on the earth since the days of Adam; but there was one good man, and his name was Jesus. Many persons think a prophet must be a great deal better than any one else. Suppose I would condescend—yes, I will call it condescend!—to be a great deal better than any one of you, I would be raised up to the highest heaven; and who should I have to accompany me?[24] I love that man better who swears a stream as long as my arm yet deals justice to his neighbors, and mercifully deals his substance to the poor, than the long, smooth-faced hyprocrite. I do not want you to think that I am very righteous, for I am not.[25]

The sentence "many persons think a prophet must be a great deal better than anybody else," will bear further consideration.

---

22. I Tim. ii:6, marginal reading.

23. From a discourse at Nauvoo on the 16th of May, 1841. "Journal History of Joseph Smith," *Mill. Star*, Vol. 18, p. 534.

24. Of course this remark was in humorous vein, though humor is a quality quite generally, but erroneously, denied the Prophet. The above is closely akin to the remark he made to Josiah Quincy on the occasion of that gentleman's visit with him at Nauvoo. They had been discussing the concentration of power in the hands of the Prophet—by far too much power, in Mr. Quincy's view, to be entrusted to one man. "In your hands or that of any other person's, was the reply, 'so much power would no doubt be dangerous. I am the only man in the world whom it would be safe to trust it with. Remember, I am a Prophet!' The last in a rich, comical aside, as if in recognition of the ridiculous sound they might have in the ears of a Gentile" (Figures of the Past, p. 397).

25. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, p. 401.

President Smith relates that once when he was in conversation with a brother and sister from Michigan, who thought that "a prophet is always a Prophet," he told them to the contrary. "But I told them," are his words, "that a Prophet was only a Prophet *when acting as such.*"[26] These two remarks linked together, disclaim for the Prophet impeccability; and limit his words and actions to which sanctity and inerrancy are to be attributed, to his official or *excathedra* actions and utterances.

Again in disclaiming perfection for himself, the Prophet said:

"Although I was called of my Heavenly Father to lay the foundation of this great work and kingdom in this dispensation, and testify of His revealed will to scattered Israel, I am subject to like passions as other men, like the Prophets of olden times."[27]

Not only in these personal disclaimers of perfection, and of unusual sanctity or inerrancy may we see the admitted defects of deportment and character in the Prophet, but in the revelations he proclaimed are frequent reproofs of the Prophet. In these revelations he is never shielded, never justified when he steps aside from the path direct; reproof, chastisement and warnings are administered to him. God in these revelations deals with him indeed as with a son whom he loves, if it be true—and we have warrant of holy writ that it is—that "God chasteneth whom he loveth, and scourgeth every son he receiveth."[28]

Because of these reproofs and corrections of the Prophet in the revelations, however, or because of the disclaimers of unusual sanctity made by himself, it must not be thought that there was any act of great unrighteousness, or deed outrageously wicked in his life; much less that any habit of sinfulness is here admitted. None of these things can be successfully maintained against him. His defects, such as they were, may be gathered from the reproving revelations themselves, and from the facts set forth in this History.[29]

---

26. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, p. 265.
27. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, p. 516.
28. Heb. 12:6-8. The reproofs and corrections of the Prophet from the revelations are collected and published in the Introduction of the Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. V, pp. 36 and 37.
29. See especially Ch. VI.

In brief they may be set down as a disposition to be over persuaded by men, as against the strict requirements of the commandments of God; the dangerous weakness of too readily accepting men at their own valuation; a too implicit trust in their protestations of repentance when over taken in their sins; a too great tenacity in friendship for men he had once taken into his confidence after they had been proven unworthy of that friendship, and by which taint of their sins, in supercritical minds, attached somewhat to him; and, perhaps a too fierce disposition to give way to reckless denunciation when once he really broke the ties of friendship—his anger was terrible. There was also at times, perhaps, a too great inclination to levity, the intellectual playfulness natural to him not always remaining within proper bounds. It arose from the abounding animal life which so wonderfully sustained him in the trying ordeals of his career, and from his youthfulness. Men called him "Old Joe Smith," yet he was but a young man at the time of his death, thirty-eight years old—still a youth. Then it must be borne in mind that somethings which the sectarian world had denominated sin by their creeds or their ethical systems the Prophet did not recognize as sins at all. "What many people call sin," he remarked, on one occasion, "is not sin. I do many things to break down superstition, and I will break it down."[30] Again, in complaining of those who judged of his acts he said: "The only principle upon which they judge me is by comparing my acts with the foolish traditions of their fathers and the nonsensical teachings of hireling priests."[31]

The result of these views of the Prophet has been to enlarge the liberty of the Saints in many respects; to remove the sombre hues supposed to be essential to a religious life; and more especially in the matter of innocent amusements. In things not harmful or sinful in themselves, but only in their abuse, the ban was by him largely removed, leading to a wider social life, and greater freedom of enjoyment. Until the violin is not regarded by the Saints as an instrument of Satan; nor the social life, that includes dancing parties, as the ante-chamber of hades; nor the theatre as the broad, highway to damnation; hence the enjoy-

30. Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. IV, p. 445.
31. *Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 517.

ment of these innocent amusements and pleasures was allowed to the Saints by the Prophet—and by the Church since his day—to the scandal, perhaps, of some sections of orthodox Christendom.

There remains one other characteristic of the Prophet's to be noticed, and one which was the cause of some of his troubles—of most of his troubles, in fact, so far as they were self-induced. This was a tendency in him to autocracy, the natural tendency of nearly all strong characters. This tendency, of course, was as much due to the conditions in the midst of which he labored, as to any inherent disposition of his own. The revelations he had received made him Prophet, Seer, and Revelator, or lawgiver, to the church; also he was President of the High Priesthood, and of the Church; in him centred law-making, law-determining, and executive authority. The Church was admonished from the beginning to give heed unto all his words and commandments which he should give, as he received them, walking in all holiness before the Lord. "For his word ye shall receive as if from mine own mouth," said the Lord, "in all patience and faith." The very safety and progress of the Church was made to depend upon her obedience to this law. "For thus saith the Lord God, him have I inspired to move the cause of Zion, in mighty power for good."[32] These powers, however, relate to the Church and her affairs; not to the affairs of civil government. "Behold, the laws ye have received from my hand," said the Lord, subsequently—and the fact declared existed before and holds universally as to the revelations given—"are the laws of the Church, and in this light ye shall hold them forth. Behold here is wisdom."[33] But the position he held in the Church, naturally begot in him the tendency to autocracy to which reference is made. Moreover the Prophet, possessed as he was of a strong sense of natural justice, and conscious of no limits to his own strength when standing for what he conceived to be truth and justice, was impatient of the law's delays, and would fain by short cuts and disregard of formalities execute justice as he conceived it, regardless of consequences. This tendency to autocracy

32. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 21.
33. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 58.

is the point at which the Prophet's career and character are most vulnerable to adverse criticism.

We may say, then, of Joseph Smith that he claimed for himself no special sanctity, no faultless life, no perfection of character, no inerrancy for every word spoken by him. And as he did not claim these things for himself, so can they not be claimed for him by others; for to claim perfection for him, or even unusual sanctity, would be to repudiate the revelations themselves which supply the evidence of his imperfections, whereof, in them, he is frequently reproved.

Joseph Smith was a man of like passions with other men; struggling with the same weaknesses; subjected to the same temptations; under the same moral law, and humiliated at times, like others, by occasionally, in word and conduct, falling below the high ideals presented in the perfect life and faultless character of the Man of Nazareth.

But though a man of like passions with other men, yet to Joseph Smith was given access to the mind of Deity, through the revelations of God to him; and likewise to him was given a divine authority to declare that mind of God to the world. Is that true? And does what he announced, *ex cathedra,* as word of God, stand such tests of truth as men and time may apply to it? These are the questions which most concern men in reference to this Prophet of our age; and that brings us to the consideration of this Prophet's work.

CHAPTER LIV

The Prophet's Work—The Religion He Founded—The Church He Established

It was not the aim of Joseph Smith in his life's work to found a new religion. Throughout he presupposes the truth of the Christian religion, and accepts it. He realized that "other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus."[1] "Behold, Jesus Christ is the name which is given of the Father,

1. Cov. iii, 11.

and there is none other name given whereby man can be saved,"[2] are the words of a revelation given to the Prophet before the organization of the Church. Hence he sought to build on no other foundation than that of Jesus Christ. He accepted the Christian fundamentals; the Lord and Father of Jesus Christ, as God, the Father, Creator of Heaven and earth by Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ as the Son of God and the Redeemer of the world, through the Atonement; the Holy Ghost as the Witness of the Father and the Son, the medium of union between God and the Saints; and these three, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, constitute, for what the world calls Mormonism, the God-head, the Grand Creative, Redeeming and Presiding Council of heaven and earth, whom man must worship by submission of his will to their will, his mind to their mind; in a word, be in union with them, in which union man finds his spiritual life. Joseph Smith accepted the Atonement of Jesus Christ, as the all-sufficient ground work for the reconciliation of man with God; as rendering due satisfaction to the justice of God for the violation of his just and holy laws, also as being an efficient means of brining into the earth-scheme of things the mercy of God, born of his love; by which repentance and remission of sins could be made possible for man; and also through which, by the power in the Christ, comes to man the resurrection from death. So that all that was lost by the fall of Adam and the sins of men, is made possible of restoration by the Atonement of the Christ. Such the plan of man's redemption, the plan of salvation, which only awaits man's acceptance and co-operation with God by obedience, to make it effective.

This acceptance is signified by man receiving the Christian sacraments, which are but symbols of the Atonement of the Christ: the rite of water baptism, in which is shown forth the death, burial and resurrection of the Christ; the rite of confirmation—by which the Holy Ghost is imparted—a spiritual baptism, re-establishing spiritual union with God; the rite of the Lord's Supper—the Holy Eucharist—the sign of man's communion with God—in which is again used the symbols of the Christ's Atonement—the broken body, emblemed in the broken bread;

2. Doctrine and Covenants, sec. 18. Revelation given in June, 1829.

the spilled blood, emblemed in the sacramental wine or water;[3] and the eating and drinking of these in remembrance of the Lord until he come, is the visible sign of the communion of the Saints with God, and with each other.

The foregoing in brief, is the Mormon conception, from the teaching of Joseph Smith, of the Gospel of Jesus Christ—the "everlasting gospel"—the plan on which was based the "hope of eternal life, which God that cannot lie, promised before the world began;"[4] and from time to time dispensation of this gospel, under the counsels of God, together with authority to administer its ordinances, have been given to the world. Not always a fulness of that gospel, not always a completely ordered priesthood; but such measure of the truth was given, and such portion of the priesthood, or divine authority, as would be suitable to the age and to the people to whom the dispensation was sent. Thus dispensations of the gospel were given to Adam, to Enoch, Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham; to Moses, before the law of carnal commandments was given.[5] Of course there came a dispensation of the gospel with the Herald of the Christ, John the Baptist; and a more complete one with the earth mission of the Christ. Then was revealed the fulness of the Gospel; and with it was established the Church to administer its ordinances. Yet with the gospel thus fully revealed, the Atonement for a world's sins made, the resurrection from the dead become a demonstrated reality, the Church of God founded in plentitude of power—yet from the gospel, thus revealed in its fulness, and the Church of Christ founded, sinful men, the world, turned away in wicked apostasy from God, "transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, broke the everlasting covenant,"[6] in fulfillment of many and various predictions of the scriptures themselves—predictions in the New, as well as in the Old Testament.[7] It was this

3. Early in his experience as a religious teacher, the Prophet received divine instruction that water, as well as wine, would be acceptable in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper (Doc. and Cov., Sec. XXVII, and Documentary Hist. of the Church, Vol. I, Ch. XI) and water is quite generally used in the Church for this purpose.

4. Titus i:2.

5. Gal. iii, c. f. Hebrews iii:12-19, and iv:1-2. Also I Cor. x:1-4.

6. Isaiah xxiv:1-6.

7. Acts xx:27-30; II Tim. iv:1-4; II Peter ii:1-3; II Thess. ii:1-17. Mormon literature upon this subject is very full; see the works of Orson Pratt, "Remarkable Vision," also the "Kingdom of God;" Parley P. Pratt's "Voice of Warning," Chs.

apostasy in the early Christian centuries from the true Christian religion and the Church of Christ, that made the work of Joseph Smith necessary—to him was given a New Dispensation of this old and everlasting gospel, the true Christian religion, with ordination to divine authority to re-establish the Church of Jesus Christ, and commission to send the gospel, in the authority of the Christ, to all the world. And as in this New Dispensation will be "gathered together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are in earth; even in him;"[8] and further, as in said dispensation God will consummate his work in relation to the salvation of the world, it is called the Dispensation of the Fullness of Times. Into it flow all the former dispensations; in it are revealed all knowledge of the principles to be believed, all rites and ordinances to be obeyed; all keys of authority and power held by former prophets and men of God who have ministered in the things of God, have been brought back and given to the Prophet of the New Dispensation. It is a dispensation which contemplates the fulfillment of all the hopes and promises of salvation, one in which all the ends of the earth meet. It contemplates the gathering and restoration to their lands of promise, scattered Israel; the rebuilding of Jerusalem, to become once more a holy city; the founding of a great and holy city in this North American continent, the capital of the spiritual empire of the Christ in the Western World—the City of Zion. The New Dispensation not only contemplates saving men of the present age, by a proclamation of the gospel to every nation, tongue and people, but also men of the past ages by the application of the gospel to them in the spirit world through the vicarious work that may be performed for them by their representatives on earth.

"For, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them

III and VII; also his "Key to Theology," Chs. II, III and IV; "Spencer's Letters," Ch. VI. Dr. James E. Talmadge has written a special work upon the subject, under the title "The Great Apostasy," 1910. A treatise will be found on the same theme in the present writer's "New Witnesses for God," Vol. I (second edition, 1911); also in his "Outlines of Ecclesiastical History;" and a more thorough historical treatise of the theme in his Introduction to the first volume of the Documentary History of the Church. See also Ch. V of this History, notes 1, 2 and 3.

8. Ephi. i.

that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to men in the spirit.''[9]

''For Christ * * * being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the spirit: * * * went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which sometimes were disobedient when once the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah.''[10]

''Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why then are they baptized for the dead?''[11]

So much is quoted from the Christian scriptures to show that the gospel was preached to the departed dead, and the ordinances thereof administered for them in the dispensation of the gospel established by the Christ, and hence that the work inaugurated in the New Dispensation by Joseph Smith for the salvation of the dead, is in harmony with what has gone before; though, because of the nature of the dispensation in which he wrought, greater emphasis is placed upon that work, and more elaborate preparations are made for carrying it into effect than in any previous dispensation; as is witnessed by the erection of costly temples dedicated largely to that service.[12]

To effectively administer the gospel that was restored by this New Dispensation, a Church became necessary and hence its organization. This was not accomplished by the enactment of a single organic law or constitution to which the Church in her development was made to conform. ''Governments,'' remarks Herbert Spencer, ''are not made, they grow.'' A remark which

9. I Peter iv:6.
10. I Peter iii:18-20.
11. I Cor. xv:29.
12. Four temples have been erected in Utah consecrated largely to this work of performing rites and ceremonies for the dead, engravings of two of these, one in St. George, in the extreme part of the State of Utah, and the other in Salt Lake City, are published in this number of AMERICANA. For brief description of each see notes 1 and 2, end of chapter. The amount of work done in these temples may be judged from the fact that within them, since their dedication, there have been of baptisms for the dead, up to December 31st, 1910, 1,756,576; of endowment ceremonies for the dead, ordinations, sealings, and adoptions, 1,803,224. It should be remembered that this is not haphazard work, but work that must be done by the proper representatives who are within the prescribed degrees of consanguinity; so that these ordinances represent a great amount of pains-taking research for genealogies and the establishment of the right of the would-be representative to officiate in the holy ordinances. On the whole this department of "Mormon" activity represents the most purely unselfish work of which it is possible to conceive, and cultivates, in an age so given up to selfish materialism, an altruistic spirit that cannot fail of salutary effects upon the community in *The Church*, which it operates.

is as true of ecclesiastical as of civil governments: and although the growth of the Church government founded by Joseph Smith was rapid, it was, nevertheless, a growth, a development; it was not made. Before the Church was organized a divine authority had been conferred on Joseph Smith, but the only officers known to the Church at its organization, April 6th, 1830, were elders, priests, teachers, and deacons. It was not until the 4th of February, 1831, that a bishop was appointed and then of course by revelation. Then in November following it was made known that other bishops were to be appointed. The first High Council in the church (of which more presently) was not organized until February 17th, 1834. The quorum of the Twelve Apostles and quorums of seventy were not organized until the winter of 1835. Thus throughout, an officer was appointed to-day and his duties defined; another officer was appointed to-morrow or next year and an explanation given of his duties and perhaps a limit fixed to his authority. Thus line was given upon line, precept upon precept; the Prophet and those co-operating with him being apparently unconscious that they were gradually developing a system of government, each part of which was beautifully adjusted to every other part and to the whole.

Let us consider this organization more nearly, and as it was finally completed. Also with reference to the purposes for which it was instituted—and this last, first. The Church has two high duties to perform, two great functions to fulfill. These are (1) to make proclamation of the truth God has deposited with her —the gospel—to all the world—"to every nation, kindred tongue and people; and (2) to perfect the lives of those who receive that truth, by instruction, and discipline. In doing these two things, the Church will perform her whole duty to the world. From the nature of things and men it will be an endless task.

The Priesthood.

The Church officers and Church organization founded by Joseph Smith grew out of the Priesthood, which is the power of God delegated to man—authority to act in the name of God and for him. While there is of necessity a unity in this power, that

is, it is all one power, yet in the exercise of its functions divisions are recognized, and there is gradation among its officers. First a division into what is called, respectively, the Melchizedek and Aaronic Priesthood, the former of which is the greater and devoted more especially to spiritual things, while the latter has most to do with temporal concerns.

Within each of these divisions there are officers whose functions vary, and who stand in an order of gradation. The officers of the Melchisedek Priesthood, are elders, high priests, seventies, apostles and prophets. The officers of the Aaronic Priesthood, are deacons, teachers, priests, bishops—the bishopric is the presidency of and embraces the fulness of this lesser Priesthood.

The respective offices in these divisions of the Priesthood while possessing much in common, are limited in some respects to the performance of special duties or functions. While the deacon and teacher may teach and expound scripture, persuade and exhort men to come unto Christ, in common with other officers of the Church, and the teachers may visit the homes of the members of the Church, watch over them and see that there is no iniquity in the Church, yet neither deacon nor teacher may baptize the people nor administer the sacrament. While the priest may teach and expound doctrine, baptize and administer the sacrament and assist the elder in the performance of his duties, when necessity requires, yet he cannot lay on hands for imparting the Holy Ghost. So in the Melchizedek Priesthood, each order of officers has its specific duties assigned to it, but the greater always includes the less, and may on occasion officiate in all the offices below its own.

The Presiding Councils and Officers of the High Priesthood.

I now proceed to consider the officers in their relation to each other in the Church. First and highest of all the officers stands the Presidency of the High Priesthood, consisting of three Presiding High Priests; and who always constitute the First Presidency of the Church.[13]

13. See Doc. and Cov., Sec. 107: "It must need be that one be appointed of the High Priesthood to preside over the Priesthood, and he shall be called President of the High Priesthood of the Church: or, in other words, the Presiding High Priest over the High Priesthood of the Church. * * * And again, the duty of the

Their jurisdiction extends over all the affairs of the Church as well in temporal as in spiritual things; as well in the organized stakes of Zion as in the missions and branches of the Church abroad. In that Presidency are legislative, judicial and executive powers. That is to say, the President of the Church is the mouthpiece of God to the Church, and he alone receives the law from the Lord by revelation and announces the same to the people for their acceptance or rejection; for all things are to be done by common consent in the Church, even to accepting the law of the Lord. From all high councils, the judicial courts of the Church, except where the Twelve Apostles sit as a high council abroad, there lies an appeal to the First Presidency, which finally determines the matter, and also defines the law of the Church, hence here is judicial power. The proof that in the Presidency is executive power is witnessed in the fact of their universal presidency, and administrative authority over all the affairs of the Church.

The quorum of the Twelve Apostles are equal in power and authority to the First Presidency. The first Quorum of Seventise[14] are equal in authority to the quorum of the Twelve; and, of course, indirectly equal in authority to the First Presidency, since things equal to a common thing must be equal to each other. But these arrangements are manifestly but emergency provisions and though the power is there and may be used when occasion requires, yet for the most part it lies dormant. That is to say, the powers above described as belonging to the First Presidency, may only be exercised in full by the quorum of the Twelve Apostles in the event of the First Presidency becoming disorganized by death or from other causes; and by the Seventy, only in the event of the destruction or absence of the First Presidency and the Twelve. But these powers of the Presidency without diminution would be exercised by the quorum of the Twelve or the Seventy, should occasion arise for it; and the ar-

President of the office of the High Priesthood is to preside over the whole church, and to be like Moses. Behold, here is wisdom; yea, to be a Seer, a Revelator, a Translator, and a Prophet, having all the gifts of God which he bestows upon the head of the Church."

14. This means the first quorum of seventy—comprised of sixty-three men—and the first seven Presidents of the seventy, who preside directly over their own quorum, the first, and exercise a general presidency over all the other quorums of seventy, numbering now, 1911, 161 quorums.

rangement renders the church well nigh indestructible at its head. But, as already remarked, those are but emergency provisions, and it is my desire to set before the reader the beauty and harmony of the Church organization when its councils are all in place.

The great powers already enumerated, then, center in the First Presidency. On the right of the First Presidency may be said to be the Twelve Apostles, clothed with the authority to officiate in the name of the Lord, under the direction of the First Presidency, to build up the Church and regulate all the affairs of the same in all the world. Next to them stand the Seventies as their assistants in the great work of the ministry assigned to them. To these quorums of the Priesthood the Twelve and the Seventy, more especially, is assigned the responsibility of the foreign ministry of the Church. They are witnesses for the Lord Jesus Christ in all the nations of the earth, and their special duty is that of preaching the gospel and regulating the affairs of the Church abroad.

On the left of the First Presidency may be said to stand the high priests, to which quorums of Priesthood belongs the right of general and local presidency in the church. From their ranks patriarchs, presidents of stakes, high councilors, and bishops and their counselors are chosen;[15] and next to the high priests stand the elders, who are to assist them in the performance of their duties. These quorums of Priesthood constitute the standing ministry for the stakes of Zion, upon whom more especially devolve local presidency, and the duty of preaching and administering the gospel within the stakes of Zion.

The Presidency and Other Officers of the Lesser Priesthood.

The presidency of the Aaronic Priesthood centers in the Presiding Bishopric of the church, which presides over all traveling and local bishops. The former are bishops appointed to pre-

15. The office of bishop of right belongs to the first born of the seed of Aaron and properly descends from father to son of the chosen seed. A bishop of this lineage can act without counselors—except in a case where a president of the High Priesthood is tried; in that event he must be assisted by Twelve Counselors of the High Priesthood—but when no literal descendants of Aaron can be found, then a high priest is to be chosen for a bishop and two other high priests to act as counselors. *Doctrine and Covenants,* Sections 84 and 107.

side over large districts of country and who travel from place to place therein, setting in order the temporal affairs of the Church; the latter are bishops appointed to preside over regularly organized wards, and whose jurisdiction is confined within such wards respectively.

To aid the bishops in the duties of their several bishopric are the quorums of priests, teachers and deacons.

The duty of the priests is to visit the homes of the Saints, to teach the people, to expound the scriptures, baptize believers and administer the sacrament. Forty-eight priests from a quorum of which the bishopric is the presidency.

The duty of the teachers is to be the standing ministers in the respective wards where they reside, to see that there is no iniquity in the Church, and that the members perform their duties. Twenty-four of them constitute a quorum, which is presided over by a president and two counselors chosen from the members.

The duty of the deacons is to assist the teacher, and they may also expound, teach, warn and invite all to come unto Christ. Twelve of them form a quorum, and from their number a president and two counselors are chosen to preside.

Territorial Divisions and Subdivisions of the Church.

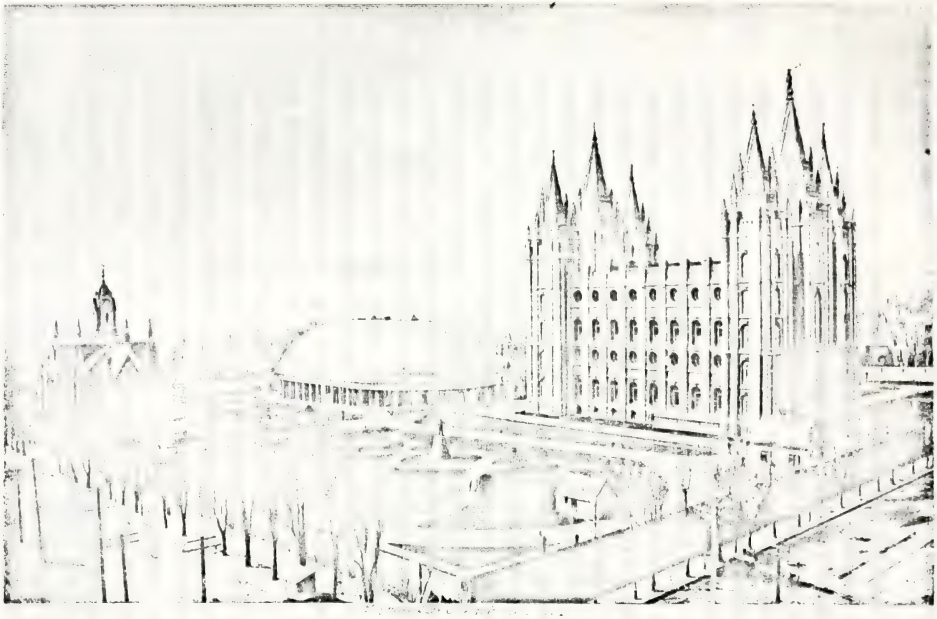
Before proceeding to a description of the judiciary system of the Church it may be well to briefly explain the territorial division of it. A stake of Zion is a division of the church territorially that embraces several villages or towns that are ecclesiastical wards. A stake is presided over by a presidency, comprised of a president and two counselors, all of whom must be high priests. The presidency of the stake is also the presidency of the high council, the highest judicial tribunal in the stake. The stakes are divided into ecclesiastical wards, presided over by a bishopric, assisted in its labors by the quorums of the lesser priesthood as already explained.

The Judiciary System of the Church.

The judicial powers of the church are vested in the ordinary bishop's courts, the standing high councils of the stakes of Zion, temporary high councils of high priests abroad, the traveling

MORMON TEMPLE AND TEMPLE BLOCK AT SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

This is the most magnificent temple the Latter-day Saints have as yet constructed. (For description see note 2 end of chapter).



"Mormon" Temple and Tabernacle at Salt Lake City, Utah.

presiding high council, which is also the quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and a special court consisting of the presiding bishop of the Church and twelve high priests—of which more is to be said presently—and finally in the Presidency of the Church.

Church discipline requires that in case of difficulty between members, every effort shall be made by the parties aggrieved with each other to become reconciled. Failing in this they are required to call in others to bring about a reconciliation, but if through that means a settlement of the case is impossible the matter goes to the bishop's court on the complaint of the party aggrieved, and there the case is heard on testimony and a decision rendered. Where it is a case of immorality that is the offense, wherein the Church is scandalized, or some violation of Church discipline, then a complaint would be made by members or officers of the Church cognizant of the sin, and whose duty it is to guard the Church from reproach, either that the offender might be brought to reformation by repentance, or removed from the fellowship of the Church. The bishop's court is the first or lowest court of record in the Church, and the bishop is known as the common judge. In the event of the parties or either of them being dissatisfied with the decision of the bishop, an appeal lies to the high council of the stake, where a rehearing is given to the case. The organization of the high council is worthy of consideration. It is composed of twelve high priests, presided over by the Presidency of the Stake.[16] The high council cannot act unless seven of its members are present; but seven have the power to call upon other high priests to act temporarily in the place of absent councilors? Whenever a high council is organized, the twelve members draw lots for their places. Those who draw the even numbers two, four, six, eight, ten, twelve,—are to stand in behalf of the accused; those drawing the odd numbers in behalf of the accuser. In every case the accused has a right to half the council, to prevent injury or injustice. The councilors who represent the accused and accuser respectively do not become

16. In the absence of his counselors the president of the stake has power to preside over the council without an assistant; and in case that he himself is absent, his counselors have power to preside in his stead, both or either of them. In the absence of all the presidency then the senior member of the council may preside. *Doctrine and Covenants*, sec. 102.

partisans bent on winning their case irrespective of righteousness or justice; on the contrary every man is to speak according to equity and truth; and aside from that is merely to see that each party to the issue involved has justice accorded him and that he be not subjected to insult or injury.

Whenever the council convenes to act on any case, the mode of procedure is for the twelve councilors to consider whether it is very difficult or not. If it be not a difficult case, then only two of the councilors, one for the accused and one for the accuser respectively are appointed to speak. But if the case is accounted difficult, then four are appointed to speak; if still more difficult, six; but in no case are more than six to speak. In all cases the accuser and accused are to have the privilege of speaking for themselves. After the evidence is all in, and the councilors appointed for the accused and the accuser having spoken, as also the accused and the accuser, the president gives a decision according to the understanding that he has of the case and calls upon the twelve councilors to sustain it by vote. But should the councilors who have not spoken, or any one of them, discover an error in the decision of the president, they have the right to manifest it and the case has a re-hearing, and if additional light is thrown upon the case, the decision is altered accordingly. But if no additional light is given the first decision stands unaltered. Such are the general outlines of the organization of a high council and the manner of the procedure before it.

In addition to being used as a judiciary body, however, the high councils in the stakes of Zion are sometimes employed in administrative and ministerial functions. Questions of administrative policy are sometimes submitted to their deliberations, and very often the high counselors are employed as home missionaries within their respective stakes to preach the gospel. The traveling high council, or quorum of Apostles is used in the same way by the First Presidency throughout the organized stakes of the Church.

There are three kinds of high councils in the Church. They are similar in organization and the manner of procedure is practically the same before them all, except as to the traveling high

council, or quorum of apostles—but they differ in authority and jurisdiction.

I. *The Traveling High Council.* This council consists of the Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ. They are a traveling, presiding high council; and laboring under the directions of the First Presidency of the Church, they have the right to build up the Church and regulate all the affairs of the same in all the world. Whenever they sit as a high council abroad there is no appeal from their decisions—that is, they can only be called in question by the general authorities of the Church in the event of transgression.

II. *The Standing High Councils at the Stakes of Zion*: The Church is divided into branches or wards with appropriate officers; and these branches, wards, and settlements of the Saints are grouped into stakes of Zion. In each stake there is a standing high council, limited in its jurisdiction to the affairs of that particular stake where it is located.

III. *Temporary High Councils Abroad.* The High Priests abroad,[17] whenever the parties to a difficulty, or either of them demand it, and the high priest abroad deem the case of sufficient importance to justify such action, are authorized to organize a temporary high council to try the case. The council is to be organized after the pattern and proceed in the same manner as those at the stakes of Zion; but in all cases these temporary high councils abroad, must send the record of their proceedings to the Council of the Presidency of the Church. If the decision of any high council—except that of the traveling, presiding high council—is unsatisfactory, an appeal lies to the First Presidency, who take such steps in the case as wisdom and the Spirit of the Lord may indicate as proper. But whatever their decision is it is final.

Special Council for the Trial of the Presidents of the Church.

The special court referred to above consists of the Presiding Bishop of the church and twelve high priests especially called

17. The terms "abroad" as here used means merely out aside the organized stakes of the Church.

for each occasion. This special court is called into existence for the purpose of trying Presidents of the High Priesthood, who are also the Presidents of the Church, if they, or any one of them, should be found in transgression, said council may investigate the conduct of the President, subject him to rigid examination, and if the evidence should show him to be in transgression, the court would condemn him and its action would be final, from its decision he would have no appeal.[18]

Thus none, not even the highest, is beyond the operation of the laws and councils of the Church. However great and exalted any single officer of the Church may be, the Church and its system of government is still greater and more exalted than he; for though the President of the Church is God's mouthpice—God's vicegerent on earth—yet he may be tried and his conduct inquired into by this court to which I have called attention. Therefore if the time should ever come that the Church should be so unfortunate as to be presided over by a man who transgressed the laws of God and became unrighteous, a means in the Church system of government is provided for deposing him without destroying the Church, without revolution, or even disorder.

Of course the only punishment which is within the power of the Church to inflict, is to disfellowship or excommunicate such of- To those who hold lightly their standing in the Church, suspension from the privilege of church communion and participation in her activities. This punishment may be inflicted by the bishop, until satisfaction is made. In the latter case,—excommunication—the person absolutely loses his membership in the Church, with all the priesthood he holds; together with every other right and privilege that accompanies that membership; and if he regains a standing it must be by baptism and confirmation as at the first. those who hold lightly their standing in the church, suspension of fellowship, or excommunication has no special terror; but to the man of faith, whose full hopes of eternal life with all its advantages stand or fall with his standing in the Church of Christ, no greater punishment can threaten him. The punishment of

18. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 107: 82-84.

excommunication is a serious one in the estimation of the faithful, and since man in his imperfect state is influenced to righteousness by his fear of punishment, as well as by hope of reward, the punishment of excommunication has a salutary effect in preserving the discipline of the Church.

The Spirit of the Church Government.

The spirit of the Church government evolved by the revelations to Joseph Smith is in beautiful harmony with the spirit of the Church government instituted by the personal ministry of the Christ. "Ye know," said Jesus, "that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you; but whosover will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you; let him be your servant: even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life as a ransom for many."[19]

In line with this spirit Peter, about thirty years later, said:

"Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre but of a ready mind: neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock. And when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."[20]

Any church government that shall be established in the earth must of necessity reflect this spirit, or it will contradict the idea of its divine origin. How well the spirit of government in the church founded by Joseph Smith meets this requirement will be seen in the following passage on the manner in which authority is to be exercised in the Church.

"The rights of the priesthood are inseparably connected with the powers of heaven, and * * * the powers of heaven cannot be controlled nor handled only upon the principles of righteousness. That they may be conferred upon us it is true; but

19. Matt. xx:20-28.
20. I Peter v:2-5.

when we undertake to cover our sins, or to gratify our pride, our vain ambition, or to exercise control, or dominion, or compulsion, upon the souls of the children of men, in any degree of unrighteousness, behold the heavens withdrew themselves; the Spirit of the Lord is grieved; and when it is withdrawn, amen to the priesthood, or the authority of that man. * * * No power of influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the priesthood, only by persuasion, by long-suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned; by kindness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul without hypocrisy, and without guile, reproving betimes with sharpness, when moved upon by the Holy Ghost, and then showing forth afterwards an increase of love toward him whom thou hast reproved, lest he esteem thee to be his enemy; that he may know that thy faithfulness is stronger than the bands of death."[21]

It has already been pointed out in this chapter, as also in previous chapters,[22] that the principle of common consent enters into this system of government, and has done so from the beginning; that no officer could hold any position in the Church or in any subdivision of it, from the president of the Church to the humblest officer in the remotest branch thereof, except by the vote of the Church, or such subdivision of it as would be affected by the administration of said officer;[23] that, as representing God, the Church must reflect God's spirit and methods in her government. God's government, in his Church, it is conceded, is moral government; and any ecclesiastical society or organization claiming divine authority, must exercise moral suasion and must not attempt government by compulsion; for that would stamp it as man's government—"human, all human, and not at all divine."

This kind of a government is not the kind likely to be founded by a man ambitious of power and authority over his followers;

21. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 121.
22. Chs. XIV and XXXIII.
23. The exercise of this principle of common consent in the election of officers in the Church is by popular acceptance rather than by popular choice. The right to nominate is held to be in the priesthood, and chiefly in the presiding authorities thereof; but the nomination made must be ratified by the Church, or the subdivision of it affected, before the one nominated is qualified to function in the office. But because the elective principle operates by acceptance it is none the less real upon that account; the elective principle in government or societies is not only carried out by direct means, it may be carried out by indirect means. It may be just as much a fact under the form of popular acceptance as of popular choice.

nor that of a man bent on establishing the unrighteous dominion of priest-craft. Knowledge, persuasion, patience, meekness, long suffering, brotherly kindness, love unfeigned, are not sources whence those ambitious of place and power are content to draw their authority. The effort to lord it over their fellows by the direct exercise of effective authority, which arises from the advantage of an exalted position, or the possession of great vigor of mind, firmness of resolution, daring, activity or the possession of transcendant abilities always characterize your impostor. Teaching correct principles, and then allowing people to govern themselves is not at all the method of government adopted by self-appointed leaders or impostors. They are ever impatient of restraints and always over-anxious to arrive at an exalted station. Hence it comes that the spirit of government which obtains in the church of Jesus Christ, founded by Joseph Smith, since it finds its sources of power and authority in the imparting of knowledge, in persuasion, and love unfeigned, bears testimony not only that the Prophet was not actuated by vulgar ambition, but is also a strong testimony in favor of the divine origin of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and, of course, a testimony also to the divine authority of him who was, under God, its founder.

"The formation of a free government on an extensive scale," remarks Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield, "while it is assuredly one of the most interesting problems of humanity, is certainly the greatest achievement of human wit. Perhaps I should rather term it a superhuman achievement; for it requires such refined prudence, such comprehensive knowledge, and such perspicacious sagacity, united with such illimitable powers of combination, that it is nearly in vain to hope for qualities so rare to be congregated in a solitary mind.[24] It is true that his lordship makes these remarks respecting a secular government, but I see no reason why such reflections do not apply as well to an ecclesiastical government, especially to that brought into existence by the life's labor of Joseph Smith; for it is both free and founded

24. "Vindication of the English Constitution," pp. 48, 49.
pp. 48, 49.

on an extensive scale, and presents all the difficulties that would be met in creation of a secular government.

Joseph Smith in fact, in organizing this church was, under God's direction, building better than he knew. He as well as others associated with him were called upon to "lay the foundation of a great work—how great they knew not." One may stand so close to a mountain that he perceives neither the vastness of the pile not the grandeur of its outlines. Not until one recedes from the mountain some distance does the magnificence of its snow-capped peaks, the solemnity of its rugged cliffs, and deep ravines stir the sensibilities of the soul. So with this work established through the labors of Joseph Smith and his associates. They stood too close to it to comprehend its greatness; too absorbed in its parts to contemplate much less fully understand the meaning and harmony of the whole. It was not until the work was well advanced towards its present completion, and men had receded some distance from it in time, that they began to be aware that out of the parts given to them at sundry times and under varying circumstances, there was gradually being developed so sublime a system of ecclesiastical government, the like of which was not to be found elsewhere in all the world.

NOTE I. THE ST. GEORGE TEMPLE: The St. George Temple has the distinction of being the first temple built by the Saints in Utah, though it was not begun until eighteen years after the corner stones of the Salt Lake Temple had been laid. Ground was broken for the building on the 9th of November, 1871. "The first stone of the foundation was laid on March 10, 1873, and on January 1, 1877, the building was solemnly dedicated to the Lord, President Brigham Young presiding. On the 9th of the same month the administration of the holy ordinances commenced.

The St. George Temple is 141 feet 8 inches long, and 93 feet 4 inches wide. The height from the surface of the ground to the top of the parapet is 84 feet. It is surmounted on the east end with a tower, having a square base with octagon shaped dome.

The quantity of rock in the building is estimated at 17,000 tons. One million feet of lumber is used for it.

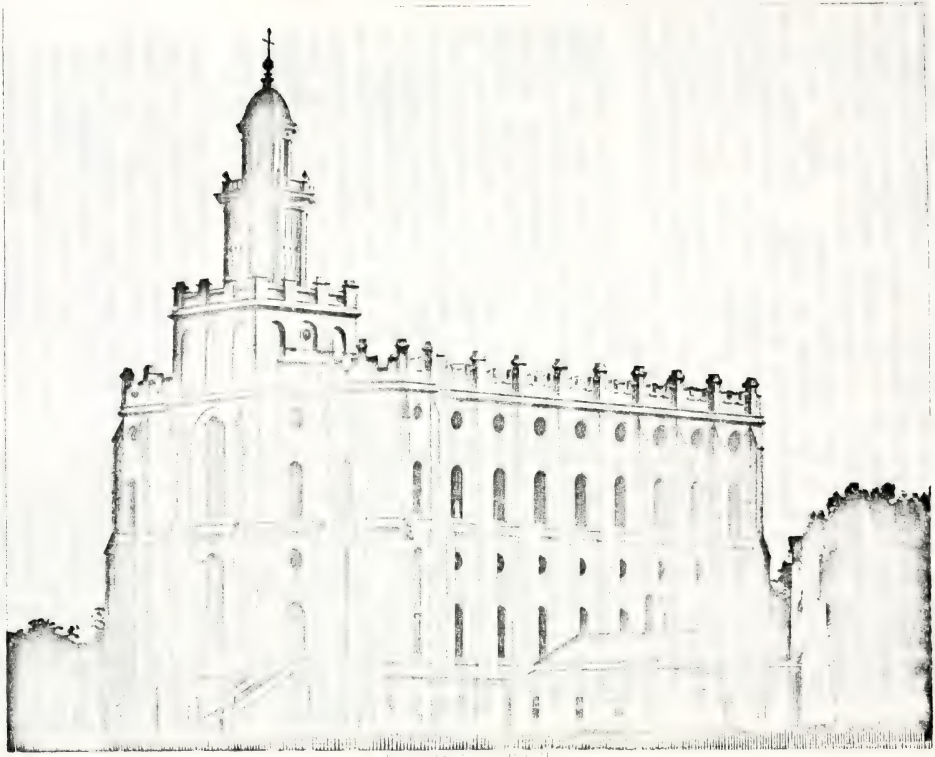
There are 11 rooms in the basement. The main room above the basement is 99 feet by 78 feet.

The baptismal font is of iron, and weighs with the oxen and

MORMON TEMPLE ST. GEORGE, ON THE RIO VIRGIN RIVER

(Extreme south part of Utah.)

The first temple erected by the Latter-day Saints in the far West. (See note 1 end of chapter).



"Mormon" Temple at St. George, Southern Utah.



steps 18,000 pounds. It cost $5,000, and was donated by Brigham Young. The cost of the whole building is estimated at $800,000. (Temples Ancient and Modern by J. M. Sjodahl.) The general likeness to the Nauvoo Temple is very noticeable. This temple is located in a most desolate appearing land, surrounded by volcanic formations of lava waste, red buttes and sand hills, a land of high coloring and unmatched transparency of atmosphere, through which shines the pure whiteness of the holy temple in a vivid distinctness almost startling. On first coming in view of it, it produces the most charming effect upon the sight, and looks as if it must have dropped down from the skies into the forbidding, though highly colored, land waste, which forms its environment.

NOTE 2. THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE: The view of the Salt Lake Temple given in the engraving which accompanies these chapters shows the east front and south sides of the great granite structure. The length of the building is 186 1-2 feet by 99 feet. There are six towers, three on the east and three on the west respectively. The height to the top of the central tower on the east is 210 feet. The figure of the angel surmounting it is 12 1-2 feet in height. The height of the other towers in the east end is 188 feet respectively, each surmounted by electric lights. The height of the central tower in the west is 204 feet, and of the other towers in the west end 182 feet respectively. All are surmounted by electric lights. The height of the Temple walls to the square is 167 1-2 feet. The thickness of the walls in the first story is nine feet. Those of the upper story six feet. The thickness of the buttresses is seven feet, and the whole rests upon a foundation wall 16 feet thick, and 16 feet deep. The building covers an area of 21, 850 feet.

It would be difficult to classify the style of architecture of this structure. It is unique as a piece of religious architecture, but beautiful, chaste and impressive. It is strictly original and was designed chiefly by President Brigham Young. On the 6th of April, 1892, the cap stone of the temple was laid amid imposing ceremonies, and great rejoicing of the people, who assembled in the Temple block to the number of 40,000, while many more thousands thronged the adjoining streets. Finally, after 40 years of continuous work, the great structure, at a cost of $4,000,000, was completed in every detail, and ready for dedication unto the Lord for the specific purposes for which Temples are used by the Latter-day Saints. The dedicatory services began on the 6th of April, 1893, and were repeated daily until April 24th. Thirty-one meetings in all were held at which 75,000 people attended.

A short time previous to its dedication the non-Mormons of Salt Lake and surrounding cities were invited to go through the Temple, being admitted by ticket, an opportunity of which thousands availed themselves, and loudly applauded the courteous action of the Church authorities.

NOTE 3. THE ANGEL OF THE EAST TOWER OF THE SALT LAKE TEMPLE: This figure is twelve feet five and a half inches in height. The idea conveyed by the statue is that of a herald, or messenger, in the act of blowing a trumpet, an embodiment of the fact of Moroni bringing the Gospel to the earth in this latter-day dispensation. It is made of twenty-four hammered copper, and was constructed by W. H. Mullens & Co., of Salem, Ohio, after a model by Mr. C. E. Dallin. It is gilded with pure gold leaf, and surmounting its crown is an incandescent (electric) lamp of one hundred candle power. (Temples Ancient and Modern. J. M. Sjodahl, p. 28).

Mr. C. E. Dallin the sculptor, after whose model this figure of the angel was cast, is Utah born, and somewhat famous through his Indian figures "The Medicine Man," "The Signal of Peace," his "Paul Revere" which stands on Boston Common and his "Monument to the Pioneers," in Salt Lake City.

A Sidelight on Conservation

BY D. W. WOOD

SENATE.

FRIDAY, *July 14, 1911.*

By Mr. CHAMBERLAIN:

A bill (S. 3028) to prevent floods and freshets originating on forest reserves and Indian reservations; to the Committee on Irrigation.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SATURDAY, *July 15, 1911.*

By Mr. KINKAID of Nebraska: A bill (H. R. 12539) to prevent floods and freshets originating on forest reserves and Indian reservations; to the Committee on Irrigation of Arid Lands.

The frigid parliamentary vernacular of these excerpts from the Congressional Record give a very superficial insight to a situation. A country with a fixed area, increasing population and wants, decreasing volume of timber, water-power and fertile soil, ambitious to be self-sustaining, inevitably spells conservation. Two corollaries arise. First and mainly, fertile lands must be kept fertile. Second, barren lands must be made productive. Vegetative and fructiferous soil must be protected from erosion. Arid tracts should be reclaimed.

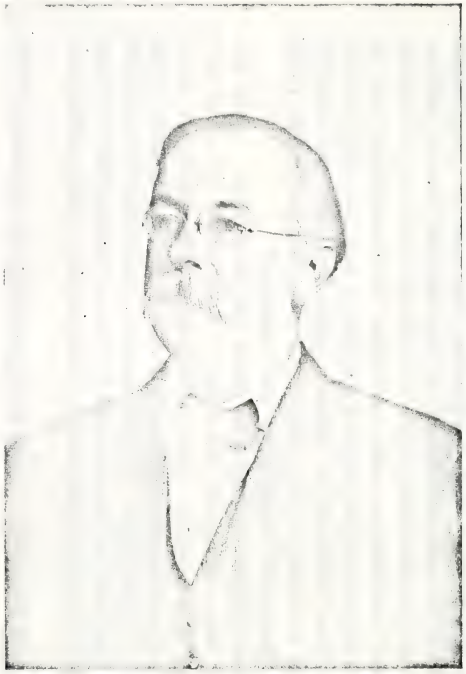
Where surplus mountain waters gush through a valley and the vicinity is long on pura aqua, the water should be stored and where feasible diverted to irrigation. This operates as a trident, by providing irrigation, preventing soil erosion and creating power. Generally freshets are beneficial to lowland valleys by acting as carriers of nutritious matter from the mountains. However topography varies. In highland valleys the waters produce only a transitory phenomena and besides carry desirable soil away. An illustration occurs in Sacramento Valley, New Mex-

ico. Occasionally a diving suit is indispensable in harvesting and the expediency of harnessing whale power to threshing machines has been considered. It was necessary to stop the flow. A successful flow-stopper was sought. An enforcer of prohibition laws was constituted as special emissary to Washington. It was calculated that a person who could stop the flow of whiskey, could do likewise with water. It was found that existing law was inadequate to meet conditions. A project could only be constructed where the reclamation of arid lands was involved, not otherwise. It is singular that no dam could be built to prevent freshets originating in non-navigable streams on land under exclusive federal control and eventuating as a hindrance to agriculture.

Senator George E. Chamberlain of Oregon and Congressman Moses P. Kinkaid of Nebraska were consulted and measures were promptly introduced designed to supplement the power of the Reclamation Service so as to meet such contingencies. The bills are before the Irrigation Committees and will receive consideration at the ensuing convocation of Congress. The legislators have been too "tariffied and reciprocitated" to solve new questions.

An ardent admirer of Mr. Chamberlain remarked that he is neither a Senatorlet nor Senator-to-let. Mr. Kinkaid fathered the Kinkaid Act which permits homestead entries on 640 acres, quadrupling the general law quota of 160 acres, a privilege exclusively enjoyed by Nebraskans. Both Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Kinkaid are deep students of reclamation problems, serving on the irrigation committees. Both spoke in favor of statehood for Arizona and New Mexico and their speeches stamped them as profound scholars on constitutional history and evolution. To prosecute the simile, it is not outside of possibilities that they may oppose each other as Vice-Presidential candidates at the approaching campaign.

To recur, it is true that if power exists to make water convert deserts into gardens, it should also be available to prevent gardens from being changed to deserts. This ratioclination is unassailable. A fertile area is a bird in the hand. An irrigation project may be two-thirds in the bush. Rainfall cannot be fore-



HON. GEORGE EARLE CHAMBERLAIN
United States Senator from Oregon



HON. MOSES P. KINKAID
Representative from the Sixth District, Nebraska

told with precision. Dams have been built but the water is non est.

While ostensibly purposed to prevent floods, the ultimate beneficial results of the measure may be more far-reaching. A latent power is discernible. In other words, it may contain a joker and that is the seizure of vast water power by the government for the benefit of the people. This is preferable to monopolistic confiscation and compelling the public to repurchase the same at a price multiplied ad infinitum above the investment. Thus revenue producing possibilities are presented.

It is noteworthy that some of the most beneficent laws to the West were incubated in jokers. When gold was discovered in 1849 and the aurelian fields of California swarmed with fortune-hunters, prospectors were trespassers on government land because no law sanctioned mineral exploration on public property. The privilege was recognized by local customs, general acquiescence, State courts and legislatures and even by the Supreme Court of the United States. Congressional recognition alone was wanting. Mines requiring large capital for development were idle owing to the timidity of financiers. The Civil War occupied the attention of Congress. This lethargical policy terminated in 1866 when by the exercise of some legislative "inside baseball" and acrobatics a measure was enacted protecting the rights of men who risked their everything in finding and locating mining claims.

The pathway of conservation is not strewn with roses. In some places it teems with thorns. It has its opponents and cavillers. There are those who believe that the present generation has a right to help themselves to nature's storehouses and that posterity is not the only party in interest. This conflict has its outcroppings in investigations, politics and litigation. The proper middle course of ultimate conservation with a judicious and equitable regard for present needs calls for patriotic statesmanship of the highest caliber.

The forests must be protected from waste. The deserts must be reclaimed. The waters are to be conserved. The West of the future will contain a wonderful system of water storage for irri-

gation and power linked with another system surpassing the most optimistic dreams of the deep waterways advocate. If such is to be, the path must be blazed further. Comprehensive plans must be evolved. Legislation must be moulded accordingly. We are only at the threshold.

Historic Views and Reviews

Tablet to William Penn

A MEMORIAL tablet to William Penn was unveiled on July 13, in the Church of All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower—the edifice in which the "proprietary founder and Governor of Pennsylvania" was baptized on October 23, 1644.

The tablet was designed by McKim, Mead & White, who carried out the original ideas of the late Charles Follen McKim, deceased, a member of the Pennsylvania Society. William Andrews Clark, vice-president of the Pennsylvania Society, paid for casting the tablet and erecting it in the church. The tablet bears this inscription:

In Memory of
WILLIAM PENN
Baptized in this church October 23rd,
A. D. 1644
Proprietary Founder and Governor of
PENNSYLVANIA
Examplar of Brotherhood and Peace
Lawgiver Lover of Mankind

"I shall not usurp the right of any or oppress his Person. God has Furnisht me with a better resolution and has given me his Grace to keep it."

This Tablet is Erected by
The Pennsylvania Society of New York,
A. D. 1911.

The inscription was written by George Francis Nelson, D. D., Archdeacon of New York, a member of the Pennsylvania Society.

The church in which this memorial is erected is the only building extant in London which is definitely associated with the birth of William Penn. He was born on Tower Hill, to the northeast of the Tower of London. The house of his father, Sir William Penn, was in a court sometimes called George Court, on the east side of Trinity Square, Tower Hill. What survives of the court is now a storage yard. A fragment of the London Wall forms or formed a part of the east wall of the court in which the Penn house stood.



What "Gringo" Means

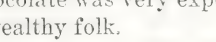
Somebody with a fondness for romancing has said that the epithet *gringo,* applied contemptuously to Americans by the Mexicans, owes its origin to a song which the Mexicans heard from the American soldiers during the Mexican war; but this is manifestly incorrect, says America, for the word was used in Mexico as far back as the reign of Carlos III, towards the end of the eighteenth century. When his Catholic Majesty determined to expel the Jesuits from his dominions, he was somewhat uneasy about what the regular troops, then in New Spain, might do on receipt of the royal order; he therefore took the precaution to send over some troops from the Low Countries, in whom he put more trust. These troops, as Alegre tells us in his "History of New Spain," were called "gringos," probably on account of their slight knowledge of Spanish. This opinion is borne out by a writer in *La Revista Catolica,* of Santiago, Chili, who has been studying the local peculiarities of Spanish words and phrases. He tells us that the word *gringo* has long been used in Spanish as a synonym of *griego,* or Greek. To speak in *gringo,* therefore, was to speak Greek, that is, to speak a language that could not be understood. He adds that the word is used in Catalonian in the same sense, and that in the Valencian dialect, *gring* means any language which is not understood, or is hard to understand. The word, therefore, is not a corruption of "green grow," as has been asserted, nor is it confined to the New World.

Our First Cocoa

The first newspaper notice that announced the sale of cocoa and chocolate in America read:

"Amos Trask, at his house, a little below the Bell tavern, in Danvers, makes and sells chocolate which he will warrant to be good and takes cocoa to grind. Those who may please to favor him with their custom may depend upon being well served and at a very cheap rate."

This notice appeared in the Essex Gazette of Massachusetts on the 18th of June, 1771, five years before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. Despite Mr. Trask's assurance that his rate was cheap, chocolate was very expensive and beyond the purse of any but the wealthy folk.



Bell's First Demonstration

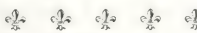
In a letter recently received from Mr. H. S. Howell, the writer says: "The article on the subject of the early history of the telephone, which appeared in Americana in June, interested me very much, as I was at Professor Bell's house when he first spoke over the wires—that is, with an audience present.

"It was in the year 1876, and the date I am almost certain was the 12th of August. I was visiting my cousin's place, a farm close to 'Tutela Heights,' the old Bell homestead, and about a mile from the town of Brantford, Ont., Canada. We were all interested in the new 'discovery,' especially as the investigations were going on so near to us. On the day mentioned, the Bells sent an invitation to us to come over and hear the telephone; which we gladly accepted. Prof. Bell's father and mother were then alive, and both present on this occasion, along with a small party of ladies and gentlemen. Prof. Alexander Melville Bell, the father, was a man of great skill in matters pertaining to phonetic notation: he wrote two books on the subject—'*Princi-*

ples of Phonetics,' and *'Visible Speech;'* besides being the author of other books and pamphlets.

"Only a single wire was used; it passed through the window to a veranda post, thence from tree to tree to the fence, along which it was attached until it reached the telegraph poles on the main road to the town. At the other end of the wire a number of ladies and gentlemen were assembled in the office of the Dominion Telegraph Company. The mouthpiece was something like that part which we now place to the ear, and was used both when speaking and hearing; when we spoke to a person in Brantford we would then take it from the lips and place it to the ear to get the reply.

"Prof. Bell demonstrated in all sorts of ways the effect of different sounds coming over the wire; a gentleman played a violin solo while the little receiver was held on the 'fiddle;' then it was placed on the sounding-board of the piano while a lady played the well-known 'Far Away' air—which was considered appropriate, owing to the great (?) distance between the Bell home and the town! After we had rendered our little programme those at the other end entertained us in a similar manner."



Lieut. Gillmore's Fight

Capt. James C. Gillmore, commanding the cruiser Maryland, who applied for retirement with the rank of commodore, on June 30, is the officer who was captured with a boat's crew at Baler, Philippine Islands, by the insurgents, on April 12, 1899, and was held as a prisoner for over eight months. Capt. Gillmore was then a lieutenant and navigating officer on the Yorktown on the Asiatic station. On that day he was ordered to take charge of a boat to land Ensign William H. Standley, now a lieutenant-commander, and a quartermaster, who were to make a reconnoissance to discover the whereabouts of a church defended by Spanish prisoners in Baler. Lieut. Gillmore took the boat's crew into a place of danger in an effort to distract the attention of the na-

tives from the landing of Ensign Standley. The left bank of the river, the side toward the enemy, was covered by high marsh grass and swamp land. The right bank was steep, too, and covered with a dense growth. As the party neared the end of the swamp land, Lieut. Gillmore was about to give orders to return, when the boat rounded a bend and came full on an outpost on solid ground. The man hailed the Americans and fired a volley as a signal. Before Lieut. Gillmore could answer the hail, a volley was fired at close range. The effect of the volley was terrible. One seaman was killed instantly, his brains being scattered over the boat and crew, and another seaman was mortally wounded. One seaman had his fingers cut off the hand, but kept bravely to his starboard stroke oar. The starboard oars were riddled, and most of them shattered. Besides, the boat was pierced by Remington balls, and made water fast.

As soon as possible after recovering from the first shock, the Americans opened fire with the Colt and rifles. The gun was thrown out of action after the second volley. The order was given to back oars, but as only a few could be used, the others being shattered, the tide drifted the boat on a sand bank. Three seamen tried to swim the boat out, but did not succeed. The volleys were poured in on the boat from the left bank in quick succession, wounding two other seamen. The bodies of the men who had been killed had fallen on the bodies of the slighter men, who were struggling in the bottom of the boat.

Surrendered to the Filipinos

A band of men were seen coming down the river, armed with Remingtons, bows and arrows, bolos, and spears. Lieut. Gillmore gave the order to hoist the white flag, which was done by a seaman, who received a shot in the right wrist and dropped the flag. Lieut Gillmore then continued the fight. The boat was then hailed from the left bank by a Spanish officer who said that if the Americans did not cease firing and surrender he would kill them all. Before the Spanish officer could get across, the Filipino came up, took the Americans off the boat, robbed them of rings, watches, hats, clothes, in fact everything that they could

get. They tied the arms of the officer and the seamen behind them with bamboo thongs and lined them up on the beach to be shot. Those who had rifles loaded them. When Lieut. Gillmore's hands were being tied, he said: "As an American officer and a gentleman I protest against being shot with my hands tied." The rifles of the natives were already cocked when Aguinaldo came out of the bush and ordered otherwise. The Americans were then sent on board the boat, and, after plugging up the holes made by rifle balls, pulled up the river. They were landed some distance up the river. The next day all who could were marched across the country to San Ysidro. Lieut. Gillmore was held a prisoner until December 16, 1899, when rescued by Col. Luther B. Mare, Thirty-third United States Volunteer Infantry, in the mountains of Cagayan, Island of Luzon. The party then made for the coast at Apparri, arriving there on January 2, 1900, going on board the Princeton. Lieut. Gillmore returned to the United States on the Solace, arriving at San Francisco on March 9. Before he was captured he weighed 165 pounds, and when rescued his weight had fallen to 115 pounds.



Caldwell's Historic Gun

A memorial in honor of the soldiers of the four wars—the Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War and the Civil War—was unveiled at Caldwell, N. J., on July 22. The memorial is a bronze six pound field piece of the kind in use during the War of 1812, mounted on a granite base. The gun was presented to the Caldwell Artillery Company in 1823 by Col. Decatur, a brother of Commodore Decatur. When Gen. Lafayette visited America the last time he was taken over the route followed by Washington's army in its march from the west bank of the Hudson to Morristown. Capt. Samuel Crain, then commander of the Caldwell Artillery Company, went to Pine Brook with an old iron field cannon used in the Revolution to give Gen. Lafayette a salute. After a few shots had been fired the old gun burst. Col.

Decatur, who accompanied Lafayette, told Capt. Crain that he would see that the gun was replaced and a few months later the promised field piece arrived. It remained the property of the company until the company was disbanded in 1850. It was then placed in Capt. Crain's barn and it remained there until the Civil War began, when it was taken to Trenton. About twenty years later it was returned to Caldwell and put in the keeping of Bartlett Post, G. A. R. In 1902 it was mounted on a rough stone pedestal and placed on the green in almost the identical spot it now occupies.



The Colfax Library

Disposition is being made of the valuable private library of Schuyler Colfax, former Vice-President of United States, following the death of Mrs. Colfax and sale of the family home here. Some of the books go to the Northern Indiana Historical Society and the South Bend Training School and the remainder are being taken by the son, Schuyler Colfax, Jr., and sent to his home in Rochester, N. Y. Something like 1,000 volumes, among which are many old and valuable works, have been divided between the historical society and training school. All books of a historical character go to the former. Included are many volumes of the *Congressional Record* of the four years of the Civil War, when Mr. Colfax was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and of the years he served as Vice-President.



George G. Rockwood Dead

George G. Rockwood, the dean of American photographers, died at Lakeville, Conn., on July 10. He began taking pictures fifty-eight years ago and his records show that he has photo-

graphed over 350,000 persons. Among some of his subjects were Nathaniel P. Willis, the poet; Gen. Winfield Scott, Senator William M. Evarts, Gen. Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, Horace Greeley, Martin Van Buren, President Hayes, Ole Bull, Emma Abbott and many other prominent men and women, most of whom were Mr. Rockwood's personal friends. In his later years he confined himself almost exclusively to art studies of children.

Mr. Rockwood was born in Troy, N. Y., in 1832. He went to the Troy schools and later received the degree of Ph.D. from Chicago University. He took up photography in St. Louis in 1853 and produced in 1853 the first carte-de-visité made in the United States. The subject was Baron Rothschild. Mrs. August Belmont was the first woman of whom he made a vignette carte-de-visté. He was an inventor as well as a photographer and made many improvements in the tools of his trade. He used to say that his mind was turned to inventions by meeting Samuel Morse when the inventor of the telegraph was exhibiting his instruments at the United States Hotel in Saratoga. Rockwood was a hallboy in the hotel at that time. Morse took a fancy to him and was at pains to explain the workings of his invention.

Had Many Famous Sitters

Mr. Rockwood came to New York in 1857 and went into partnership with his brother, Col. Elihu R. Rockwood, who died in 1908. There are several Rockwood studios about the city now, but the one in which George Rockwood and his brother came to be best known was at Broadway and Thirteenth street. It was in this studio that the Rockwoods met, photographed and made friends with so many of the famous men and women of their time. When the Civil War came Elihu enlisted and George stayed home to attend to business. Elihu won his title of colonel while serving with the Tenth Massachusetts Volunteers.

As was natural Col. Rockwood's army friends were frequent visitors at the studio and George Rockwood got to know them as well as his brother. He was fond of relating his talks with Major Anderson, Gen. Dix and others who had taken part in the

war. He knew Horace Greeley well and made several photographs of him, both in the studio and in the woods near Chappaqua, where Mr. Greeley posed, axe in hand. Once when Rockwood was posing the editor tried to start a political discussion, hoping to secure an animated pose. "The answer to my question," he related afterwards, "was a gentle snore. Poor Mr. Greeley, fagged and worn, was fast asleep."

Major Anderson became one of Mr. Rockwood's friends and once when the Major was posing for a picture Mr. Rockwood asked him if it were true that he had been on the point of surrendering Fort Sumter. In telling the story Mr. Rockwood used to say that the major replied with great earnestness:

"No. Mr. Rockwood. When I raised that flag on high with a prayer to Almighty God for its protection, I knew that it would never come down in disgrace."

For ninety-seven years

A Vituperative Biographer

For those who may be tempted to read the "Study of Alexander Hamilton," by Fontaine T. Fox, the following remarks by the New York *Times* may be of interest:

"That Alexander Hamilton was a man of immoral character; that he sought to make this country as near a monarchy as the opposition of his wiser colleagues would allow; that he was a crafty politician, are commonplaces of history. Or if they are not, they ought to be. The fact that Gertrude Atherton has written a book depicting him as a flawless hero may have had some influence with novel readers, but cannot in the least affect anybody who has ever read history.

"That Alexander Hamilton was one of our greatest statesmen; that he founded our financial system; that he created the beginnings of that strong Union which was made compact under Marshall and Webster and completed under Lincoln, are also commonplaces of history—or ought to be.

"Now arises a man who tries to tell us, as if we were hearing it for the first time, that Hamilton, in addition to being a great statesman, was also a man of immoral life and a tricky poli-

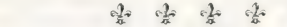
tician. The judicial attributes he brings to his task may be judged by such statements as this:

"'His baseness, his depravity, his cowardice, is without a parallel in the annals of any country, ancient or modern.'

"The book is as malevolent a piece of writing as we have seen in some years, and whatever historical value might attach to such a philippic is destroyed by the opinion the reader conceives, as he goes along, of Mr. Fox's lack of ability to examine any historical question whatever."

The Made-to-Order Anthem

It is a good lesson in patriotism to enlist the interest of young America in boosting the national airs, says the Pittsburg *Chronicle-Telegraph,* but what hope is there that a made-to-order song will take the place of the inspired work of Francis Scott Key? For ninety-seven years "The Star Spangled Banner" has thrilled Americans, and around the world it commands the respect of the people in every civilized country. When the composer hummed the tune while pacing the deck of a cartel ship during the dismal night of the bombardment of Fort McHenry, he obeyed the inspiration in his own heart and gave posterity the anthem, expecting neither glory nor financial reward. The national anthem which supplants "The Star Spangled Banner" must be written with a more patriotic purpose than that of gaining a prize. Just now it seems timely to call young America's attention to the approach of the one hundredth anniversary of the composition of "The Star Spangled Banner," September 13, 1914, and the pennies of the school children could be used in erecting a national memorial to Francis Scott Key.



Washington in Moving Pictures

The Pathé Freres, of moving picture fame, have prepared a series of pictures dealing with the life of Washington. It is strange, but true, that probably not more than one in a thousand

know the actual birthplace of the father of his country. This pictorial biography will enlighten all on this point and many others.

In an interesting fashion, the series carries the history of Washington from the cradle to the grave, beginning with the actual birthplace at Wakefield, on the Potomac. Sections of Alexandria that were surveyed by Washington when a sixteen-year-old boy, and the Carlyle House, Alexandria, where Washington received from Gen. Braddock his commission as major in the British army for the French and Indian wars, when twenty-three years of age are shown. Then there are views of Christ Church, Alexandria, of which Washington was a vestryman; the kitchen of Martha Washington at Williamsburg, Va., and a portion of the house wherein Washington and his bride spent their honeymoon.

Next come Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where the Declaration of Independence was signed July 4, 1776, and where Washington received his commission as commander-in-chief of the Continental army; the Betsy Ross House, Philadelphia, where the presentation of the first flag of the Union was made and a reproduction of the flag made by Betsy Ross in 1777, the thirteen stars denoting the thirteen original states.

The scenes shift to the encampment at Valley Forge, showing the class of log huts used by the soldiers in the terrible winter of 1777-'8; the headquarters at Valley Forge where Martha Washington knit many pairs of socks for the freezing soldiers; old Bruton Church; the Sessions House; the house of Thomas Nelson, Jr., at Yorktown, Va.; a view of Yorktown, where the pivotical battle for the independence of our country was fought; Cornwallis' cave, the hiding place of the British general at the time of surrender; the Moore House, and Temple farm near Yorktown, where the articles of capitulation were drawn up, and surrender of 7,000 British soldiers, 105 cannon to Washington and Lafayette.

There are pictures, also of Gen. Washington's camp kit and uniform, photographed by courtesy of the National Museum, Washington, D. C.; the entrance to Mount Vernon that Washington always used; a panoramic view of Mount Vernon; the

old tomb at Mount Vernon, where his remains lay till 1837; and the new tomb where George Washington and Martha Washington are buried.



The Jogues Memorial

W. Max Reid of Amsterdam, N. Y., chairman of a committee to select a site for the memorial to Father Isaac Jogues, the Jesuit pioneer and discoverer of Lake George, visited the lake recently to inspect the favorable sites for the proposed monument. In company with State Historian James A. Holden and local Game Warden William H. Burnett, Mr. Reid made a tour of the lake, and after considering several points which seemed suitable it was decided to recommend to the New York State Historical Society, the sponsor of the memorial, the northernmost island of the Mother Bunch group, which is situated near the north end of the Narrows, about twenty miles from Lake George village. The site is ideal in that it looks over the northern expanse of water toward Lake Champlain, where Father Jogues first saw the waters of Lake George, or as he named it Lac du Saint Sacrament. The committee of the Historical Society to whom the recommendation will first be submitted consists of George O. Knapp of St. Louis and Shelving Rock, Mrs. Harry W. Watrous of New York and Hague, David Williams of New York and Rogers Rock, and the Rev. Father Campbell, S. D., of New York.

To Celebrate Treaty of Ghent

A movement for the purchase of Sullivan Manor, the home of George Washington's ancestors, by public subscription in America and England, is to be started by the National Committee for the Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Peace Among English Speaking Peoples in 1914-15. The chairman of the com-

mittee is Andrew Carnegie and the honorary chairman is Theodore Roosevelt. The Executive Committee of the National Committee met recently and resolved to bring about the purchase of Sulgrave Manor, which is for sale, "as a memorial to the founder of the Republic." An address to the public is to be issued and a public meeting will be called. Tentative plans of the National Committee, which was created in January last, were announced recently. A committee consisting of John Hays Hammond, Bernard N. Baker, Theodore Marburg and William B. Howland will confer with representative Britishers in London this summer with a view to forming an international committee. In Japan this fall Hamilton Holt is to see about Japanese participation and Job E. Hedges will represent the American body in a conference at Ghent.

Originally there were several movements in the United States for a celebration of the Ghent centenary. Some of these have been merged with the greater scheme. One of them is for the erection of a memorial bridge, possibly by joint subscription of the United States and Canadian Governments, the State of New York and the Province of Ontario, besides popular subscriptions.

The dedication of a monument on the battlefield of New Orleans has been proposed as a feature of the Panama celebration that Louisiana and New Orleans are to hold in 1913. The Peace Committee has suggested that a fitting memorial would be a monument commemorating the beginning of the second hundred years of the peace between the United States and Great Britain. A merger of the Peace Committee's plans and those of the Panama Exposition Company of San Francisco will be considered at a conference in San Francisco this summer.

The National Committee announces that these men among others have accepted office: Honorary vice-chairmen, Elihu Root, Levi P. Morton, Adlai E. Stevenson, William J. Bryan, Alton B. Parker, Joseph H. Choate; honorary treasurer, Lyman J. Gage; honorary secretary, President Harry Pratt Judson of the University of Chicago; vice-chairmen, Edwin Ginn, Albert K. Smiley; secretary, Andrew B. Humphrey; Executive Committee, Charles W. Fairbanks, honorary chairman; Theodore E. Burton, honorary vice-chairman; John A. Stewart, chairman; William H.

Short, secretary; chairman of Auditing Committee, Job E. Hedges. The committee now has 500 members. Its office is at 50 Church street.



The Senate's Snuff Boxes

Now that fans have made their way into the Senate Chamber and another prejudice has been removed against innovations, perhaps the Senate will tolerate now the removal of the snuff boxes that welcome every Senator to the chamber as he enters from the marble room, says the *Boston Advertiser*. There was a time when snuff was popular. Royalty even liked to use it and memory still recalls gifts of gold snuff boxes. The aristocratic Senate was not above indulging itself thus and the commodity was installed free for the use of any Senator who cared to go up to the snuff boxes that were provided like the boxes for alms at the entrance to churches. But it is no longer fashionable to use snuff or desirable on its own account and so far as can be observed the habit has been entirely lost in the Senate, excepting in Senator Frye of Maine, who appears to be the only Senator addicted to snuffing. But while he is as yet a member of the Senate he virtually has retired from that body, too old and too feeble to participate in its deliberations, and it is expected that he will never again be seen in the body. And with him gone it is expected that the last excuse for the presence in the chamber of snuff boxes will have disappeared and in all probability they will be ordered taken out and the Senate will strike from its supply accounts charges for snuff. It will go with other luxuries that have been ordered cancelled, such as Apollinaris drinking water, which has cost the Senate $30,000 a year.



JENNY LIND

Americana

Illustrated



National Americana Society
154 East Twenty-Third St
New York

AMERICANA

October, 1911

P. T. Barnum and Jenny Lind

BY ALBERT W. DAVIS

AMONG the many prominent buildings which once graced the City of New York was the American Museum of P. T. Barnum. Located at the confluence of two great thoroughfares, Broadway and Ann Street, it was indeed an object of great attraction, especially because of the flags, transparencies and paintings with which its exterior was decorated. On gala days, or other occasions of public interest it was even more conspicuous for the number and attractiveness of its decorations, its location affording the finest possible oportunity for such displays.

The American Museum owed its foundation to John Scudder who, as long ago as 1810, purchased the stock of a museum which then exhibited in one of the obscure streets of the Metropolis, and by judicious additions thereto, made it a source of great attraction and interest not only to the mere seeker after amusement but to the more scientific mind. Mr. Scudder's idea was the formation of a national cabinet, similar to the British Museum, and he devoted the best years of his life to the pursuit of this aim. While in his hands it secured the attention of the city government and a number of rooms were finally devoted to it in the west end of the City Hall. From there it was removed to the fine and commodious building of which I write, where it began to repay its owner for the time and labor spent in bringing it to its then high state of excellence. In his hands, and those of his heirs, it remained until about the year 1840, when a company that had in 1838 procured a charter from the State Legislature

under the name of the "New York Museum Company," negotiated for its purchase. This company had already purchased the other museum, then located near the corner of Murray Street on Broadway, and known as Peale's New York Museum, and their intention was also to form a national museum on the plan of those of foreign countries. Their negotiations were not, however, pursued with proper energy and despatch, and while they were procrastinating, Mr. Barnum purchased the American Museum from the heirs of Scudder. Thus was the glorious opportunity lost to the Museum Company, and their enterprise failed utterly, while, in the hands of Barnum, the American became the sole source of attraction in the way of museums. Mr. Peale, who had long buried his youthful energies, but who endeavored for a time to maintain a spirited competition with his more active opponent, was obliged at length to succumb. His museum was sold and Barnum became the purchaser.

Thus it was left to him to carry out the idea, original with Scudder and adopted by the New York Museum Company, of a national museum which should be an honor to the country and a credit to its projectors. To him, therefore, belongs the credit for the success in this undertaking, which had baffled the earnest and continued endeavors of Scudder, as well as the united efforts of some of the first amusement caterers of the day. It is no unmerited praise to say of Mr. Barnum that the energy of character and determination of purpose displayed in his course from the time he first became the proprietor of this great collection has seldom, if ever, been equalled.

A better specimen of the true Yankee has never existed than P. T. Barnum, and in saying this we grant his memory the greatest meed of praise. Finding that his new purchase had cramped him for room in which to display properly his immense collection, and being desirous of carrying out the intentions of the New York Museum Company—which were to purchase the entire block bounded by Broadway, Fulton, Nassau and Ann streets, and to erect thereon a large and commodious building—he purchased the building adjoining on Broadway, then occupied by the Chemical Bank, and endeavored to purchase the remaining tenements on Ann Street as well as those on Broadway. In these endeavors he was unsuccessful and he was, therefore,

obliged to be content with what he had obtained, but he made such great improvements in the arrangements of the halls by adding a magnificent lecture room and opening a new and commodious entrance, that he was enabled not only to exhibit his entire cabinet in its most attractive phases, but also accommodate the immense crowds which soon began to assemble daily within its walls. About this time he purchased and added to his already immense assortment of curiosities the entire Chinese Museum which had been exhibiting in the cities of New York and Philadelphia, and which formed in itself one of the most attractive collections ever shown in this country. These extensive additions, in connection with those which he had been constantly adding by smaller lots during the ten years he had charge of the museum, formed, in the aggregate, one of the largest and best arranged collections in the world. We know that the name of Barnum and humbug has been held to be synonymous, but, dropping the Fiji mermaid, Joyce Heth, and other exhibits of that sort, we cannot but give him the credit of offering the most pleasing and instructive form of entertainment that had then been devised on this continent. Indeed, says one who visited New York in those days, "We spent between three and four hours in viewing the attractions in two rooms and gained only most pleasing impressions." Some idea of its popularity may be gained from the fact that it was visited in nine years by upwards of six million persons.

Imagine, if you can, an extensive hall of natural and artificial wonders, and, beneath, a tastefully ornamented entrance with the words "Barnum's Museum." Out of this "Grand Hall" were openings to the right and left into two others of equal size. In the centre room was exhibited a portion of the immense Chinese collection, the group of "The Suliote Conspiracy," and a portion of the valuable collection of portraits of distinguished Americans which the elder Peale spent his entire lifetime in collecting. The "Suliote Conspiracy" was a group of twelve figures of life size, arrayed in the most gorgeous costume of the Greek nation and representing Lord Byron surrounded by the various personages engaged in that unfortunate struggle of the Greeks to gain their independence, each figure being a lifelike representation of one of the leaders in this upris-

ing. By the aid of machinery of a most delicate and complicated character these figures all assumed the action of life, and this rendered them so extremely natural that the observer stared at them in amazement. The "Happy Family," with which Barnum's name had become inseparably connected, was another of the manifold curiosities of this wonder-awakening establishment. Here were seen animals of the most incongruous nature, eating out of the same dish, resting upon the same perch, and making their beds together, owls and doves, eagles and rabbits, cats and rats, hawks and small birds, monkeys, Guinea pigs, mice, squirrels, and a host of others—all helping to form one of the most remarkable collections ever assembled.

Then the "Lecture Room"—so called—to-day, known as the "Theatre." In ye olden times there were no so-called theatres, hence the names of "Museum," "Athaneaum," etc., and to this day parents visit the menagerie with their children as a source of instruction, but do not think for one moment of returning home without wandering into the adjoining tent and witnessing the circus performance. But, to continue, the theatre, or lecture room as it was known, was fitted up much the same as the opera houses of this day, and thousands who from motives of delicacy could not bring themselves to attend theatrical representations found it easy enough to reconcile their consciences to a museum, with its vaudevilles and plays, though it must have been somewhat difficult to make a distinction between the two, when the same plays were performed, the same actors employed, and the same effect given. The same could easily be said of that once equally well known Boston Museum.

Barnum's American Museum was destroyed by fire on July 13, 1865. Its destruction was a great loss to the community, for it had amused, instructed and astonished so many persons that, in the country villages New York was regarded merely as the place that held Barnum's Museum.

Imagine the breaking out of this conflagration—the terrible howls and moans proceeding from the large apartment in the third floor of the museum! It terrorized the throngs who had collected in front of the burning building, for they were at first under the impression that sounds must proceed from human beings unable to effect their escape. Their anxiety was soon re-

lieved on this score, but their consternation was by no means decreased upon learning that the room in question was the principal chamber of the menagerie connected with the museum, and that there was imminent danger of the release of the animals confined there.

If you ever visited the old museum you will recall the large cage containing a lion and lioness. To the right was the three-storied cage containing monkeys at the top, two kangaroos in the second story, and a happy family of cats, bats, adders, rabbits, etc., in the lower compartment. To the left of the lion's cage was the tank containing the two big alligators, and, still further to the left and partially hidden from sight was the large tank containing the great white whale. Upon the floor were caged the boa-constrictor, anacondas, and rattlesnakes, whose heads would now and then rise menancingly through the top of the cages. To the extreme right was a cage entirely shut from view at first, containing the Bengal tiger and the Polar bear, whose terrific growls could be distinctly heard from behind the partition.

At the time of the fire, with a simultaneous bound, the lion and his mate sprang against the bars which gave way and came down with a great crash, releasing the beasts. For a moment, apparently amazed at their sudden liberty, they stood in the middle of the floor lashing their sides with their tails and roaring dolefully. Almost at the same moment the upper part of the three-storied cage, consumed by the flames, fell forward, letting the rods drop to the floor, and many other animals were thus set free. The tiger and Polar bear were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, but all met the same fate. Among the saved were Barnum's "What is it"—an African negro with a very small cocoanut-shaped head—Anna Swan, the giant girl, and the living skeleton.

Mr. Barnum, in later years used to travel in advance of his "Greatest Show on Earth," and would deliver a temperance lecture at a public hall and would also sell copies of his "Life." His religious faith was that of a Universalist, and Tufts College, at Medford, Mass., was an institution, much favored by him. Among other things he had erected there a fire-proof museum

building which is well filled with skeletons and stuffed animals, all of which died in Barnum's service. As you enter from the main entrance you behold the skeleton of jumbo, the pet of the children, who used to ride on his back. His desire to save the baby elephant in a railroad accident was the cause of the bodily injury resulting in his death.

Mr. Barnum also exhibited in America and even before the Royal families in Europe, the celebrated midgets, Tom Thumb and Minnie Warren, as well as the greatest of all freaks the Siameese Twins. Probably his most successful venture, however, was the engagement of Jenny Lind the "Swedish Nightingale." At the time—it was in 1847—Barnum's offer to pay Jenny Lind $1,000 a night for 150 nights, was considered most foolhardy, but the experiment proved a gold mine, the gross receipts for ninety-five concerts exceeding $700,000. Among my records of early theatrical days I find the following facts which relate to the famous singer:

The two most celebrated prima donnas of the time, Jenny Lind and Adelina Patti, both sang in Howard Hall, Providence, R. I., and the former created a furore, not only in Providence, but throughout the country, such as no singer has equalled before or since. The biggest of all musical events that ever occurred in Providence was on the evening of October 7, 1850, in Howard Hall. Even more remarkable was the sale of tickets which preceded the concert. They were sold at auction and such an auction, one so largely attended by so many men of wealth was never before seen. Auctions of Jenny Lind concert seats had previously taken place in New York and Boston and were subsequently held in the other large cities in which she sang, but nowhere did the first choice of a seat, or the "grand prize ticket," as it was called, bring so high a price as it did in Providence. At the first concert given by Jenny Lind at Castle Garden in New York the prize ticket was sold for $225 to John E. Genin, a hatter located in the Barnum Museum Building. In Boston, Ossian E. Dodge, was the successful bidder at $625—a bid that startled even the solid men of the Hub, and raised their ideas of the culture and taste of the "Athens of America" to a higher point than ever.



P. T. BARNUM

In Philadelphia, M. H. Root secured the prize ticket at the price paid by Mr. Dodge, $625, and, in New Orleans, a Mr. D'Arcy bought a seat for $240. These were the highest bids made anywhere for the first choice of seats for a Jenny Lind concert, with the exception of the famous bid made in the City of Providence. Here the Jenny Lind premium concert seat was finally knocked down after a most spirited competition to Col. William Ross at $653. This fairly astonished the whole country, and was locally believed to be the severest blow the musical pride of Boston had ever received.

But, it was a wonderful compliment to Jenny Lind—a greater one, indeed, all things considered, than this far-famed singer and estimable woman had ever had, and she prized it more highly than any gift of jewelry ever so ceremoniously presented to her by European prince or nobleman. Few people have ever seen the famous ticket which is now in the possession of Frank Ross, the successful bidder's son. It is made of the finest card board, twenty-one inches long and seventeen inches wide, with a very ornate border, in blue and gold, several inches deep. This border surrounds the following inscription:

Prize Ticket No. 650.

Jenny Lind's Concert,

Providence, R. I.,

Col. William Ross,

Price $653.

Received Payment, Oct. 4, 1850.

P. T. Barnum.

As a special honorary acknowledgment Jenny Lind herself put her signature to the ticket, the only time she ever did so.

This was the programme of the concert:

PART FIRST.

Grand Overture Fasanielle.
Aria—Ecco il Pregni.....Signor Belletti
Aria—Oui La Voce.....Mlle. Jenny Lind
Duet on the Pianoforte.....Messrs. Benedict and Hoffman
Tarantella—Napolitana.....Signor Belletti
Ballad—Take this Lute.....Mlle. Jenny Lind

PART SECOND.

Grand Overture .....
Performed by the Celebrated American Brass Band
Trio, Voice and Two Flutes.....Sung by Mlle. Jenny Lind
With Flute Accompaniment....By Messrs. J. A. Kyle and Siede
Varcarole—Sulla Poypadel Mio Brik.....Signor Belletti
Ballad—By the Sad Sea Waves, (Brides of Venice)....
Mlle. Jenny Lind
Swedish Melody—Herdsman's Song; known as the Echo
Song.....Sung in Swedish by Mlle. Jenny Lind
Conductor .....Mr. Benedick

Jenny Lind went back to Boston from Providence and afterward made a tour of the country. She was married at Boston, in 1852, to Otto Goldschmidt, the son of a rich Hamburg merchant, and spent several weeks of her honeymoon at Northampton, Mass., which she described as the Switzerland of America. Just before leaving for Europe she gave a concert and, although the tickets were at a high figure for those times, they sold with a rush, and the house was packed to the door. The receipts were over $1,000, but of this she would not touch a penny, giving $700 to the Young Men's Library and the rest to charity. When riding, as was her daily custom, she frequently stopped at some plain cottage, walked in unannounced and surprise the occupants with a purse of money. Her charming simplicity was once well illustrated. When driving by a farmer's house she

saw a herd of cows in the yard. Leaving the carriage she asked for a glass of fresh milk, and afterward called every day for a refreshing draught. The purity of the life of this queen of song, the unaffected sweetness of her manner, her abounding charity, and her wonderful genius, combined to draw all hearts to her with an almost irresistible force. Her favorite number was, "I Know that My Redeemer Liveth."

P. T. Barnum died in 1891. Two of his museums were destroyed, one in 1865 and one in 1868, but as he said, he "didn't mind a little thing like that," for when his circus, surpassing anything ever before conceived by mind of man was completed, the dollars fairly flowed into Mr. Barnum's pocket. It is true that he liked to fool the public in legitimate ways, for it was one of his dividend-yielding theories that the American people liked to be humbugged, and were willing to pay for the experience.

The Wars on the Lords and its Outcome

BY LINDSAY ROGERS

THE fight to curb the power of the English House of Lords is now over, for on August 10 the veto bill was agreed to and the controversy which has had full sway in England for nearly two years was finally settled. the last twelve months have been, as Mr. Asquith said, the *annus mirabilis* of English politics. Events have marched with unparalleled swiftness and although it cannot be said that the contest is over, a lengthy truce has been declared.

To understand fully the import of the veto bill and the effect which its passage will have on parliamentary legislation, it is necessary to go back to 1906, when the Liberals came into power, and see just what definite developments led to the adoption of the measure without the amendments proposed by the Lords. Unlike Minerva, who sprang full panoplied from the forehead of Jove, the greatest constitutional change in England since the passage of the Reform bill marks the triumph of a force which may be termed the spirit of democracy. This force, dormant during the period of Conservative preponderance in the House of Commons, quickly became alive when the reins of government were handed over to the opposing party, and has resulted in placing England practically on a single chamber basis.

The fight definitely began in 1906 when the Liberals won the parliamentary election after they had been excluded from office for twenty years. During this time, the Conservative party had held back the social and economic progress of England. It had represented what, in this country, are called "special interests," and had stood for militarism and imperialism. During

the same period, the Liberals had been alive to the social and industrial problems which were coming to the fore and clamoring for settlement. Old age pensions, hygenic and educational questions, the standards of living, and a more equitable basis for taxation, were some of the problems which the Liberals were seriously considering.

Five years ago, in 1906, the Liberals were given a chance to run the government but when they attempted to legislate some of their policies into law, the Lords showed their hand. They either rejected or mutilated bills passed by the Commons dealing with education, land valuation, and plural voting. The amendments to the Education bill were so contrary to its spirit that they were rejected in the Commons by an overwhelming majority and no attempt was made to reach an agreement. Then the question of reforming the upper chamber was brought prominently before the country, and when, in 1909, for the first time in living memory, the Lords rejected a whole budget, the crisis came. The issue demanded a settlement.

As far back as 1671 the Commons had resolved "That, in all aids given to the King, by the Commons, the Rate of Tax ought not to be altered by the Lords." In 1678, another resolution of very similar import was adopted. This maintained that all bills granting supplies "ought to begin with the Commons. And that it is the undoubted and sole right of the Commons, to direct, limit, and appoint, in such Bills, the Ends, Purposes, Considerations, Conditions, Limitations and Qualifications of such grants; which ought not to be changed or altered by the House of Lords." To this principle the Commons steadfastly adhered.

There was no limitation upon the power of the House of Lords to reject a money bill absolutely. In 1860, a bill to repeal the duties on paper was rejected by the Lords; the budget, already passed, had provided additional taxation to make up for the loss of revenue from this source. The next year, the paper bill was included in the annual tax bill, and the Lords, not having the power to amend, passed it. Later, it became the custom to include all taxation in one regular bill, and the peers never ventured to reject this as a whole or any other important measure granting supplies. Thus, there was an absolute limitation upon

the power of the upper chamber to initiate and amend, and a practical limitation upon it power to reject. If the latter really existed, it was not used between 1860 and 1909. Whether it existed or not, provides an interesting constitutional problem which I have not the space to discuss. The practice of the Commons tacking to a money bill legislation not germane to fiscal matters, however, never came into vogue. In fact, the Lords had a long standing order forbidding it, and this was a tacit admission of their inability to do other than pass fiscal legislation. The power to initiate and amend was denied; the power to reject, through disuse, had practically ceased to exist.

But in spite of precedent and serious doubt as to the legality of the procedure, the Lloyd-George budget was rejected by the Lords and a general election followed. This was held in January, 1910, and the Liberals, although with somewhat diminished numbers, were returned to power. Nominally, there was a Liberal preponderance, but in reality the tenure of Mr. Asquith and his colleagues was insecure and could be maintained only so long as the Nationalist and Laborite members remained tractable. This unstable coalition was united on only two issues: the necessity of passing the budget and pushing the House of Lords issue to some positive conclusion.

The first question was easily settled. Parliament sat for a ten weeks' session from February 21 to April 29. On April 19, the budget with some slight modifications was reintroduced and ten days later received the royal assent. The upper house accepted the measure with little discussion and no delay, maintaining that they had fulfilled their constitutional function in compelling a referendum on Mr. Lloyd-George's radical fiscal project. The problem of the second chamber, however, was not so easy to solve.

For the reform of the House of Lords, there were four possible objects: (1) to make the House more powerful; (2) to make it less powerful; (3) to change the nature of its power, and (4) to popularize it.

The National Liberal Federation had repeatedly put itself on record as favoring a restriction of the veto power of the House

of Lords. These proposals were considered by the Liberals and gradually there emerged from the discussion a concrete program, designed to secure complete control over finance for the Commons. This program was embodied in resolutions which were introduced by Mr. Asquith in March of last year, and which on April 14, 1910, were passed by a clear majority of 103 votes in the House of Commons. These resolutions which formed what came to be known as the Veto bill, were as follows:

"It is intended to substitute for the House of Lords as at present constituted a second chamber on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but as such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation, the existing powers of the House are to be restricted.

The House is to be denied the power of rejecting or amending a money bill. A measure shall be considered a money bill which in the opinion of the Speaker of the House of Commons contains only provisions dealing with all or any of the following subjects, namely: The imposition, repeal, remission, alteration, or regulation of taxation; charges on the Consolidated Fund or the provision of money by Parliament; Supply; the appropriation, control, or regulation of public money; the raising or guarantee of any loan, or the repayment thereof; or matters incidental to those subjects or any of them.

When any measure other than a money bill has passed the Commons in three successive sessions, it shall become law, notwithstanding its rejection or amendment by the Lords, provided that at least two years have elapsed since the introduction of the bill into the House of Commons and the date on which it passes that House for the third time.

The duration of Parliament is to be limited to five years."

In the meantime, the House of Lords itself became a project of reform. Their attitude was evidenced in a resolution introduced by Lord Roseberry in March, 1910, and which was as follows:

"That a strong and efficient second chamber is not merely an integral part of the British Constitution, but is necessary to the well-being of the state and the balance of Parliament.

That such a chamber can best be obtained by the reform and reconstitution of the House of Lords.

That a necessary preliminary of such reform and reconstitution is the acceptance of the principle that a peerage no longer of itself should give the right to sit and vote in the House of Lords."

The aim of the Liberals was to abolish the discretionary powers of the Lords in fiscal legislation and to curb its powers in all other legislation. The proposals of the Lords, introduced by Lord Roseberry, sought to modify the structure of the second chamber. Later, as we will see, the Lords made a more concrete effort to make themselves over.

On April 28, 1910, these two propositions were pending and Parliament adjourned until May 26, for the usual spring recess. When it reconvened, the constitutional crisis, it was unanimously agreed, would be pushed to a speedy settlement.

On May 6, during the recess, King Edward died and George V ascended to the throne. A brief but absolute suspension of hostilities was agreed to. The new king was scarcely given time, however, to get firmly settled on his throne, than a clamor arose for the settlement of the controversy. The sentiment that a compromise, if possible, should be effected, had grown; the nation seemed to have become weary of a partisan battle on the most important political and constitutional question since 1832. The action of the Lords in proposing modifications in the makeup of their chamber gave evidence of the fact that but for a few extremists, everyone was willing to admit that there was some justice in the position of the Liberals and that the Lords needed reforming.

The reopening of Parliament was postponed for two weeks, until June 8. In the upper chamber, Lord Roseberry announced that in view of the hope of a compromise, he would not press the consideration of his resolutions. In the Commons, the Government had already declared its intention of taking no further action until the Lords had disposed of their resolutions. The people now desired an amicable settlement.

The suggestion that an experiment, hitherto unknown in British politics be tried, came from Lord Curzon. In a speech which

he delivered a few days after the death of King Edward, he advocated the appointment of a joint commission by the Liberal and Conservative parties, and the adjudication by this committee of the differences which had arisen over curbing the powers of the House of Lords.

Several complicating features, however, threatened for a time to prevent the appointment of this committee. The more radical wing of the Liberal party thought that the principle of the Veto resolutions should be accepted as a preliminary, and that only the method by which the supremacy of the lower house was to be established should be compromised. The Laborite and Nationalist members let it be known that if the conference was held and they were not represented, they would not feel obliged to abide by its decisions.

Mr. Asquith, Lord Crewe, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Birrell for the Liberals and Mr. Balfour, Lord Landsdowne, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, and Lord Cawdor for the Unionists were the conferees selected. The first meeting was held on June 17 and between that date and July 30, there were eleven conferences. Then, without agreement, the members of the joint commission adjourned until October 11, and following the resumption of the discussions, ten more sessions were held.

From the first, there was a minimum of publicity about the discussions. There was an air of mystery which led to a feeling of distrust among the people. The Laborites feared that the Liberals would agree on a Veto bill less stringent than that proposed by Mr. Asquith, and on June 20, they voted that "the proposals for a revision of the relationships between the two houses of Parliament and the maintenance of the House of Commons, laid down by the veto resolutions passed by the House of Commons on the mandate of the people, will admit of no modification, and we therefore protest against any assumption of authority by the representatives of the two front benches to go behind the decision of the House of Commons."

On November 11, the meetings were discontinued as no agreement had been reached, and one week later, Mr. Asquith announced that the Government had advised his Majesty to dissolve Parliament on November 28. This was done on the date

named, after a ten month's Parliament, the shortest since Mr. Gladstone's home rule Parliament, 25 years ago, and the country was again in the throes of a general election. This began on December 2 and closed on the 19th, with but slight changes in the alignment of parties. The coalition of Liberals, Irish Nationalists and Laborites, united only on the House of Lords issue, had a majority of 126 against a majority of 122 before the election.

But before Parliament was dissolved, resolutions had been introduced in the House of Lords, aiming at a further and more definite reconstruction of that body than those introduced by Lord Roseberry in March, 1910. The first of these embodied the following program:

"That the House of Lords shall consist of the Lords of Parliament,—a part chosen by the whole body of hereditary peers from among themselves and by nomination by the Crown; secondly, those sitting by virtue of their office and qualifications held by them; and finally, a certain number chosen from the outside."

This proposal was amplified in Lord Lansdowne's resolution, adopted by the Lords in November:

"This house is to be reconstituted and reduced in numbers in accordance with the recent resolutions passed by it.

If a difference arises between the two houses with regard to any bill other than a money bill in two successive sessions and within an interval of not less than one year, and such difference cannot be adjusted by any other means, it shall be settled in a joint sitting composed of the members of the two houses; provided that if the difference relates to a matter which is of great gravity and has not been adequately submitted to the judgment of the people, it shall not be referred to a joint sitting, but shall be submitted for decision to the electors by referendum;

The Lords are prepared to forego their constitutional right to reject or amend money bills which are purely financial in character; provided that effectual provision is made against tacking, and provided that if any question arises as to any bill or any provision thereof, that question shall be referred to a joint committee of both houses, with the Speaker of the House of Commons as chairman, who shall have a casting vote only. If

the committee hold that the bill and the provisions in question are not purely financial in character, they shall be dealt with forthwith in a joint sitting of the two houses."

These resolutions were, in essence, amendments to the Veto bill of the Commons, and recognized the principle of the supremacy of the lower house in all financial legislation. They were designed to safeguard, to a greater extent than had been proposed, the powers of the Lords over other legislation, and in payment for this concession, the peers offered to make themselves over.

In the elections, however, the people had showed that they stood firmly with the Government, and so, when in February, Parliament reconvened, the original bill, with scarcely a comma changed, was introduced, and was discussed and futilely amended up to the time of its passage, August 10, with a placid interim for the coronation ceremonies.

On June 26, Lords Lansdowne and Cromer offered two amendments providing for the submission to the people of bills (a) affecting the existence of the Crown or the Protestant succession thereto; (b) the establishment of a National Parliament or National Council with legislative powers in Ireland, Wales, Scotland or England; (c) which in the opinion of the joint committee (proposed in the amendment quoted above), is of great gravity. All were rejected, but England was treated to the spectacle of the Lords asking that the people be made a bulwark against possible radical legislative agression on the part of the Liberals in the Commons.

All of the amendments were rejected in the lower house, and then a deadlock ensued. This was only broken when George V threatened to create enough peers to transform the Unionist majority in the upper chamber into a Liberal majority. In the face of this threat the Lords yielded, and the bill passed. It may be interesting, however, to digress for a moment, and consider the practical value which the creation of peers would have had.

Such a proposal was not new. During the generation following the passage of the Reform bill of 1832, it was felt that a ministry supported by the people, could coerce the Lords by advising the Crown to create enough peers to turn a minority into

a Government majority. In order to pass the Reform bill, Grey's ministry did not have to resort to this method, but the consent of William IV was obtained and the threat was sufficient. The situation in 1911 was parallel: the threat was made, with the consent of the King, and the Lords acquiesced. But what would have been the value of such a move, if the upper house had not yielded?

It is not the House of Commons with which the Lords have been accustomed to come in conflict; it is with the cabinet, which represents, or is intended to represent the will of the people. Both in 1832 and in 1910, a general election had been held and the nation had declared itself in favor of the passage of the bills which the Lords opposed. The only exigency in which the creation of peers would accomplish anything, therefore, must be similar to those cited,—when the Lords are standing out, not merely against the Commons, but against the expressed desires of the people.

The creation of peers would have served to pass the Veto bill. But the House of Lords is not permanently out of accord with the nation; the peers have party affiliations, and when elections are held again, a Conservative majority in the House of Commons and a cabinet of like political faith may be the result. The measures of this Conservative Government would then be thwarted by the preponderance of Liberal peers, created to pass the measures of a Liberal ministry. With the majorities shifting thus, there would not be permanent irritation in the same quarter, but first one party and then the other would claim that the Lords were opposing the popular will. To establish a permanent equilibrium would be impossible; to give each party an equal chance to legislate, a perennial creation of peers would be required, and this, of course, would be impossible. In this country, the political complexion of the Senate can be changed; but In England, the House of Lords has been Conservative for many years, and there are no signs of a change. Changing its makeup, or curbing its powers, is the only method to vitiate this rather obvious constitutional defect. The latter method was the one adopted by Mr. Asquith and his supporters.

The threat in this case, as has been said, was sufficient, and

on August 10, the Government was able to enforce its will on the peerage by the rather narrow vote of 131 to 114. By this vote, the House of Lords decided to accept Viscount Morley's motion and not to insist upon the proposed amendments to the bill.

The voting consumed nearly an hour, and the result trembled in the balance until the last moment. To the votes of between twenty and thirty Conservative peers who cast their ballots with the Liberals in order to save their own caste from loss of prestige by the creation of "puppet" or "black-leg" peers, the Government owes it victory, and the great constitutional struggle which began in earnest when the Lloyd-George budget was rejected in 1909, is ended, for a time at least. But there has been effected a great change in the constitution of Great Britain.

The opinion of the country, expressed in two elections, favored the contention of the Liberals. Both parties agreed that the popular house ought to be supreme in all matters which appertained to finance. The Lords merely maintained, ineffectually, but with a certain amount of justification, that if the Speaker were given the sole power of determining what was a money bill, he would have too much authority and would likely develop into what he has never been,—a strict party man. It was therefore desired to substitute for him a joint committee of the two houses, and this, although important, was merely a technical objection. The second clause of the bill was the one which caused the stiffest fight.

Under the resolutions, the maximum duration of Parliament is shortened to five years, and thus not more than four working sessions are provided. Any bill, other than one relating to fiscal matters, can be delayed by the Lords for two years. They can suggest amendments and these can be accepted by the Government, but unlike formerly, the Lords cannot refuse to pass legislation and thus refer the issue to the people for settlement. In their reconstruction resolutions, they sought this privilege in certain cases.

At the end of two years, any bill becomes a law whether the Lords consent to it or not, provided it has passed the Commons in three successive sessions. The practical effect of this is to make the function of the upper house negative; rejection can

postpone the passage for two years and allow time for more mature consideration. The peers, however, have practically no legislative powers which they can use to force their plans into law. England has virtually adopted a single chamber system of government.

"To-day," cried the London *Daily Mail*, when the resolutions were passed, "the floodgates of revolution are opened and the two-chamber government is swept away. The only satisfaction is that the power of imposing a brief check on reckless legislation has been retained by the Lords.

"The Ministers have made the King the unwilling agent in a coup d'état, but the battle for English liberty has only just begun. Under the lead of Mr. Balfour the Unionists will close their ranks for the supreme effort to restore the balance to our constitution, punish the outrage on the King and repeal the Parliament bill."

This, of course, is the ultra conservative view. No national calamity is likely to result from the passage of the Veto bill. The Liberals merely wanted the same power to enact party legislation which a Conservative Government possesses. There were two ways to achieve this: one was to reconstruct the Lords and the other was to make them politically impotent. The latter way was the one chosen.

During the last debates, the plea was raised that as in the case of the Lloyd George Budget which was rejected in 1909, the peers always yielded to the mandate of a popular election. But this method is cumbersome. Too often, since the Liberals have been in power, and before, the country has had general elections. With a Conservative ministry, the function of the upper house was to consent and not to alter or reject, and only by the passage of the Veto bill could an equal advantage be secured for a Liberal ministry.

In the preamble to the bill, which I have quoted above, the outlined purpose is "to substitute for the House of Lords, as at present constituted, a second chamber on a popular instead of hereditary basis, but as such substitution cannot be immediately brought into operation, the existing powers of the House are to be restricted." At the present time, there is no immediate prospect that this promise will be carried out. If the House of

Lords should be reconstituted on an elective basis, and the Veto bill repealed or made less rigorous, it is agreed that the second chamber would become a stronger and more assertive bulwark against Liberal reforms. Reconstruction would strengthen the barrier which has been removed. The Laborites and Irish Nationalists believe that the preamble should be considered as a *pleasanterie* and forgotten. With the coalition, as it is now made up, their views will be regarded.

So long as the Liberals remain in power, the relations of the two houses will not undergo serious change. But by consenting to the passage of the bill and not compelling George V to create "puppet" peers, the Lords have retained their overwhelming Unionist majority. It is agreed that the House of Lords is too large, too indiscriminate and represents a single class; that this enables the Unionists to make up for reverses suffered in the elections and in the Commons, and that it is not affected by public opinion.

The present Unionist majority will be used when a chance comes for the reorganization of the House or the repeal of the Veto bill, or both, and this will take place when there is a sympathetic majority in the Commons. Reform in the upper chamber, to eradicate the faults I have enumerated above, will then follow, but to my mind, that time is far off. A number of important projects are being considered by the Government. The issue of Home rule, it is announced, will be considered in the near future. A great opportunity is the Liberals'. How will they use it? Upon the answer to this question will depend further changes in the status of the House of Lords.

DeWitt Clinton's Descendants

A writer in one of the New York daily papers recently stated that it would be "necessary to go to Buffalo to find any direct descendants of De Witt Clinton." To this assertion, however, Mr. De Witt Clinton Jones took serious exception, and the evidence which he produced to prove that there are still such descendants much nearer Manhattan than Buffalo cannot fail to find readers among those who are interested in genealogical questions. In this letter Mr. Jones says:

Mrs. Henry L. Clinton, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Spencer Clinton, widow of the late Henry L. Clinton, a prominent lawyer of New York City, though of the same name not in any way connected with the Clinton family of New York, is a granddaughter of the late Governor, being the daughter of the late Hon. George W. Clinton of Buffalo (a son of De Witt Clinton) and Catherine Spencer, his wife, daughter of the late Hon. Ambrose Spencer, and is a resident of New York City.

Katherine J. Clinton Carville, daughter of J. M. Carville and Catherine S. Clinton, his wife, is a great-granddaughter of the Governor, her mother being the eldest daughter of the late Charles A. Clinton and Catherine Hone, his wife, daughter of Philip Hone, Mayor of New York City in 1825, the said Charles A. Clinton being the oldest son of De Witt Clinton. She resides at New Rochelle, Westchester county, N. Y.

The writer of this communication is a son of the late Hon. David S. Jones, a prominent lawyer of his day, Corporation Counsel of New York City, 1813-16, County Judge of Queens County, Trustee of Columbia College, &c., and Mary Clinton, his wife, who was the elder daughter of De Witt Clinton, and with his younger brother, Walter Franklin Jones, are the only grandsons of the Governor, except Spencer Clinton and George Clinton,



DEWITT CLINTON
(From a rare minature)

leading lawyers of Buffalo, and sons of the above-mentioned Hon. George W. Clinton.

De Witt Clinton Jones was born at 1 Bond Street, New York City, 1834, was admitted to the New York Bar in 1859, and has his office at 72 and 74 Trinity Place, New York City. He has resided for several years at Elizabeth, N. J., and in 1860 married Josepha (now deceased) a daughter of the late Prof. William H. Crosby, a son of William Bedloe Crosby, who was the great-nephew of Col. Henry Rutgers and inherited from him a large part of the Rutgers Farm, now comprising the greater portion of the Seventh and part of the Fourth Ward of New York City. He has four children namely:

1. De Witt Clinton Jones, Jr., great-grandson of De Witt Clinton, an officer and Director in the American Dyewood Corporation, whose office is 84 William Street, New York City, but is also a resident of Elizabeth, N. J. In 1891 he married Bessie Duncan, daughter of the late Henry Rutgers Cannon of Elizabeth, and has two children, viz:

a. De Witt Clinton Jones, 3d, a junior at Princeton University. Great-great-grandson of DeWitt Clinton.

b. Rutgers Brevoort Jones, a scholar at the Pingry School, Elizabeth, N. J. Great-great-grandson of De Witt Clinton.

2. Mary Franklin, residing with her father at Elizabeth, N. J. Great-granddaughter of De Witt Clinton.

3. Henry Crosby, residing at West Somers, Westchester County, N. Y. Great-grandson of DeWitt Clinton.

4. Ellen Roosevelt, great-granddaughter of De Witt Clinton. Married Paymaster Frederick Glover Pyne, U. S. N., who is a direct descendant of Gen. Philip Schuyler, and collaterally of Alexander Hamilton.

They have three little boys, viz: a. Frederick Cruger; b. Schuyler Neilson; c. Charles Crosby. Great-great-grandsons of De Witt Clinton. Address, 1,142 Twenty-first Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Walter Franklin Jones, above mentioned, younger son of Hon. David S. Jones and Mary Clinton, his wife, married Henrietta, daughter of Daniel Glover and Mary Cruger, his wife, and has three children, viz: a. Catherine de Nully, great-granddaughter

of De Witt Clinton; b. Walter Clinton, who married Adeline Cortelyou, no issue, great-grandson of De Witt Clinton; c. Mary Cruger, great-granddaughter of DeWitt Clinton. Address of above, Middletown, Conn.

The above are all of the direct living descendants of De Witt Clinton and Maria Franklin, his wife, except the children and grand-children of Hon. George W. Clinton and Catherine Spencer, his wife, for many years Presiding Justice of the Superior Court of Buffalo, N. Y.

I would add that Hon. Samuel Jones, Jr., Assistant Alderman, First Ward of New York City, 1809-17, Recorder of New York City, 1823; Chancellor of the State of New York, 1826-28; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 1828-47, was the eldest brother of Hon. David S. Jones, who were sons of Hon. Samuel Jones.

That Samuel Jones, Jr., was not a classmate of De Witt Clinton, who was the first graduate of Columbia College after the Revolution in the class of 1786, (formerly Kings College), but was a graduate of Columbia College and a member of the class of 1790.

That their father, termed by Chancellor Kent "the Father of the New York Bar," among other important offices was Recorder of New York City, 1789-96, and from 1797 for several years the first Comptroller of the State of New York.

It may be of interest to those interested in the history of New York City, to state that he married Cornelia, a daughter of Hon. Elbert Herring or Haring, as the name is more properly called, the owner of the Herring Farm, which extended from the Bowery to Broadway, between Bleecker Street on the south to beyond Fourth Street on the north, and from Broadway in a northwesterly direction to the North River, containing upward of 100 acres of land, and being next to the Bayard Farm, the most valuable of the old New York farms. And that Great Jones Street, included within the limits of the Herring Farm, was named after Samuel Jones.

The portrait of De Witt Clinton which appears in this number of AMERICANA is a copy of an extremely rare miniature, and has been obtained through the courtesy of Mr. William S. Pelletreau.

Was St. Brendan America's First Discoverer

By Thomas S. Lonergan, Author of "The Golden Age of Ireland," "The Fallacies of Socialism," Etc.

DURING all historic time, the Irish have been noted for their love of adventure and travel, and had commercial intercourse with the leading ports of Europe and Asia for centuries before and after St. Patrick's time, which is proof that they had sailing vessels of no mean order. The conversion of the Irish people to Christianity, in the fifth century, is unique in the annals of Christendom, because it was accomplished by one man and without the shedding of a single drop of human blood—but the discovery of America by Irish monks in the middle of the sixth century is still a mooted question, notwithstanding the historical researches of Irish, French, German and American scholars, which prove that St. Brendan was the first discoverer of this western hemisphere. His expedition was essentially a religious undertaking, as well as the fulfillment of a well-known prophecy.

St. Brendan was born in the year 484, at a place now called Tralee, in the County of Kerry, Ireland. He was the son of Finnlogha, of the race of Ciar, son of Fergus. He was educated by his relative, the Bishop of Erc, who was head of a local monastery at Kerry. When a child, young Brendan was placed in charge of St. Ita, at Killeedy, in the County of Limerick, where he remained for five years, after which he returned to Bishop Erc's monastery, and began his ecclesiastical studies with marked ability. He was sent from there to St. Jarlath's College of Tuan for the purpose of studying the laws and rules of the saints of Ireland, with the injunction to return to Bishop Erc for holy orders, and in due course of time he was ordained.

St. Brendan belonged to what is known as the second order of Irish Saints. Shortly after his ordination, a passionate desire took possession of him to go forth on expeditions for the discovery of strange lands and the salvation of souls. At his ordination the words of St. Luke produced a profound impression on his mind, which subsequently formed his determination to forsake his native country and to embark on a voyage to a mysterious land, far from human ken and beyond a mighty ocean.

It is certain that Irishmen, in ancient days, found their way to the Hebrides, the Shetland and Faroe Islands, and even to Iceland. St. Brendan is said to have visited the Western and Northern Islands, and Brittany in France between 530 and 540. When he returned home the passion to discover the land of Promise, as foretold in St. Patrick's prophecy, was stronger than ever. He went to St. Ita, his old nurse, for counsel, and she advised him to build a ship of wood, and she told him that he would find the distant land beyond the great ocean. He immediately set out for Galway in Connacht, and gathered several of his faithful monks about him, and they there and then began to build a large wooden ship. We are told that they built a peculiar mast in the middle of the ship, and secured all the other rigging for such a craft. They put aboard various kinds of herbs, seeds and provisions. They sailed from Galway along the Irish Coast to the Bay of Kerry.

In 545, according to the Irish annals and the Latin manuscripts, St. Brendan and sixty Irish monks, sailed from the Bay of Kerry, which still bears his name, and after an adventurous voyage, they reached the shores of what is now Virginia or Carolina, and are said to have remained in this western hemisphere for seven years, exploring and preaching the Gospel of Christ to the natives, especially along the shores of the Ohio River. Most probably they trod the soil of New England. The reports of what they saw and endured are simply marvellous. They found a fertile land, thickly wooded and full of birds and flowers, strange animals and strange human beings.

There is every reason to believe that before the close of that eventful century the story of St. Brendan's voyages and discovery was well known in every part of Europe. There are still ex-



ST. BRENDAN

tant thirteen Latin manuscripts in the National Library of Paris which have come down from the tenth century, and contain elaborate accounts of St. Brendan's discovery of America. The Bodlien Library of Oxford and the Nuremburg Library of Germany contain several of the Brendan MSS. There are also versions of the discovery in Gaelic, German, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian.

In the year 1892, the late General Daniel Butterfield, the noted American soldier and scholar, photographed one of the original Latin manuscripts of Brendan in the Bibleothèque Nationale of Paris, which he translated on his arrival in this country, and he subsequently prepared a learned lecture on the subject, which he delivered before the New York Gaelic Society. The translation has been vouched for by Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore as being almost literal.

The manuscript begins with a sketch of St. Brendan's career and of the confession made to him by Father Barindus, which was instrumental in firing the imagination of the great abbot to make a voyage in search of the Land of Promise, which was America. St. Brendan laid his full statement of the confession before the seven wisest counsellors of his community, which concluded in the following words, as translated:

"My Beloved Fellow Warriors: I now ask of you counsel and help, inasmuch as my thoughts and my heart are bent on one desire, if it be the will of God. That land whereof Father Barindus has spoken, is the land of promise of the saints. I have yet set my heart upon. What say you? What counsel do you give me? Their answer was, 'Abbot, your will is ours; have we not left our parents, have we not forsaken our inheritance, have we not delivered ourselves up unto you? Therefore with you we are ready to go unto life or death.' "

They considered the story or confession a revelation to enable them to reach the land, of which Patrick's prophecy had foretold. When once upon the highlands of Munster, and looking out upon the Atlantic Ocean, St. Patrick said that a man of renown should arise in those lands and go out upon the sea and find the promised land. That prophecy has been a household word with the people in the Kerry region for more than fourteen

centuries, and was well known for several years before St. Brendan was born. The traditions of the Brendanian voyages, like Banquo's ghost, will never down, because they are embodied in the literature of many European nations.

The following passage appears in Otway's Sketches, published in Dublin in 1845.

"Brendan, having prosecuted his inquiries with all diligence, returned to his native Kerry, and from a bay sheltered by a lofty mountain, that is now known by his name, he set sail for the Atlantic land and directing his course towards the Southwest, in order to meet the summer solstice, or what we call the 'tropic' after a long and rough voyage, came to summer seas where he was carried without sail or oar for many a long day. This, it is presumed, was the great Gulf Stream and which brought his vessel to shore, somewhere about the Virginia Capes, or where the American coast tends eastward and forms the New England States. There landing, he and his companions marched far into the interior and came to a large river, flowing East and West, which was evidently the Ohio River. After some years' exploration, the holy adventurer was about to cross the river when he was accosted by a person of noble presence (but whether a real or imaginary man does not appear), who told him that he had gone far enough in that direction and that further discoveries were reserved for other men who would in due time come and Christianize all that pleasant land. The above, when tested by common sense, clearly shows that Brendan landed on a continent and went a good way into the interior."

It is now supposed that St. Brendan and his companions soon returned to Ireland. Some writers state that he made a second voyage to this country, but there is no proof for that statement.

In the sagas of Scandinavia, America is called Island Mikla, or "Great Ireland." The Scandinavian records contain an account of three voyages made to America after the time of St. Brendan and before the arrival of Columbus. Voraginius, the Provincial of the Dominicans and Bishop of Genoa in the thirteenth century, devotes much space in his "Golden Legend" to St. Brendan's Land. Wynkyn de Worde, the first English printer, wrote a life of St. Brendan, which was published in 1843,

just nine years before Columbus sailed for Palos. Several Italians, who wrote in the fifteenth century, had much to say about St. Brendan's discovery, and it is to be presumed that the mind of Columbus was well stored with the traditions of America's first discoverer, which had come down through the Middle Ages.

Here are a few sentences spoken by St. Brendan on the banks of what is now supposed to be the Ohio River:

"Behold the land which you have longed for so long a time.

"The reason you saw it not sooner was that God desired to show you the secrets of the ocean.

"Return, therefore, to the land of thy nativity, carrying with you of the fruits and gems of all that your ship will carry, for the days of your journey are near to a close, and you shall sleep with your fathers. But after the lapse of many years this land shall be made known to your descendants, when Christianity shall overcome Pagan persecution. Now, this river which you see divides the land, as it now appears to you rich in fruits, so shall it always appear without any shadow of night, for its light is Christ."

If the foregoing is not positive proof, it is at least pretty good circumstantial evidence of St. Brendan's discovery of this western hemisphere.

Nearly all writers on Columbus bear witness to the traditional value of the voyage of St. Brendan in guiding and inspiring Lief Erickson in the tenth century, and Columbus in the fifteenth, to the discovery of the New World.

The legend of St. Brendan is treated in the general histories of American discovery. In Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," volume I, page 48, there is a list of some of the different texts of the legend. Payne's "History of America" gives a brief summary of the legend. He says: "No story was more popular in the end of the fifteenth century. The critic who does not absolutely reject it, as the Bollandists have done, may take his choice of original versions of it in eight different languages: and St. Brandan occupies ten dense pages in William Caxton's version of the Golden Legend." An English version of the legend was published by the Percy Society in 1844 under

the title, "St. Brandan, a mediæval legend of the sea, in English prose and verse (London, 1844)."

Gaffarel's "Histoire de la dècouverte de l'Amerique," volume I, contains a chapter entitled "Les Islandais en Amerique avant Colomb," in which he gives an extended account of the story of St. Brendan, with references to authorities.

De Roo, in his "History of America Before Columbus," published in 1900, says: "The story of St. Brendan was one of the most remarkable and widely spread of the middle ages. The number of its ancient copies, carefully preserved to the present day, its various translations and its learned commentaries, published of late, sufficiently testify to the living interest which the 'Navigatio' of St. Brendan excited. There is scarcely a MSS. Collection in Europe, of any account, where it cannot be found." There is a copy of the "Navigatio" in the Vatican Library since the Ninth Century. De Roo gives full credence to the St. Brendan narrative.

Learned writers like Moosmuller of Germany, Gravier of France, Palfry and De Costa of America, not to speak of Irish scholars, have written much on St. Brendan and prehistoric America. Cardinal Moran of Australia has recently written a very able work on St. Brendan. O'Donoghue's Brendaniana and Webb's Compendium of Irish Biography make mighty interesting reading.

There are several ancient maps in the European Libraries which mention St. Brendan's Land or "Great Ireland" and those maps are being closely examined by historical students interested in pre-Columbian discoveries.

Columbus himself, while he was endeavoring to fit out his first expedition, wrote these words: "The land of St. Brendan is the land of the Blessed, towards the West, which no one can reach except by the power of God."

It is not too much to claim that the Irish chapter in American history began with St. Brendan. It is to be hoped and expected that the future historians of this Western Hemisphere will recognize Brendan, the Irish monk and famous navigator, as America's first discoverer and give credit to whom credit is due.

There is still extant in the Monastery of St. Gall in Switzer-

land, an ancient MS. containing the prayer of St. Brendan for the safety of himself and his companions in his trans-Atlantic voyage.

"Judging by the ancient documents," says the learned Dane, Professor Rafn, "we can have no doubt that Great Ireland was settled long before the year 1000 by a Christian Colony from Ireland." What Rafn calls Great Ireland, we now call the United States of America. Rafn also claims that a people speaking the Irish language were found in Florida as far back as the eighth century.

The latest book on this subject is by Mrs. Marion Mulhall, the wife of the famous statistician, entitled "Explorers in the New World Before Columbus," recently published by Longmans, Green & Co. Every student of pre-Columbian discoveries ought to read that splendid work, which deals with a mighty interesting theme in the field of historical research.

In the sixteenth century, traces of Gaelic speech and a knowledge of the poems of Ossian were discovered among the Indians of Florida. Ossian was an Irish poet who flourished two centuries before St. Brendan was born. Both Thomas Jefferson and Napoleon considered him the greatest poet that ever lived.

In the light of modern historical research, it is absurd to claim that Columbus was the first discoverer of America. I am fully satisfied that Lief Erickson and his Norsemen from the islands of the Baltic discovered this Continent 500 years before Columbus; and I am as fully convinced that St. Brendan and his Irish Monks landed on the shores of this country about the middle of the sixth century. Owing to the fact that no permanent settlement or lasting results came from these discoveries, therefore they do not take a jot or tittle from the achievement of Christopher Columbus, whose name and fame are bound to live forever in the annals of the human race.

The Oxford University press has just published a number of Irish manuscripts in the English language which have been in the Bodlien Library for centuries. Some of those Gaelic manuscripts also refer to the Brendanian voyages and discoveries.

The early Portuguese explorers believed in the existence of the El Dorado, the undiscovered country of St. Brendan. The

strongest proof of this is that when the Crown of Portugal was ceded to the Castilians, the treaty included St. Brendan's land as a certain future discovery.

The high religious reputation and singular fame of St. Brendan gave considerable value to his manuscripts, from which sprang up a unique literature, that planted in the brain of Columbus a desire to find the long lost Land of Promise, which he eventually discovered in the year 1492, a year forever memorable in the history of civilization.

Why is it that nearly all the original Brendan manuscripts are in the Latin tongue? Chambers in his "Cyclopedia of English Literature" gives an excellent explanation: "The first unquestionably real author of distinction is St. Columbanus, a native of Ireland, who contributed greatly to the advance of Christianity in Western Europe and died in 615. He wrote religious treatises and Latin poetry. As yet no educated writer composed in his vernacular tongue. It was generally despised by the literary class, and Latin was held to be the only language fit for regular composition."

Both Columbanus and Columkill or Columba were contemporaries of St. Brendan. Doubtless St. Brendan was an accomplished Latin scholar. Throughout Europe, during the Middle Ages, Brendan's voyage was a most popular subject in church literature. The Brendanian Manuscripts are still locked up in the various libraries of Europe, and only a few of them have been translated into any of the modern languages. It is to be hoped that some of the great scholars of Germany, as well as those of Ireland, will soon turn their attention to those old manuscripts. The Book of Lismore contains a life of Brendan in the Gaelic language, and the annals of Clonmacnoise devote considerable space to the career and achievements of the famous navigator.

In view of St. Patrick's propheey, which was fulfilled by St. Brendan's voyage, it is a singular fact that the Atlantic Cable was laid by Cyrus W. Field in 1857 within sight of Mount Brendan, which stands out in bold relief on the Irish coast, at an altitude of fully three thousand feet, overlooking the Atlantic Ocean.

In childhood young Brendan inhaled the ocean breezes, and

was familiar with the magnificent scenery of his native Kerry. At the foot of his mountain retreat was Brendan Bay, from which he sailed for this Western continent almost fourteen centuries ago.

The Sailor Saint is known as St. Brendan the Elder, in contradistinction to St. Brendin, the Abbot or Bishop of Birr. Some writers have confounded those two illustrious Irishmen who flourished in the same century.

Many beautiful poems on "The Sailor Saint" are to be found in the modern languages of Continental Europe, and some historical ballads by Denis Florence McCarthy, Thos. Darcy McGee and others in the English language. Here is one stanza from McGee's well-known ballad:

"Mo-Brendan, Saint of Sailors, list to me,
And give thy benediction to our bark,
For still, they say, thou savest souls at sea,
And lightest signal fires in tempest dark.
Thou sought'st the Promised Land far in the West,
Earthing the Sun, chasing Hesperian on,
But we in our own Ireland have been blest
Nor ever sighed for land beyond the Sun."

It has been recently pointed out by a writer on the subject that the ancient Irish would have turned the discoveries of St. Brendan to good account, and would have kept up communication with America, if their attention had not been drawn to the severe combat carried on in England between the Britons and the Saxons. Then, at a later period, the Danes invaded Ireland, and for almost 300 years the Irish at home were engaged in continuous warfare against those Pagan marauders, and consequently were in no position to carry out any great peaceful enterprise in distant lands.

In the year 553, St. Brendan founded the famous monastery of Clonfert, in the County Galway, Ireland. In after years that seat of learning had over 3,000 students within its walls, most of whom came from foreign countries. They were educated and entertained without fee or reward, and the same was true of all

the other great schools and colleges during the Golden Age of Ireland, which embraced the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. History tells us that Ireland was then "the school of the West, and the quiet habitation of sanctity and learning."

During that age, "the monasteries at Bangor, Clonfert and elsewhere," says Montalembert in his "Monks of the West," "became entire towns, each of which enclosed more than 3,000 students. The Thebaid reappeared in Ireland, and the West had no longer anything to envy in the history of the East. There was besides an intellectual development, which the Eremites of Egypt had not known. The Irish communities joined by the monks from Gaul and Rome, whom the example of St. Patrick had drawn upon his steps, entered into rivalry with the great monastic schools of Gaul. They explained Ovid there; they copied Virgil, they devoted themselves especially to Greek literature; they drew back from no inquiry, no discussion; they gloried in placing boldness on a level with faith."

Religion and education went hand in hand in ancient Ireland from the birth of St. Brendan in 484 to the Danish invasion, which took place in the closing years of the eighth century. In that period Ireland was the most learned country in all Europe. The fame of her schools had travelled far and wide. The languages of Greece and Rome, as well as her old Gaelic tongue, were studied and mastered, and thousands of pilgrim students came to her shores, among them were Alfrid, King of Northumbria, and Dagobert II., King of France.

Love of learning has been an Irish attribute from time immemorial; no mind, not even the Athenian, had ever a greater thirst for knowledge than the Irish mind. Ossian, who lived in the third century of the Christian Era, is to Gaelic literature what Homer is to Greek literature. Intellectual vigor, spiritual fervor and love for travel have been and still are the predominant characteristics of the Irish. Wherever the Irish monks went they founded monasteries, churches and colleges, and laid the foundation for modern civilization and culture. The truest history of Ireland is to be found in the poetry of her bards and in the writings of her exiled monks. For proof see Zimmer's

"Irish Element in Medieval Culture" and Hyde's "Literary History of Ireland."

St. Columkill, a contemporary of St. Brendan, has been called the father of monasticism in the British Isles. He and Columbanus are acknowledged to be the two most learned men of their age. It is a well established fact that St. Brendan visited his countryman, Columkill, at his monastery at Iona on the west coast of Scotland in 564. On that occasion he founded two monasteries in Scotland. He also travelled in Wales and England, where he founded some churches and schools and converted thousands to the Christian faith. He built the Monastery of Ailech in Britain, which is now called St. Malo. That was several years before St. Augustine landed on British soil. So we see that Lecky was justified in stating that "England owes a great deal of her Christianity to Irish monks, who labored among her people before the arrival of Augustine."

Most of the history which has been written during the past four centuries has been a conspiracy against truth, but in these opening years of the twentieth century history is being rewritten in the light of historical research, and in keeping with the spirit of truth and justice. The late Lord Acton was the pioneer, and his example is being followed by some of the great scholars of Germany and other European countries, which may through a flood of light on the chronicles and traditions of St. Brendan, as well as on the golden Age of Hibernia.

St. Brendan attended the inauguration of Aedh Caemh (anglicized Hugh Keeffe), the first Christian King of Cashel in Tipperary in 570, when he took the place of the official bard, who was a Pagan. On that occasion he converted the bard to Christianity and gave him the name of Colman, now known as St. Colman of Cloyne, in whose honor St. Colman's College at Fermoy was named.

According to Ussher, St. Brendan died at Annadown in 577 in the 94th year of his age, and was buried in his own monastery at Clonfert. His day on the calendar is May 16—a day forever sacred to the memory of Hibernia's greatest navigator. No complete compilation of biographical work fails to mention the name

of St. Brendan, who is preëminently the mariner saint of the calendar.

The literary fame of historic Clonfert is known only to the students of history. Most of the precious manuscripts of that great institution of learning were destroyed by the Danes and Anglo-Normans centuries ago, and its walls have long since crumbled into ruins.

"Clonfert," says the scholarly Butterfield, "should be dear to all Americans, because our first discoverer was Clonfert's Bishop. The Sea of Clonfert will doubtless remain during future ages as a shrine of pilgrimage to numberless tourists, for it holds in its midst an honored grave, where rests the dust of the patriarchal navigator who first designated this hemisphere as a paradise of loveliness, to give happy homes and altars free to the myriad outcasts of the human family."

During the past two centuries, countless thousands of Erin's sons and daughters have found happy homes and civil and religious liberty in "Brendan's Land," now and forevermore the land of Washington, which has been for more than a century and a quarter an asylum for the poor and oppressed of every race and every clime.

Owing to the ruthless destruction of vast numbers of ancient Irish archives by the Danes and English, our knowledge of the first discovery of America is not as exact as could be desired, yet there is enough known to justify Americans, regardless of race or creed, in claiming the honor of that discovery for St. Brendan and his sailor monks, almost a thousand years before Columbus landed on the soil of San Salvador.*

*Printed by courtesy of the American-Irish Historical Society.

Empire State

BY DESIRE STANTON

(It was this poem which was awarded the $100 prize offered by Mr. Arthur E. Stillwell, president of the American Land and Irrigation Company.—Ed.)

I

Empire State! of the glory far shining
Where Liberty's torch lights the gate;
Where the sun gilds, in westward declining,
A forest of masts with their freight
Of the brave, who have fared o'er the ocean
To cast in their lot with the free—
Wealth commercial through calm or commotion
Brings argosies sailing to thee!

CHORUS

Star spangled, the red, white and blue!
Unconquered, the red, white and blue!
O best of the old and the new world,
God bless the proud banner unfurled!
Ex-cel-sior!

II

Empire State! Where the green woodland calleth
To the redmen who roamed there of yore—
"Nations Six" (where Niagara falleth),
Lost in mist that enshroudeth her shore!

Thine the orange of Holland's brave seamen,
Nations all bring to thee of their best;
Rearing cities aspiring, the freemen
Etch strong on the sky every crest.

III

Empire State! Days heroic bestowing!
Thou hast seen, o'er gray green palisades—
Where Hudson, majestic, is flowing—
Crimson war rolling on through the glades;
Now the sons of the heroes assemble,
Powers of earth, sea and air they release;
Spanning arch, shimmering wire a-tremble—
The silver meshed victories of peace!

IV

O imperial! With pure hands she blesses;
Fair her feet lead toward kingdoms to be;
Niagara's bright bow in her tresses,
Diana like, fearless and free;
Purple grapes and vine leaves her zone twining,
Silver mirrored in Erie, again
Face lighted with splendor, clear shining—
Mighty mother and moulder of men!

V

From the storm kings that reign in the highlands—
Learning's gates; hall where Fame never dies;
From green nests of far Thousand Islands;
Where towers of industry rise;
From the monarchs of rail and of river;
From Ontario to sea girt Montauk,
The paean arises forever—
Hail, queen of all Statehood, New York.

The Little Wars of the Republic

BY JOHN R. MEADER

PART XIV—THE CHRISTIANA RIOT

WHILE it has been somewhat commonly supposed that the celebrated raid of John Brown represented the first bloodshed of the Civil War, the celebration of the Christiana Riot by the Lancaster County Historical Society, in September, recalled the fact that the first blow for the freedom of the slave was actually struck at Christiana, Pa., several years before the outbreak at Harper's Ferry. It was not a "war" as the word is ordinarily applied—it was scarcely a "riot" in the general acceptance of the term. Indeed, it was little more than an attempt to protect, or prevent the capture of a few runaway slaves, yet the occasion will always be memorable for the fact that it exerted a tremendous influence upon events in the decade immediately preceding the War of the Rebellion by helping to intensify the feeling already existing in regard to the question of slavery as well as the popular antagonism to the Fugitive Slave Law.

It must not be imagined that the North and the South stood as a unit upon this question even at that late day. There were Southerners who firmly believed that slavery was a Divine institution and who found their religious faith no bar to the privilege of holding property in man. There were those in the North who thoroughly sympathized with this opinion, just as there were Southern men and women who were either opposed to the institution of slavery on general principles or who, for economic reasons, would have welcomed any effort to free the slaves by peaceful means. When the time came to fight, therefore, many of the

MAP
showing the lines of the
UNDERGROUND RAILROAD
IN
Chester and the Neighboring
Counties of Pennsylvania
Based on R. C. Smedley's History of
the Underground Railroad
BUCKS
CHESTER
DELAWARE
LANCASTER
YORK
Reading
Harrisburg
Columbia
Lancaster
Wrightsville
York
Gettysburg
Mr. Jackson
T. Lewis
Daniel Gibbon
Thomas Wilkins
Lindley Coates
Morristown
Schwarm
Phoenixville
Downingtown
Lionville
Parkesburg
Dartmouth
Bradford
Wilmington
Newcastle
Havre de Grace
Baltimore
Susquehanna
SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 4 5
10
20

latter cast their fortunes with their friends, for there were other principles at stake beside that of slavery and upon these issues the vast majority of the citizens of the South stood together.

It was at this time, too, that the economic necessity of slavery was impressing itself upon this section of the country more imperatively than ever before. The deportation of the Indians from the Gulf States, and the opportunity to settle and cultivate the territory that they had occupied, naturally increased the demand for slave labor. As the result, the prices of slaves increased so materially that sales of black men and women became more and more frequent. Early in the century the patriarchal form that slavery has assumed did much to mitigate its evil effects, especially in regard to the separation of families, but with the slave market offering such tempting possibilities for profit, the relations between the enslaved blacks and their masters gradually changed for the worse, thus giving the anti-slavery folk a stronger excuse for their activities.

Among all the anti-slavery enthusiasts none was more uncompromising in his opposition to this institution than those who composed the small settlement of Quakers near Christiana, Pa. For some twenty years, and especially since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, in 1850, they had maintained one of the most important stations on the so-called Underground Railway, by means of which the fugitives from the South were helped on their way to freedom.

According to the system in vogue, those who were interested in aiding the escape of the slaves travelled through the South, sometimes as cattle buyers, sometimes in other roles that seemed unlikely to attract suspicion. Through these men the slaves learned the way to freedom: that they should follow the north star by night and sleep in the woods or outhouses by day until they had crossed the Susquehanna River at the Columbia bridge. Here it would be easy for them to find an agent of the Underground Railway, after which they would be well cared for until they were removed from the danger zone. Levi Coffin, a man prominent in the Society of Friends, was reputed to be the head of this "Underground" system, but those who were most conspicuous in its operations near Christiana were Lindley Coates

and Thomas Whitson, their homes being marked on the "map" of the "Underground" as safe stations at which to apply for assistance.

In their work the white men were vigorously assisted by a remarkably intelligent colored man, William Parker by name, who for years had been engaged in organizing the negroes of that section of the country with a view to more effectively helping their friends escape from the slave States. Much of Parker's enthusiasm and eloquence was doubtless due to the fact that he himself had been born and raised in slavery. As he stated in a sketch of his life written by one of his friends, he had been deprived of his mother's care at so early an age that he could not remember her. As a child on a Maryland plantation, he had had ample opportunity to witness the horrible effects of the system, and the wailing and lamentations of families who were parted by the auction block constantly fed his steadily increasing desire to be free.

Although he had received no education and practically no moral instructions, he was naturally so conscientious that he felt that it would be wrong for him to try to escape unless he was given a strong reason for such an act, but when, one day, his master flew at him with ox-goad, he tore the weapon from his hands, struck him with it, and hid himself in the woods through which he eventually made his way to the North, where he soon made himself so valuable an ally of the Underground Railway system that the Quakers who directed its operations were glad to make use of his services.

According to authentic descriptions, Parker was a man who did not know the meaning of the word "fear." Although he had been face to face with the most dangerous conditions on several occasions, he had put through his desperate ventures successfully. As one writer has said: "When it was necessary he laid about him like Samson among the Philistines, and his great strength invariably won him the victory. With a blow of his fist he had once broken the arm of a man who had been about to put a bullet through his head, and he had in general the reputation of being a stanch friend and a most redoubtable foe."

At this period in its history the Underground Railway of

Pennsylvania had come to be so well organized that there were few emergencies with which it was not competent to cope. As the head of the Vigilance Committee, William Still, an employee of the Philadelphia post office, had his agents and spies everywhere. Fugitives were daily brought to him through the agency of the Underground road; scarcely a Northern boat reached Philadelphia from the South without at least one run-away slave concealed on board; occasionally they sought him out in person, having arrived at Philadelphia by some strange means, perhaps concealed beneath a load of market truck in a farmer's wagon, and, once in a while the run-away was delivered to him, securely packed in a box, by the express company. In other words, no step was too desperate for a fugitive slave to take if it offered the smallest possibility of ultimate freedom.

From this it is easy to imagine what sort of conditions prevailed on that night in September, 1851, when four fugitive slaves reached the home of Parker. They were Nelson Ford, Joshua and George Hammond and Noah Buley, all of whom had escaped from the plantation of Edward Gorsuch, in Maryland, and were on their way to Canada. As they were footsore and weary, it was arranged that they should remain in hiding at Parker's house for a few days, for no one suspected that their presence was known.

So far from being in ignorance as to the direction his slaves had taken, however, Gorsuch seems to have had extremely accurate information as to their whereabouts, for immediately upon his arrival he secured a warrant for the arrest of the four men under the Fugitive Slave Law and the papers were given to United States Deputy Marshal Kline to execute.

Fortunately for the fugitives, news that the warrants had been issued reached the ears of one of Still's secret agents—a colored tavern keeper in Philadelphia—and it was through his efforts that warning was brought to the Abolitionists at Christiana, but before arrangements could be perfected to transport the strangers further north, the Marshal and his party, which was composed of Edward Gorsuch, Dickerson Gorsuch, his son, Joshua Gorsuch, a nephew, Dr. Thomas Pearce, a neighbor, and two

men who had been employed by the Marshal, arrived at the house in which the negroes were concealed.

As fears had been entertained that the Marshal might appear during the night, a guard had been set to watch for him, and the arrival of the party was promptly reported to the inmates of the house. Immediately Parker stepped out to meet them, and to ask who they were. Kline replied that he was the United States Marshal, but Parker retorted with a warning to come no nearer if he valued his life.

"I repeat," said Kline, "that I am the United States Marshal!"

"I heard you, "answered Parker," but I don't care for you or for the United States."

During the confusion in the house due to the fact that one of the negroes insisted that they ought to respect the law, Gorsuch recognized the voice of one of his slaves, Nelson Ford, and called upon him to come out and submit to arrest. To this Ford replied:

"You cannot take us without walking over our dead bodies" —a sentiment that was cheered by the other fugitives and their protectors.

At the Marshal's request, Parker stood quietly on the steps of the house while the warrant was read, but as this seemed to have no effect upon him, Kline tried to argue with him, and, finally, losing his temper, threatened to burn the house.

"Go ahead," Parker responded, "you may burn us but you can't take us alive."

By this time it was daylight, and Parker's wife suggested that they ought to "blow the horn." As this was a signal which meant that the negroes and white Abolitionists should immediately assemble, armed and ready to fight, the Marshal threatened to shoot any person who attempted to sound it, and when Mrs. Parker, disregarding his threat, opened the window and blew upon the horn loudly, he gave the command to shoot, but none of the bullets struck her as she was crouching below the sill.

As Kline had feared, the signal was promptly answered, both negroes and whites coming from all directions. Among the white men were Elijah Lewis and Castner Hanaway, a Southern Abo-

litionist, and when the Marshal commanded them to assist him in capturing the party in the house they refused to obey him, an act which later led to their arrest on the charge of treason.

Up to this period, the engagement had been conducted verbally, and it is not easy to say how the actual fighting commenced. According to one report, Parker and four other men stepped out of doors and dared the attacking party to take them, and that, in the argument that followed, the son of the planter took exception to what he termed "the insults of a nigger," and drawing his pistol shot at Parker. The bullet passed so close to his head that it clapped his hair, and, an instant later, Dickerson Gorsuch was on the ground beneath him.

According to the general report it was this act that started the fight, and when, after a few minutes, the battle ended, the elder Gorsuch was dead and Dickerson Gorsuch and Dr. Pearce were seriously wounded. The former would also have been killed if it had not been for the intervention of Joseph Scarlett, a Quaker, who drove the excited and vindicative negroes from him as he lay on the ground in an unconscious condition.

Once the battle was over, the Herculean Parker, who had fought so desperately, became as gentle and kind-hearted as a child. It was he who dressed the wounds of the injured men, and, after giving them all the relief that his house could afford, he helped to carry them to the homes of neighboring Quakers, where they were tenderly nursed and restored to health by the Abolitionists.

Had it been possible for Dickerson Gorsuch to have had his way it is probable that no further action would have been taken against the rioters and their supporters, for a warm friendship developed between the Abolitionists and the young Southerner as he lay ill at the home of Levi Pownell. For Parker, too, he came to feel only the most friendly sentiments, for the gigantic colored man continued to play the role of nurse, sitting by his bedside and ministering to him as tenderly as a woman, until he was persuaded to seek safety for himself in flight to Canada, where he remained until his death.

This course was necessitated by the action of the Federal Government. When notified by the Marshal that armed resist-

ance had been offered by the Abolitionists to prevent the service of his warrant, the matter was brought to the attention of the President and a company of forty-five marines was ordered to proceed to Christiana and aid in the arrest of all the rioters. Warned in this step, Parker took the advice of his friends and fled during the night, but thirty-five negroes were arrested, as well as three Quakers, Lewis, Hanaway, and Scarlett. An effort was also made to secure documentary evidence concerning the operation of the Underground Railroad, but though Parker's house was carefully searched by the authorities, the proof for which they were seeking, if it had ever existed, had been thoroughly destroyed. Upon the body of the dead planter, Edward Gorsuch, however, was found a written list of the persons, both black and white, who had shown marked activity in the movement to free the slaves, and the handwriting was at once recognized as that of a man who had professed complete sympathy with the efforts of the Abolitionists. With such evidence to establish his guilt, it would probably have gone hard with this spy if he also had not disappeared that night under cover of the darkness.

The trial of the three Quakers for treason was before Judges Grier and Kane in Philadelphia. United States District Attorney Ashmead, R. J. Brent and W. B. Fordney appeared as prosecutors for the Government, while Thaddeus Stevens, Theodore Cuyler, Joseph J. Lewis and John M. Reed were counsel for the defendants. The case against Hanaway was first called, and it was determined that its disposition should settle all the others. It lasted for fifteen days.

In his address to the jury, Mr. Cuyler argued that the facts did not sustain the charge of treason, and, in the course of his remarks, he said, sarcastically: "Did you hear it? That three harmless, non-resisting Quakers and eight and thirty wretched, miserable, penniless negroes, armed with corn-cutters, clubs, and a few muskets, and headed by a miller, in a felt hat, without a coat, without arms, and mounted on a sorrel nag, levied war against the United States? Blessed be God that our Union has survived the shock."

In his charge to the jury, Judge Grier admitted the unsound-

ness of the indictment and demonstrated that the efforts of a band of fugitive slaves to prevent the re-capture of any of their number, even though they were assisted by friends, and went to the length of committing murder upon their pursuers, could not be called an act "of levying war against the Nation," as it was clearly for a personal and private object. At the same time, the Judge took occasion to denounce the Abolitionists, and especially William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, and Charles C. Burleigh, depicting them as "male and female vagrant lecturers," and "infuriated fanatics and unprincipled demagogues."

Despite his very apparent lack of sympathy with the anti-slavery movement, his position regarding the law in its bearings upon the Christiana Riot was so clear that the jury returned its verdict of "not guilty" in less than twenty minutes. Immediately Mr. Ashmead addressed the Court, saying:

"May it please your Honor, it is not my intention to try the cases of the other defendants who are in custody, charged with having committed high treason against the United States. Judge Grier has decided that taking the whole of the evidence given on the part of the Government in their trial of Hanaway to be true, it does not constitute the crime charged in the indictment. It does show, however, that the facts proved make out the offence of riot and murder, and that they are cognizant only in the State Court. Under these circumstances it is my design to enter a *nolle prosequi* on all the untried bills for treason, and to transfer the custody of the prisoners to the County of Lancaster, and to await the result of such proceedings as the authorities may deem it necessary to institute."

To all intents and purposes this ended the Christiana Riot. The prisoners were transferred to Lancaster, where they were detained for a short time, but when the Grand Jury failed to indict them, they were released, the general opinion prevailing that the opinion of the Court showed clearly that the Fugitive Slave Law was obnoxious to the people of the North and that its enforcement was impossible.

To-day, the only person living who participated in this small "war" is Peter Woods, a negro farmer who resides in the

southern part of Lancaster county. He was but a boy at the time he went to Parker's house prepared to prevent the capture of the four fugitives with his life, but armed only with a corn-cutter.

Lincoln's Last Laugh

MRS. DOROTHY LAMON TEILLARD has recently republished the celebrated "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln,"* written by her father, Ward Hill Lamon, who was Mr. Lincoln's law partner in Illinois and who afterwards held several responsible administrative offices. While many persons knew the President in his routine duties, few knew the man Lincoln, better than Colonel Lamon, and his "Recollections" are more in the nature of a human document than a history, although all the facts which they present are admittedly historically correct.

It is impossible in any brief space to give a comprehensive description of the wide scope of this remarkable book. To those who wish to know the real Lincoln, this work affords an opportunity for an intimate acquaintance with the character of the "War President," and no student should neglect to read it. The following extract taken from Col. Lamon's "Recollections" gives a slight idea of the intimate quality which pervades its pages:

"Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by his wife, Miss Harris and Maj. Rathbone, of Albany, New York, was occupying a box at Ford's Theatre, in the city of Washington. The play was "Our American Cousin" with the elder Sothern in the principal rôle. Mr. Lincoln was enjoying it greatly. Lee had surrendered on the 9th; on the 13th the war was everywhere regarded as ended, and upon that day Secretary Stanton had telgraphed to Gen. Dix, Governor of New York, requesting him to stop the draft.

*Memorial Edition "Recollections of Abraham Lincoln;" 1847-1865. By Ward Hill Lamon. 352 pp., 22 illustrations. Price $1.50. Edited and published by Dorothy Lamon Teillard, 2020 15th Street, Washington, D. C.

Sothern as Lord Dundreary was at his best. Lincoln was delighted. The lines which care and responsibility had so deeply graven on his brow, were now scarcely visible. His people had just passed through the greatest civil war known in the history of nations and he had become well convinced that now, the cause of strife being destroyed, the government over which he was ruling would be made stronger, greater and better by the crucial test through which it had passed. Before leaving for the theatre he had pronounced it the happiest day of his life. He looked, indeed, as if he now fully realized the consummation of the long cherished and fondest aspiration of his heart. He was at length the undisputed Chief Magistrate of a confederation of States, constituting the freest and most powerful commonwealth of modern times.

"At some part of the performance Sothern appeared on the stage with Miss Meridith, the heroine, on one arm and a wrap or shawl carelessly thrown over the other. The latter seats herself upon a garden lounge placed on the stage near the box occupied by the President on this occasion. Lord Dundreary retires a few paces distant from the rustic seat when Miss Meridith, glancing languidly at his lordship, exclaimed: 'Me lord, will you kindly throw my shawl over my shoulders—there appears to be a draught here.' Sothern, at once complying with her request, advanced with the mincing step that immortalized him; and with a merry twinkle of the eye, and a significant glance directed at Mr. Lincoln, responded in the happy impromptu: 'You are mistaken, Miss Mary, the draft has already been stopped by order of the President.' This sally caused Mr. Lincoln to laugh, as few except himself could laugh, and an outburst of merriment resounded from all parts of the house. It was Mr. Lincoln's last laugh!"

No one knew better than Mr. Lincoln that genuine humor is "a plaster that heals many a wound;" and certainly no man ever had a larger stock of that healing balm or knew better how to use it. His old friend I. N. Arnold once remarked that Lincoln's laugh had been his "life-preserver." Wit, with that illustrious man, was a jewel whose mirth-moving flashes he could no more

repress than the diamond can extinguish its own brilliancy. In no sense was he vain of his superb ability as a wit and story-teller.

Noah Brooks says in an article written for Harper's Monthly, three months after Mr. Lincoln's death, that the President once said that, as near as he could reckon, about one-sixth only of the stories credited to him were old acquaintances—all the others were the productions of other and better story-tellers than himself. "I remember," said he, "a good story when I hear it; but I never invented anything original. I am only a retail-dealer." No man was readier than he to acknowledge the force of Shakespeare's famous lines:

> "A jest's prosperity lies in the ear
> Of him that hears it; never in the tongue
> Of him that makes it."

Mr. Lincoln's stories were generally told with a well-defined purpose—to cheer the drooping spirits of a friend; to lighten the weight of his own melancholy,—"a pinch, as it were of mental snuff,"—to clinch an argument, to expose a fallacy, or to disarm an antagonist; but most frequently he employed them simply as "labor-saving contrivances." He believed, with the great Ulysses of old that there is naught "so tedious as a twice-told tale;" and during my long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln I seldom heard him relate a story the second time. The most trifling circumstances, or even a word, was enough to remind him of a story, the aptness of which no one could fail to see. He cared little about high-flown words, fine phrases, or merely ornamental diction; and yet, for one wholly without scholastic training, he was master of a style which was remarkable for purity, terseness, vigor, and force. As Antenor said of the Grecian king, "he spoke no more than just the thing he thought;" and that thought he clothed in the simplest garb, often sacrificing the elegant and poetic for the homely and prosaic in the structure of his sentences.

In one of his messages to Congress Mr. Lincoln used the term "sugar-coated." When the document was placed in the hands of

the public printed, Hon. John D. Defress, that officer was terribly shocked and offended. Mr. Defress was an accomplished scholar, a man of fastidious taste, and a devoted friend of the President, with whom he was on terms of great intimacy. It would never do to leave the forbidden term in the message; it must be expunged—otherwise it would forever remain a ruinous blot on the fair fame of the President. In great distress and mortification the good Defrees hurried away to the White House, where he told Mr. Lincoln plainly that "sugar-coated" was not in good taste.

"You ought to remember, Mr. President," said he, "that a message to the Congress of the United States is quite a different thing from a speech before a mass meeting in Illinois; that such messages become a part of the history of the country, and should therefore, be written with scrupulous care and propriety. Such an expression in a State paper is undignified, and if I were you I would alter the structure of the whole sentence."

Mr. Lincoln laughed, and then said with a comical show of gravity: "John, that term expresses precisely my idea, and I am not going to change it. 'Sugar-coated' must stand! The time will never come in this country when the people will not understand exactly what 'sugar-coated' means."

Mr. Defrees was obliged to yield, and the message was printed without amendment.

One day at a critical stage of the war, Mr. Lincoln sat in his office in deep meditation. Being suddenly aroused, he said to a gentleman whose presence he had not until that moment observed: "Do you know that I think General —— is a philosopher? He has proved himself a really great man. He has grappled with and mastered that ancient and wise admonition, 'Know thyself;' he has formed an intimate acquaintance with himself, knows as well for what he is fitted and unfitted as any man living. Without doubt he is a remarkable man. This war has not produced another like him."

"Why is it, Mr. President," asked his friend, "that you are now so highly pleased with General ———? Has your mind not undergone a change?"

"Because," replied Mr. Lincoln, with a merry twinkle of the

eye, "greatly to my relief, and to the interests of the country, he has resigned. And now I hope some other dress-parade commanders will study the good old admonition, 'Know thyself,' and follow his example."

On the 3rd of February, 1865, during the so-called Peace Conference at Hampton Roads between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward on the one side and the Messrs. Stephens, Campbell and Hunter on the other, Mr. Hunter remarked that the recognition of the Confederate government by President Lincoln was indispensable as the first step towards peace; and he made an ingenious argument in support of his proposition, citing as a precedent for the guidance of constitutional rulers in dealing with insurgents the case of Charles I and his rebel Parliament. This reference to King Charles as a model for imitation by a President of the United States was a little unfortunate, but Mr. Lincoln was more amused than offended by it. Turning to Mr. Hunter he said: "On the question of history I must refer you to Mr. Seward, who is posted in such matters. I don't pretend to be; but I have tolerably distinct recollection, in the case you refer to, that Charles lost his head, and I have no head to spare."

Mr. Hunter, during the same conference, in speaking of emancipation, remarked that the slaves had always been accustomed to work on compulsion, under an overseer; and he apprehended they would, if suddenly set free, precipitate themselves and the whole social fabric of the South into irretrievable ruin. In this case neither the whites nor the blacks would work. They would all starve together. To this Mr. Lincoln replied, "Mr. Hunter, you ought to know a great deal more about this matter than I do, for you have always lived under the slave system. But the way you state the case reminds me of an Illinois farmer who was not over-fond of work, but was an adept in shirking. To this end he conceived a brilliant scheme of hog culture. Having a good farm, he bought a large herd of swine. He planted an immense field in potatoes, with the view of turning the whole herd into it late in the fall, supposing they would be able to provide for themselves during the winter. One day his scheme was discussed between himself and a neighbor, who asked him how the thing would work when the ground was frozen one or two feet deep.

He had not thought of that contingency, and seemed perplexed over it. At length he answered: 'Well, it will be a leetle hard on their snouts, I reckon; but them shoats will have to root, hog or die.' And so," concluded Mr. Lincoln, "in the dire contingency you name, whites and black alike will have to look out for themselves; and I have an abiding faith that they will go about it in a fashion that will undeceive you in a very agreeable way."

During the same conference, in response to certain remarks by the Confederate commissioners requiring explicit contradiction, Mr. Lincoln animadverted with some severity upon the conduct of the rebel leaders, and closed with the statement that they had plainly forfeited all right to immunity from the punishment for the highest crime known to the law. Being positive and unequivocal in stating his views concerning individual treason, his words seemed to fall upon the commissioners with ominous import. There was a pause, during which Mr. Hunter regarded the speaker with a steady, searching look. At length, carefully measuring his own words, Mr. Hunter said: "Then, Mr. President, if we understand you correctly, you think that we of the Confederacy have committed treason; that we are traitors to your government; that we have forfeited our rights, and are proper subjects for the hangman. Is not that about what your words imply?"

"Yes," said Mr. Lincoln, "you have stated the proposition better than I did. That is about the size of it!"

There was another pause, and a painful one, after which Mr. Hunter with a pleasant smile, replied: "Well, Mr. Lincoln, we have about concluded that we shall not be hanged as long as you are President—if we behave ourselves."

There is here as high a compliment as could have been paid to Mr. Lincoln—a trust in his magnanimity and goodness of heart. From the gentleness of his character, such were the sentiments he inspired even among his enemies,—that he was incapable of inflicting pain, punishment, or injury if it could possibly be avoided; that he was always resolutely merciful and forebearing.

On his return to Washington after this conference, Mr. Lincoln recounted the pleasure he had in meeting Alexander H.

Stephens, who was an invalid all his life; and in commenting upon his attenuated appearance as he looked after emerging from layers of overcoats and comforters, Mr. Lincoln said: "Was there ever such a nubbi after so much shucking?"

At one time when very lively scenes were being enacted in West Virginia, a Union general allowed himself and his command to be drawn into a dangerous position, from which it was feared he would be unable to extricate himself without the loss of his whole command. In speaking of this fiasco, Mr. Lincoln said: "General ——— reminds me of a man out West who was engaged in what they call heading a barrel. He worked diligently for a time driving down the hoops; but when the job seemed completed, the head would fall in, and he would have to do the work all over again. Suddenly, after a deal of annoyance, a bright idea struck him. He put his boy, a chunk of a lad, into the barrel to hold up the head while he pounded down the hoops. This worked like a charm. The job was completed before he once thought about how he was to get the little fellow out again. Now," said Mr. Lincoln, "that is a fair sample of the way some people do business. They can succeed better in getting themselves and others corked up than in getting uncorked."

During the year 1861 it was difficult to preserve peace and good order in the city of Washington. Riots and disturbances were occuring daily, and some of them were of a serious and sometimes a dangerous nature. The authorities were in constant apprehension, owing to the disloyal sentiment prevailing, that a riot might occur of such magnitude as to endanger the safety of the capital; and this necessitated the utmost vigilance on their part to preserve order.

On one occasion, when the fears of the loyal element of the city were excited to fever-heat, a free fight near the Old National Theatre occurred about eleven o'clock one night. An officer in passing the place observed what was going on; and seeing the great number of persons engaged, he felt it to be his duty to command the peace. The imperative tone of his voice stopped the fighting for a moment; but the leader, a great bully, roughly pushed back the officer, and told him to go away, or he

would whip him. The officer again advanced and said, "I arrest you," attempting to place his hand on the man's shoulder, when the bully struck a fearful blow at the officer's face. This was parried, and instantly followed by a blow from the fist of the officer, striking the fellow under the chin and knocking him senseless. Blood issued from his mouth, nose and ears. It was believed that the man's neck was broken. A surgeon was called, who pronounced the case a critical one, and the wounded man was hurried away on a litter to the hospital. There the physician said there was concussion of the brain, and that the man would die. All medical skill that the officer could procure was employed in the hope of saving the life of the man. His conscience smote him for having, as he believed, taken the life of a fellow-creature, and he was inconsolable.

Being on terms of intimacy with the President, about two o'clock that night the officer went to the White House, woke up Mr. Lincoln, and requested him to come into his office, where he told him his story. Mr. Lincoln listened with great interest until the narrative was completed, and then asked a few questions, after which he remarked: "I am sorry you had to kill the man, but these are times of war, and a great many men deserve killing. This one, according to your story is one of them; so give yourself no uneasiness about the matter. I will stand by you."

"That is not why I came to you. I knew I did my duty, and had no fears of your disapproval of what I did," replied the officer, and then he added, "Why I came to you was, I felt great grief over the unfortunate affair, and I wanted to talk to you about it."

Mr. Lincoln then said, with a smile, placing his hand on the officer's shoulder: "You go home now and get some sleep; but let me give you this piece of advice,—hereafter, when you have occasion to strike a man, don't hit him with your fist; strike him with a club, a crowbar, or with something that won't kill him."

The officer then went home, but not to sleep. The occurrence had a great effect upon him, and was a real source of discomfort to his mind during the fourteen months the unfortunate invalid lived, and it left a sincere regret impressed upon him ever after; but the conciliatory and kindly view prompted by Mr. Lincoln's

tender heart and his fidelity to friendship on that occasion, is to this day cherished in the officer's memory with a feeling of consecration.

About the first time Mr. Lincoln contemplated leaving Washington, he was to attend some gathering of the people in Baltimore, Philadelphia or New York. A committee waited upon him and urged his attendance on the occasion, saying that they were sure Mr. Garrett, the president of the only road then going east out of Washington, would take great pleasure in furnishing a special train of cars for him. "Well," said the President, "I have no doubt of that. I know Mr. Garrett well and like him very much; but if I were to believe (which I don't) everything some people say of him about his 'secesh' principles, he might say to you as was said by the superintendent of a railroad to a son of one of my predecessors in office. Some two years after the death of President Harrison the son of the incumbent of this office, contemplating an excursion for his father somewhere or other, went to order a special train of cars. At that time politics were very bitter between the Whigs and the Democrats, and the railroad superintendent happened to be an uncompromising Whig. The son made known his demand, which was bluntly refused by the railroad official, saying that his road was not running special trains for the accommodation of President's just then. 'What!' said the young man, 'did you not furnish a special train for the funeral of General Harrison?' 'Yes,' said the superintendent, very calmly; 'and if you will only bring your father here in that shape you shall have the best train on the road.' But, gentlemen," continued Mr. Lincoln, "I have no doubts of Mr. Garrett's loyalty for the government or his respect for me personally, and I will take pleasure in going."

General James B. Fry, the Provost-Marshal General during Mr. Lincoln's administration, was designated by the Secretary of War as a special escort to accompany Mr. Lincoln to the field of Gettysburg upon the occasion of the anniversary of that battle. The general, on arriving at the White House and finding the President late in his preparations for the trip, remarked to him that it was late, and there was little time to lose in getting to the train. "Well," said Mr. Lincoln, "I feel about that as

the convict did in Illinois, when he was going to the gallows. Passing along the road in custody of the sheriff, and seeing the people who were eager for the execution crowding and jostling one another past him he at last called out, 'Boys! you needn't be in such a hurry to get ahead, for there won't be any fun till I get there.' "

General Fry also tells of a conversation between Mr. Lincoln and and Mr. Stanton, in relation to the selection of brigadier-generals. Mr. Lincoln was heard to say: "Well, Mr. Secretary, I concur in pretty much all you say. The only point I make is, that there has got to be something done which will be unquestionably in the interest of the Dutch; and to that end, I want Schimmelpfennif appointed." The secretary replied: "Mr. President, perhaps this Schimmel—what's his name—is not his highly recommended as some other German officer." "No matter about that," said Mr. Lincoln; "his name will make up for any difference there may be, and I'll take the risk of his coming out all night." Then, with a laugh, he repeated, dwelling upon each syllable of the name and accenting the last one, "Schim-mel-pfen-*nig* must be appointed."

Mr. Welles, in speaking of the complication into which Spain attempted to draw the government of the United States in regard to reclaiming her possessions in San Domingo, says that the pressure was great on both sides, and the question a grave and delicate one as to what position we should take and what course pursue. On the one side Spain, whose favor we wished to conciliate, and on the other the appeal of the negroes against Spanish oppression. Mr. Seward detailed the embarrassments attending the negotiations to Mr. Lincoln, whose countenance indicated that his mind was relieved before Mr. Seward had concluded. He remarked that the dilemma of the Secretary of State reminded him of an interview between two negroes in Tennessee; one was a preacher, who with the crude and strange notions of his ignorant race, was endeavoring to admonish and enlighten his brother African of the importance of religion and the danger of the future. " 'Dar are,' said Josh the preacher, 'two roads befo' you, Joe; be careful which ob dem you take. Narrow am de way dat leads straight to destruction; but broad am de way dat leads

right to damnation.' Joe opened his eyes with affright, and under the inspired eloquence of the awful danger before him, exclaimed, 'Josh take which road you please; I shall go troo de woods.' I am not willing,'' said the President,''to assume any new troubles or responsibilities at this time, and shall therefore avoid going to the one place with Spain or with the negro to the other, but shall take to the woods. We will maintain an honest and strict neutrality.''

When Attorney-General Bates resigned, late in 1864, after the resignation of Postmaster-General Blair in that year, the Cabinet was left without a Southern member. A few days before the meeting of the Supreme Court, which then met in December, Mr. Lincoln sent for Titian F. Coffey, and said: ''My Cabinet has shrunk up North, and I must find a Southern man. I suppose if the twelve Apostles were to be chosen nowadays, the shrieks of locality would have to be heeded.''

Mr. Coffey acted as Attorney-General during the time intervening between the resignation of Mr. Bates and the appointment of Mr. Speed. He tells about a delegation that called on Mr. Lincoln to ask the appointment of a gentleman as commissioner to the Sandwich Islands. They presented their case as earnestly as possible; and besides their candidate's fitness for the place they urged that he was in bad health, and that a residence in that balmy climate would be of great benefit to him. The President closed the interview with this discouraging remark: ''Gentlemen, I am sorry to say that there are eight other applicants for that place, and they are all sicker than your man.''

In 1858 Mr. Lincoln was engaged at Bloomington, in a case of very great importance. The attorney on the other side was a young lawyer of fine abilities, who has since become a judge. He was a sensible and sensitive young man, and the loss of a case always gave him great pain—to avoid which he invariably manifested an unusual zeal, and made great preparation for the trial of his case. This case of which I speak lasted till late at night, when it was submitted to the jury. In anticipation of a favorite verdict, the young attorney spent a sleepless night in anxiety and early next morning learned to his great chagrin that he had lost the case. Mr. Lincoln met him at the court house some time af-

ter the jury had come in, and asked him what had become of his case. With lugubrious countenance and in a melancholy tone the young man replied, "It's gone to hell." "Oh, well," said Mr. Lincoln, "then you will see it again."

Mr. Lincoln had shown great wisdom in appreciating the importance of holding such Democrats as Mr. Douglass close to the Administration, on the issue of a united country or a dissolution of the Union. He said: "They are just where we Whigs were in 1848, about the Mexican War. We had to take the Locofoco preamble when Taylor wanted help, or else vote against helping Taylor; and the Democrats must vote to hold the Union now, without bothering whether we or the Southern men got things were they are; and we must make it easy for them to do this, for we cannot live through the case without them." He further said: "Some of our friends are opposed to an accommodation because the South began the trouble and is entirely responsible for the consequences, be they what they may. This reminds me of a story told out in Illinois where I lived. There was a vicious bull in a pasture and a neighbor passing through the field, the animal took after him. The man ran to a tree, and got there in time to save himself; and being able to run around the tree faster than the bull, he managed t oseize him by the tail. His bullship seeing himself at a disadvantage, pawed the earth and scattered gravel for a while, then broke into a full run, bellowing at every jump, while the man, holding on to the tail, asked the question, 'Darn you, who commenced this fuss?' Now, our plain duty is to settle the fuss we have before us, without reference to who commenced it."

Mr. Lincoln told another anecdote in connection with the probable adjustment of the difficulties. Said he: "Once on a time, a number of very pious gentlemen, all strict members of the church, were appointed to take in charge and superintend the erection of a bridge over a very dangerous and turbulent river. They found great difficulty in securing the services of an engineer competent for the work. Finally, Brother Jones said that Mr. Meyers had built several bridges, and he had no doubt he could build this one. Mr. Meyers was sent for. The committee asked, 'Can you build this bridge?' 'Yes,' was the

answer, 'I can build a bridge to the infernal regions, if necessary.' The committee was shocked, and Brother Jones felt called upon to say anything in defence of his friend, and commenced by saying: 'Gentlemen, I know my friend Meyers so well, and he is so honest a man and so good an architect, that if he states positively that he can build a bridge to hell, why, I believe he can do it; but I feel bound to say that I have my doubts about the abutment on the infernal side.' So," said Mr. Lincoln, "when the politicians told me that the Northern and Southern wings of the Democracy could be harmonized, why, I believed them of course; but I had always my doubts about the abutment on the other side."

Anthony J. Bleeker tells his experience in applying for a position under Mr. Lincoln. He was introduced by Mr. Preston King, and made his application verbally, handing the President his vouchers. The President requested him to read them, which he commenced to do. Before Mr. Bleeker got half through with the documents, the President cried out, "Oh, stop! You are like the man who killed the dog." Not feeling particularly flattered by the comparisons, Mr. Bleeker inquired, "In what respect?" Mr. Lincoln replied, "He had a vicious animal which he determined to dispatch, and accordingly knocked out his brains with a club. He continued striking the dog until a friend stayed his hand, exclaiming, 'You needn't strike him any more, the dog is dead; you killed him at the first blow.' 'Oh, yes,' said he, 'I know that; but I believe in punishment after death.' So, I see, you do." Mr. Bleeker acknowledged that it was possible to do too much sometimes, and he in his turn told an anecdote of a good priest who converted an Indian from heathenism to Christianity; the only difficulty he had with him was to get him to pray for his enemies. "The Indian had been taught by his father to overcome and destroy them. 'That,' said the priest, 'may be the Indian's creed, but it is not the doctrine of Christianity or the Bible. Saint Paul distinctly says, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink.' The Indian shook his head at this and seemed dejected, but when the priest added, 'For in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head,' the poor convert was overcome with emotion, fell on

his knees, and with outstretched hands and uplifted eyes invoked all sorts of blessings on his adversary's head, supplicating for pleasant hunting-grounds, a large supply of squaws, lots of papooses, and all other Indian comforts, till the good priest interrupted him (as you did me), exclaiming, 'Stop, my son! You have discharged your Christian duty and have done more than enough.' 'Oh, no, father,' says the Indian, 'let me pray! I want to burn him down to the stump!' " Mr. Bleeker got the position.

"Mr. Lincoln," wrote one who knew him very well,* "was a good judge of men, and quickly learned the peculiar traits of character in those he had to deal with. He pointed out a marked trait in one of the Northern governors who was earnest, able and untiring in keeping up the war spirit of his State, but was at times over-bearing and exacting in his intercouse with the general government. Upon one occasion he complained and protested more bitterly than usual and warned those in authority that the execution of their orders in his State would be beset by difficulties and dangers. The tone of his dispatches gave rise to an apprehension that he might co-operate fully in the enterprise in hand. The Secretary of War, therefore laid the dispatches before the President for advice or instruction. They did not disturb Mr. Lincoln in the least. In fact, they rather amused him. After reading all the papers, he said in a cheerful and reassuring tone: 'Never mind, those dispatches don't mean anything. Just go right ahead. The governor is like the boy I saw once at the launching of a ship. When everything was ready, they picked out a boy and sent him under the ship to knock away the trigger and let her go. At the critical moment everything depended on the boy. He had to do the job well by a direct, vigorous blow, and then lie flat and keep still while the ship slid over him. The boy did everything right, but he yelled as if he were being murdered, from the time he got under the keel until he got out. I thought the skin was all scraped off his back; but he wasn't hurt at all. The master of the yard told me that this boy was always chosen for that job, and he did his

*General Fry, in the New York "Tribune".

work well, but he never had been hurt, but that he always squealed in that way. That's just the way with Governor ———. Make up your mind that he is not hurt, and that he is doing his work right, and pay no attention to his squealing. He only wants to make you understand how hard his task is, and that he is on hand performing it.' "

Time proved that the President's estimation of the governor was correct.

Upon another occasion a Governor went to the office of the Adjutant-General bristling with complaints. The Adjutant, finding it impossible to satisfy his demands, accompanied him to the Secretary of War's office, whence, after a stormy interview with Secretary Stanton he went alone to see the President. The Adjutant-General expected important orders from the President or a summons to the White House for explanation. After some hours the Governor returned and said with a pleasant smile that he was going home by the next train and merely dropped in to say good-bye, making no allusion to the business upon which he came nor his interview with the President. As soon as the Adjutant-General could see Mr. Lincoln he told him he was very anxious to learn how he disposed of the Governor, as he had started to see him in a towering rage and said he supposed it was necessary to make large concessions to him as he seemed after leaving the President to be entirely satisfied. "O, no," replied Mr. Lincoln, "I did not concede anything. You know how that Illinois farmer managed the big log that lay in the middle of his field? To inquiries of his neighbors one Sunday he announced that he had got rid of the big log. 'God rid of it!' said they. 'How did you do it? It was too big to haul out, too knotty to split, and too wet and soggy to burn. What did you do?' 'Well, now boys, replied the farmer, 'if you won't divulge the secret I'll tell you how I got rid of it. I plowed around it.' Now," said Lincoln, "don't tell anybody but that is the way I got rid of Governor ———, I plowed around him, but it took me three mortal hours to do it, and I was afraid every minute he would see what I was at."

Mr. Lincoln enjoyed telling of the youth who emigrated to the West and wrote back East to his father who was something of

a politician: "Dear Dad,—I have settled at ——— and like it first rate. Do come out here, for almighty mean men get office here."

Thurlow Weed tells of breakfasting with Lincoln and Judge Davis while in Springfield in December prior to Mr. Lincoln's first inauguration. Judge Davis remarked Mr. Weed's fondness for sausage and said, "You seem fond of our Chicago sausages." To which Mr. Weed responded that he was, and thought the article might be relied on where pork was cheaper than dogs. "That," said Mr. Lincoln, "reminds me of what occurred down in Jokiet, where a popular grocer supplied all the villagers with sausages. One Saturday evening, when his grocery was filled with customers, for whom he and his boys were busily engaged in weighing sausages, a neighbor with whom he had had a violent quarrel that day came into the grocery, made his way up to the counter, holding two enormous dead cats by the tail, which he deliberately threw onto the counter, saying: "This makes seven to-day. I'll call round Monday and get my money for them."

Mr. Lincoln read men and women quickly, and was so keen a judge of their peculiarities that none escaped his observation.

Once a very attractive woman consumed a good deal of Mr. Lincoln's time. He finally dismissed her with a card directed to Secretary Stanton on which he had written: "This woman, dear Stanton, is a little smarter than she looks to be."

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LV

The Prophet's Work—Mormonism a System of Philosophy

MORMONISM is a system of philosophy as well as a religion. Indeed every religion that is worth while must be a philosophy. It must give some accounting of things if it is to be of any permanent service in the world. Religion must appeal to the understanding as well as to the emotional nature of man. It must measurably satisfy his reason as well as fill his spiritual and ethical longings—his thirst for righteousness. I know there are those who think that the important thing in religion is to live it, rather than to understand it; just as there are those who think it better to live rather than to understand life. But as a matter of fact religion in its most exalting phases cannot be "lived" without making reasonably clear to the understanding the problems of existence; just as life cannot be truly "lived" without some knowledge at least of the near purposes of life. So much by the way of introduction. Allow me to add that in presenting merely in outline the chief principles of Mormon philosophy, brought forth in the teachings of Joseph Smith, I shall use the ideas, doctrines, philosophies, science principles, translations or interpretations that I find brought to the knowledge of the world through Joseph Smith, directly or indirectly. For while doctrines here used are in some cases found in the Book of Mormon and properly should be referred to the prophets among ancient American peoples for

their origin, still the world today owes its knowledge of these things to the translation of the Book of Mormon by Joseph Smith. So also in relation to the Book of Moses and the Book of Abraham. So also as to the revelations in the Doctrine and Covenants; such philosophy and religious principles as are there found are given, as Latter-day Saints believe, by the inspiration of God, but Joseph Smith received and published them, and for the purpose of what is here to be set forth shall stand as his doctrines and philosophy, as well as those utterances that come from his discourses.

The reader should understand that Joseph Smith himself made no attempt to create a "system" of philosophy. His philosophical utterances were flung off without reference to any arrangement or orderly sequence. In the main they were taught in independent aphorisms of which the following are examples.

"The Glory of God is Intelligence.

"It is impossible for a man to be saved in ignorance.

"Whatsoever principle of intelligence we attain unto in this life will rise with us in the resurrection."

"The elements [i. e. of matter] are eternal, yea, the elements are the tabernacle of God. Man is the tabernacle of God, even temples.

"The elements are eternal; and spirit and element inseparably connected receive a fullness of joy.

"Jesus was in the beginning with the Father. * * * Man was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made neither indeed can be".

These utterances were given out at various times, and were often separated by long intervals of time. These are statements of truth without qualification, and constitute a literature of power. It is our present task to put some of these and other independent utterances into something like orderly arrangement that will suggest a system of thought or philosophy in the teachings of the Mormon Prophet.

Joseph Smith's Definition of Truth:

Undoubtedly the quest of philosophy is truth. And again, undoubtedly, philosophy would be greatly helped in its search for truth if it had but a clear conception of what it was trying to find; hence the importance of a clear and accurate definition. It is at this point, however, that the greatest difficulty arises for the human intellect. It is quite generally conceded that up to the early decades of the nineteenth century no satisfactory definition of truth had been found. When Jesus stood bound before Pilate's Judgement seat, and testified that He was born to bear witness of the truth, Pilate—whether in mockery or in earnest curiosity we may not know—asked the question: "What is truth?" But the Divine Man made no answer. One set of commentators, referring to Pilate's question, say to him: "Thou stirrest the question of questions, which the thoughtful of every age have asked, but never man yet answered."[1]

A Secular writer presents the same incident as follows:

"'What is truth?' was the passionate demand of a Roman procurator, on one of the most momentous occasions in History. And the Divine Person who stood before him, to whom the interrogation was addressed, made no reply—unless, indeed, silence contained the reply. Often and vainly had that demand been made before—often and vainly has it been made since. No one has yet given a satisfactory answer."[2]

I make these quotations to show that no satisfactory definition of truth, either in ancient or modern times, either in religion or philosophy, has been given, and also to call attention to the fact that if Joseph Smith has given a definition of truth that appeals with irresistible force to the understanding of men, it must be a strongly original utterance; a revelation of the utmost importance. Such a definition, I believe, he has given. In 1833 he said:

"Truth is knowledge of things as they are, and as they were, and as they are to come."[3]

This I hold to be the completest definition of truth found in

1. Jamieson, Fausset and Brown's Commentary on St. John, ch. 18; 38.
2. John W. Draper "Conflict Between Religion and Science," p. 202.
3. Doctrine and Covenants, sec. 93.

human literature. It deals with relative truth, absolute truth, and truth unfolding or becoming.

It may be objected that his definition is defective in that it appears to make truth depend upon knowledge. "Truth," says the definition, "is *knowledge* of things as they are," etc. This part of the definition deals with relative truth merely. "Truth as it appears to us," says S. Baring-Gould, "can only be relative, because we are relative creatures, have only a relative perception and judgment. We appreciate that which is true to ourselves, not that which is universally true."[4]

In other words, and using the language of Herbert Spencer—

"Debarred as we are now from everything beyond the relative, truth, raised to its highest form, can be for us nothing more than perfect agreement throughout the whole range of our experience, between those representations of things which we distingiush as ideal and those presentations of things which we distinguish as real."[5]

That is to say, to each individual, "knowledge of things as they are, and as they were" will be to him the truth, and the fulness thereof, though not necessarily all the truth that is. There is truth which does not depend upon knowledge; existences beyond and independent of any human knowledge, at least. To illustrate: America existed, though all Europe was without knowledge of it for ages; until, in fact, it was discovered by Columbus. The power of steam always existed, but men did not know it until modern times. So, also, with the mysterious force electricity; it always existed, but not until recent years did man know it as a force that could be utilized; and so as to many other forces and truths in God's universe that are now existing, and always may have existed, but man, as yet, has no knowledge of them.

And yet it may be that running parallel with those existences, substances and relations unknown to man, there exist intelligences that cognize such existences and relations. America existed though all Europe was without knowledge of it until discovered by Columbus; but America had inhabitants, intelligences of her own that knew of the existence of these Western conti-

4. Religious Beliefs, Vol. II, p. 41.
5. First Principles, p. 141, Appleton, 1896 Edition.

nents. And so it may be if one could be transported to Mars; while there is much that we do not know about Mars—has it an atmosphere and oceans? Has it great continents and mountain ranges? Is it inhabited? If so, what is the status of its civilization? These may all be existences, realities on Mars, but we do not know of them, but there may be intelligent inhabitants on Mars who know all these things and a thousand more that are unknown to us. And so as to the most distant planets and planet-systems conceivable. Every-where that things exist, they may be paralleled by intelligences that cognize them.

Then, again, if there are varying degrees of intelligences, as it seems necessary from the facts in the case to admit, it may be that there are intelligences so exalted as to comprehend all things, even "the sum of existence"[6]—the absolute truth. And so in the last analysis of the matter, wheresoever there are existences to be known, even though they stretch to infinity, there are also intelligences in numbers sufficient to parallel such existences; as also intelligences so exalted as to be universal consciousness to the universe—to comprehend all things, to control them, dominate them, and through them work out their sovereign will.

It may be said that the absolute truth is beyond the grasp of the finite mind. That is conceded. But because finite minds cannot comprehend the sum of existence, or absolute truth, it does not follow that the definition we are discussing is at fault. or that it can be displaced by one meaning more or less. Reflection upon the definition will develope the fact that it contains a self-evident proposition of the same nature as the statement, "duration is eternal—without beginning, without end"; or "space is limitless"—there is no point beyond which it does not extend. It is vain to say that the finite mind cannot comprehend the realities presented by these statements. The thing is greater than any symbol we can fashion of it by word or otherwise it is true;

---

6. The phrase is used by the late John Jacques, a most devout Latter-day Saint, in his hymn on "Truth."

"Then say, what is truth? 'Tis the last and the first,
"For the limits of time it steps o'er;
"Though the heavens depart, and the earth's fountains burst,
"*Truth, the sum of existence*, will weather the worst,
"Eternal, unchanged, evermore."

but we cannot conceive the opposite of these statements, i. e. that space has boundaries; that duration has limits; that absolute truth is less than the sum of existence. In the definition here set forth is all that is; and if in any definition of truth there is failure to include the sum of existence, by so much would the definition be defective. As to relative truth; every individual man's truth, that is every man's knowledge of so much of the sum of existence as he can make his own, as already pointed out.

One other reflection on this definition. Note the words. "Truth * * * is knowledge of things * * * as they are to come." This presents a view of truth with which one seldom if ever meets. It gives to truth the idea of movement, unfolding, development. Truth in this view is not a stagnant pool, but a living fountain; not a Dead Sea without tides or currents; on the contrary it is an ocean, immeasurably great, vast, co-extensive with the universe—it is the universe—bright heaving, boundless, endless and sublime, moving in majestic currents, uplifted by tides in ceaseless ebb and flow; variant but orderly; taking on new forms from ever-changing combinations; new adjustments; new relations; multiplying itself in ten-thousand times ten thousand ways; ever reflecting the intelligence of the Infinite; and declaring alike in its whispers and in its thunders, the hived wisdom of the ages and of God.

As to Things—The Universe.

We are next to consider the universe in which men, angels, arch-angels—intelligences all—live.

*"There are many kingdoms * * * and there is no space in the which there is no kingdom; and there is no kingdom in the which there is no space."*[7]

This was said by Joseph Smith in 1832. The context of the passage makes it clear that "kingdoms" here are not groups of men or nations over which a monarch reigns; but substance, spirit, matter, worlds and world-systems, under the dominion of law. It is the doctrine of the eternal and everywhere existence

7. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 88.

of matter and space. It is a description of the universe as far as it is describable.

That the extent of the universe is infinite and unbounded; that it is empty in no part, but everywhere filled with substance; that the duration of the universe is equally infinite and unbounded; that it has no beginning and no end; that it is eternity, may be said to be the settled and universal conviction of science today; but it was far from being such conviction in 1832 when Joseph Smith said the same thing in the passage here under consideration.

The doctrine was nobly embodied in verse by W. W. Phelps, one of the early converts to the faith of the New Dispensation, and already referred to in these pages[8] as the author of a number of hymns the most characteristic of Mormon thought and aspiration. The one here quoted is one of these, that could well be entitled—

"Eternalism"

"If you could hie to Kolob,[9]
In th' twinkling of an eye,
And then continue onward,
With that same speed to fly.

"D'ye think that you could ever,
Through all eternity,
Find out the generation
Where Gods began to be?

"Or see the grand beginning,
Where space did not extend?
Or view the last creation,
Where Gods and matter end?

Methinks the Spirit whispers,
"No man has found 'pure space,'
Nor seen the outside curtains
Where nothing has a place.

8. See Note 12, Ch. XIX; and Note to Ch. XXV.
9. One of the most distant of the so-called "fixed" stars. So named in the Abrahamic System of Astronomy. See Ch. LII, this History.

The works of God continue,
And worlds and lives abound,
Improvement and progression
Have one eternal round.

There is no end to matter,
There is no end to space,
There is no end to spirit,
There is no end to race.

Change and its Tendency.

As to the movement and change in this infinite universe, our Prophet represents God as saying (1830).

*"Worlds without number have I created. * * * Behold, there are many worlds that have passed away by the word of my power, and there are many that now stand, and innumerable are they to man. * * * The heavens, they are many, and they cannot be numbered unto man: but they are numbered unto me, for they are mine. And as one earth shall pass away, and the heavens thereof, even so shall another come, and there is no end to my works, neither to my words."*[10]

This passage implies constant movement in this infinite universe. The statement, "As one earth shall pass away and the heavens thereof, even so shall another come," corresponds somewhat to the modern scientist's notion of "evolution and devolution." "Substance" says Haeckel, "is everywhere and always in uninterrupted movement and transformation; nowhere is there perfect repose and rigidity; yet the infinite quantity of matter and of eternally changing force remains constant."[11]

---

10. Book of Moses, P. of G. P., Ch. I.

11. "Riddle of the Universe," p. 242. So John W. Draper: "From the contemplation of isolated suns and congregated clusters we are led to the stupendous problem of the distribution of matter and force in space, and to the interpretation of those apparent phantoms of self-luminous vapor, circular and elliptic discs, spiral wreaths, rings, and fans, whose edges fade doubtfully away, twins and triplets of phosphorescent haze connected together by threads of light and grotesque forms of indescribable complexity. Perhaps in some of these gleaming apparitions we see the genesis, in some the melting away of universes. There is nothing motionless in the sky. In every direction vast transformations are occurring, yet all these things proclaim the eternity of matter and the undiminished perpetuity of force." (Intellectual development of Europe, Vol. II, p. 280.)

And Sir Oliver Lodge: "Solar systems can (or, rather do) by collision or otherwise resolve themselves into nebulae, and nebulae left to themselves can condense into solar systems,—everywhere in the spaces around us we see a part of the

"This is my work and my glory," Joseph Smith represents the Lord as saying, "to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man." Then he represents God as dwelling among Intelligences that were organized, but of varying degrees of intelligence, soul greatness and moral quality, yet equal in eternity, for they are all proclaimed "gnolaum," or eternal. For the progress of these Intelligences God is represented as proposing the creation of an earth, "where on these may dwell"; and God said to those who were with him:

"We will go down, for there is space there, and we will take of these materials, and we will make an earth where on these may dwell. And we will prove them herewith, to see if they will do all things whatsoever the Lord their God shall command them. And they who keep their first estate shall be added upon; and they who keep not their first estate shall not have glory in the same kingdom with those who keep their first estate; and they who keep their second estate shall have glory added upon their heads forever and ever."[12]

Progress, then, for intelligences, to which movement and change are necessary—is the purpose of God's creations; and progress can only come through change from good to better; from lower to higher, and ever higher; but never highest; for in the scheme of progress in the infinite there are no ultimates, of which more in paragraphs under another heading.

The Eternal Existence of Intelligence.

The Prophet represents the Christ as saying:

I was in the beginning with the Father * * * *Ye* [meaning the brethren present when the revelation was given] *were also in the beginning with the Father, that which is Spirit.* * * * *Man was also in the beginning with God. Intelligence, or the light of truth, was not created or made, neither indeed can be.*"[13]

---

process going on; the formation of solar systems from whirling nebulae lies before our eyes, if not in the visible sky itself, yet in the magnified photographs taken of that sky. * * * From everlasting to everlasting the material universe rolls on, composing worlds and disintegrating them."

12. Book of Abraham, Ch. III.

13. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 93.

Joseph Smith taught the eternal existence of Intelligence. This may be manifested as "spirits," "men," "angels," "archangels," "Deities," according to the state of progress to which they have attained; and they may be of infinitely varying degrees of intelligence, moral quality, and soul greatness; yet all are equal in their eternity. Regarded as Intelligences, whatever estates or changes they may have passed through, whatever their present status or whatever progressive estates may await them in the future, there is a something in them not only uncreated, but from the nature of it uncreatable, and indestructible—without beginning and without end.

In the passage in which the Prophet more especially teaches this doctrine he sometimes uses words interchangeably "intelligence", "mind", "spirit", "soul"; but not withstanding this it is not difficult to discern from the Prophet's discourse that he is seeking to assert the truly eternal nature of man.[13]

The intelligence in man, then, in the Prophet's philosophy, is not created, but is self-existent, one of the eternal things, not created, really uncreatable, as also indestructible. Not of earth-origin, but existing in heavens without number, always existing.

I have already noted that Intelligences differ in degree of intelligence, moral quality, and greatness, hence also they differ in power, standing, and appointment.

It is these differences in Intelligences that leads to order in the universe. Those more advanced governing, controlling, devising, organizing, forming societies, making governments, civilizations—all which shall tend to increase the glory and power and joy of all: "Men are that they might have joy," is a Book of Mormon passage. "This is my work and my glory," Joseph Smith represents God as saying, "to bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man."[14] To this end Divine Intelligences bring into existence worlds and world system, sustain and guide them through immense cycles of time, and through processes that lead from chaos to cosmos, from telestial to celestial, and when attaining a point beyond which they may not be

13. See Discourse at the April Conference, 1844, known as the King Follett Sermon. *Times and Seasons.* Vol. V, p. 612 *et seq.*.
14. Book of Moses, Ch. I.

exalted in their present forms, breaking those forms, disintegrating them, to bring them forth again to reach a grander cosmos-worlds without number have thus passed away, by the word of God's power, and many now stand, innumerable unto man; and as one earth and its heavens shall pass away, so shall another come, and there is no end to this work, to this evolution, and this devolution. And so the eternal drama proceeds. Intelligences meanwhile standing indestructible amidst this organization and disorganization of worlds; this integrating and disintegrating of things. This movement is from lower to higher estates, from little to greater excellences; yet this without attaining to "highest" or "perfect," because advancement in the infinite, knows no ultimates. Meanwhile Intelligences, amid these changes, under the law of eternal progress, are ever increasing in power, glory, might, dominion, benevolence, charity, justice; and all else that can make for the increase of their power and glory. In which strivings and achievements eternal evil is always potentially, and some times actively present. Indeed it makes necessary and possible, in fact, the very strivings and achievements; and is the "foil on which good produces itself, and becomes known."

Other Worlds and World-Systems than Our Own Inhabited by Intelligences.

The Prophet taught that these worlds and world-systems of which we have spoken, that make up the universe, are or will be inhabited by sentient beings. This is assumed in all his revelations. It is everywhere taken for granted. Answering a question submitted to him—"Is not the reckoning of God's time, angel's time, prophet's time, and man's time according to the planet on which they live," he answered: "Yes; but there are no angels who minister to this earth but those who do belong or have belonged to it."[15] In an important revelation given in December 1832, and which, because of its beauty and the spirit of peace it breathes is called the "Olive Leaf," the existence of other worlds than ours is dwelt upon at length. Indeed it is from this revelation that I have already quoted the doctrine

15. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 130.

of the co-extension of infinite space and substance. "There are many kingdoms"—meaning worlds and world-systems, as we have seen. "Unto what shall I liken these kingdoms that ye may understand?" Says the Lord. Then he likens them unto a man having a field into which he sends forth his servants to labor, and promises them a personal visit, at the appointed time, "to make them glad with the joy of his countenance." "*Therefore unto this parable will I liken all these kingdoms and the inhabitants thereof; every kingdom in its hour and its season; even according to the decree which God hath made.*"[16]

The learned scientists of today in dealing with the question, "are the innumerable worlds in the universe, revealed by the powerful telescopes and other instruments, inhabited?" can only give as an answer a doubtful "perhaps." One leading astronomer, thus gives his conclusions after a long review of the question:

"It seems, therefore, so far as we can reason from analogy, that the probabilities are in favor of only a very small fraction of the planets being peopled with intelligent beings. But when we reflect that the possible number of the planets is counted by hundreds of millions, this small fraction may be really a large number, and among this number many may be peopled by beings much higher than ourselves in the intellectual scale. Here we may give free rein to our imagination with the moral certainty that science will supply nothing tending either to prove or disprove any of its fancies."[17]

16. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 88.

17. Newcomb's Astronomy, 1893, p. 531. In an article to the American Press, a few years ago, Sir Robert Ball discussed the "Possibility of Life on other worlds," in which he but conservatively—as becomes a scientist—admits the possibility of life on other worlds. He concludes, however, that "No reasonable person will, I think, doubt that the tendency of modern research has been in favor of the supposition that there may be life on some of the other globes."

Later, however, Sir Robert Ball grew bolder and said: "It is most improbable, almost impossible that these great centers of light (the fixed stars) should have been created to light up nothing, and as they are far too distant to be of use to us, we may fairly accept the hypothesis that each one has a system of planets around it like our own. Taking an average of only ten planets to each sun, that hypothesis indicates the existence, within the narrow range to which human observation is still confined, of at least 300,000,000 of separate worlds, many of them doubtless of gigantic size, and it is nearly inconceivable that those worlds can be wholly devoid of living and sentient beings upon them. Granting the, to us, impossible hypothesis that the final cause of the universe is accident, a fortuitous concourse of self-existent atoms, still the accident which produced thinking beings upon this little and inferior world, must have frequently repeated itself; while if, as we hold, there is a sentient Creator, it is difficult to believe, without a revelation to that effect, that he

This is the best that science can do. The habitability of other worlds, to science, is a proposition more or less doubtful; but the teachings of Joseph Smith are clear and positive upon the subject as far back as 1832.

The Relationship of Intelligences.

It is seen that our Prophet taught the eternity of Intelligence; also the existence of Intelligences in other worlds than ours. The presiding Intelligence to that order of things and beings to which we belong, is represented as standing among the Intelligences appointed to life on our earth, "and among these were many of the noble and great ones." And the Presiding Intelligence said: *"These I will make my rulers;* for he stood among those that were spirits, and He saw that they were good."[18] "The noble and great ones" are made rulers then, and doubtless the principle here operating in respect of those Intelligences appointed to our earth, operates in all worlds and world-systems. Some of the "noble and great ones" stand at the head of worlds and world groups, forming Grand Presidencies, in order and gradation, based upon their power and their appointment, which in turn depend upon their character, their nobility, greatness, and their worthiness, measured by their capacity to serve. Each one of such "Rulers," and each "Intelligence," in fact, independent in the sphere in which he is appointed to act, yet acting in harmony—through the attainment of knowledge of truth—with all other exalted and sanctified Intelligences. These are the "Rulers" in the universe, the Divine Be-

---

has wasted such glorious creative powers upon mere masses of insensible matter. *God cannot love gasses!* The probability at least is that there are millions of worlds—for after all, what the senitized paper sees must be but an infinitesimal fraction of the whole—occupied by sentient beings."

Still later, 27th of August, 1910, the Associated Press announced that in a lecture before the "Popular Educational Society," known as the "Materialistic Association," Prof. J. J. See declared the completion of his researches in Cosmic Evolution to which he had devoted ten years. The Associated Press dispatch continued: "Professor See stated his conviction that the planets revolving about the 'fixed stars' are inhabited by some kind of intelligent beings. He cited the address delivered at Philadelphia in 1897 by Professor Newcombe, [quote above] in which similar views were held, and said that the proof is much more complete now than at that time. Life flourishing on the earth and believed to exist on Mars and Venus is but a drop in the Pacific ocean as compared to that flourishing on the thousands of billions of habitable worlds, now definitely proved to revolve about the fixed stars."

18. Book of Abraham, Ch. III.

ings who make up David's "Congregation of the Mighty," in which God, "more intelligent than them all," standeth and judgeth "among the Gods."[19] And to these, in their several stations, other Intelligences owe loyalty—call it worship if you like; at any rate it must be unshaken loyalty, in order to attain the ends proposed in all "plans of salvation," "gospels," "societies," "kingdoms of God," and the like; in which "plans," "gospels" and the rest, each spirit agreed and covenanted to accept, as also to obey and honor those appointed to direct and bring to pass that which was ordained in the councils of Divine Intelligences. "At the first organization in heaven," said Joseph Smith, speaking with reference to matters pertaining to our earth, and the probation of spirits upon it in earth life —"at the first organization in heaven, we were all present, and saw the Savior chosen and appointed, and the plan of salvation made, and we sanctioned it." This, doubtless, the meaning of "man was also in the beginning with God." And as to the "Rulers,"—they are not "rulers" in the worldly sense of those words. "Government" here, "office" in the "kingdom of God," means opportunity for service, not of mastery. "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them," said the Savior to his disciples, "and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you. But whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant; even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many."

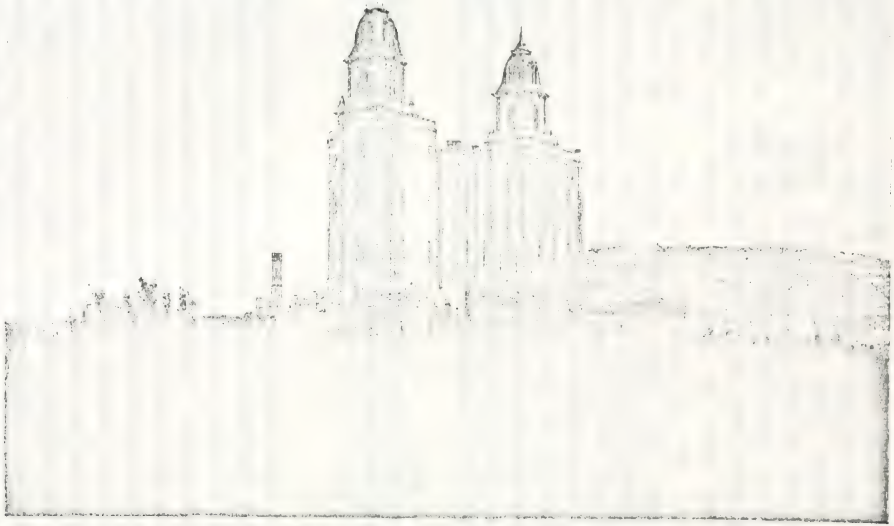
So Joseph Smith:

"The powers of heaven can only be controlled upon the principle of righteousness. When men undertake * * * to exercise control or dominion or compulsion upon the souls of the children of men in any degree of unrighteousness, the heavens withdraw themselves, the spirit of the Lord is grieved, and when it is withdrawn, amen to the Priesthood, or the authority of that man. No power or influence can or ought to be maintained by virtue of the Priesthood, only by persuasion, by long suffering, by gentleness, and meekness, and by love unfeigned; by kind-

19. Psalms LXXXII.

THE MORMON TEMPLE AT MANTI, UTAH

The ground for this temple was dedicated under the direction of Brigham Young on the 24th of April, 1877. Two years later the corner-stones were laid under the direction of President John Taylor. On May 21, 1888, the temple was dedicated with imposing ceremonies under the supervision of Apostle Lorenzo Snow. The building is 172½ feet long by 95 feet in width and 82 feet in height to the square. It is located in Sanpete Valley, about 110 miles due south of Salt Lake City. Remarkable spiritual manifestations attended upon the occasion of its dedication



"Mormon" Temple at Manti, Utah

ness, and pure knowledge, which shall greatly enlarge the soul, without hypocrisy, and without guile."[20]

This the principle of heavenly rule among Divine Beings.

When it is conceded, as it is in the foregoing, that among Intelligences there are varying degrees of intelligence, also degrees of greatness, and nobility, and moral quality; then it must follow that at the last we come to One who is the most intelligent of all, greatest, noblest, best; most wise, and most powerful. And how far this greatest and best may rise above the other Intelligences, who may say? There are no terms of comparison beyond the superlative. It rises above all comparisons, and how far above that to which it stands next none can say. It may be that the "most Intelligent One" may be not only *more* intelligent than any other one of the mass, but more intelligent than *all combined.*

"These two facts do exist, that there are two spirits, one being more intelligent than the other, there shall be another more intelligent than they; I am the Lord thy God, *I am more intelligent than they all!*"[21]

That is, than "All" combined, and for that reason is He God. And doubtless this is the Being to whom Joseph Smith makes reference when he says—speaking of the fulness of knowledge yet to be revealed to the Saints—"according to that which was ordained in the council of the *Eternal God of all other Gods, before this world was;*"[22] which conveys the thought of many Divine Intelligences; but also of One supreme Intelligence, more intelligent than all. This Being, doubtless, is also the All-Wise One; the All-Powerful One! the Un-Selfish One, the All-Loving One, the One who desires that which is highest, and best; not for Himself alone, but for all; and that, too, will be best for Him. His joy will be enhanced by the uplifting of all, by enlarging them; by increasing their joy, power, and glory. And because this Most-Intelligent One is all this, and does all this, the other Intelligences worship Him, submit their judgments and their will to

20. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 121.
21. Book of Abraham, Ch. III.
22. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 121.

His judgment and His will. He *knows*, and can do that which is best; and submission of the mind to the most Intelligent, Wisest —wiser than All—is the true worship. This is the whole meaning of the doctrine and the life of the Christ expressed in—"Father, not my will but Thy will, be done."

Yet to this supreme Intelligence are the other Intelligences necessary. He without them cannot be perfect, nor they without Him. There is community of interest between them; also of love and brotherhood; and hence community of effort for mutual good, for progress, for attainment of the highest possible. Therefore are these Eternal Divine Intelligences drawn together in oneness of mind and purpose—in moral and spiritual unity;[23] until the moral and spiritual force of the Universe—the *Absolute Power* over all things exists in the harmonized *Will* of all Divine Intelligences, guided and instructed by the One more Intelligent than all—"the Eternal God of All other Gods."

It is also the doctrine of Joseph Smith that from the presence of this Divine Being proceeds an influence variously called "spirit," "light," "light of truth," corresponding somewhat to what other teachers regard as "vital force" or "energy" which permeates all nature and constitutes the immanence of God in the universe; through which the purposes of the Divine Intelligence are impressed upon other minds and also upon matter, and hence the orderly creations and their maintenance—the cosmos. This conception is derived from the revelation to Joseph Smith which said—"the elements are the tabernacle of God."[24] Also that other revelation which represents this divine in dwelling power in the world as being the "light of Christ." The passage follows:

"This is the light of Christ [i. e. "the light of truth," which is "in all and through all things"]. As also he is in the sun, and the power thereof by which it was made. As also the light of the stars and the power thereof by which they were made. And the earth also, and the power thereof; even the earth upon

23. It was into this unity that the Christ would have his disciples inducted, when he prayed that all those who might be led to believe in him might "be one." "As thou Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. . . . That they may be one even as we are one: I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one." St. John XVII).

24. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 93.

which you stand. And the light which now shineth, which giveth you light, is through him who enlighteneth your eyes which is the same light that quickeneth your understanding. *Which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God to fill the immensity of space.* The light which is in all things; which giveth life to all things; which is the law by which all things are governed; even the *power* of God who sitteth upon his throne, who is in the bosom of eternity, who is in the midst of all things.

Again:

The earth rolls upon her wings, and the sun gives his light by day, and the moon gives her light by night, and the stars also give their light, as they roll upon their wings of glory, in the midst of the power of God. * * * Behold all these are kingdoms, and any man who hath seen any or the least of these, hath seen God moving in His majesty and power." [i. e. has seen a manifestation of God.][25]

According to Mormonism, then God is in the world by his spirit; and the thought rises to the sublime and inspired conception of David of the every-whereness of God, when he said:

"Whither shall I go from thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from thy presence? If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea: Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. If I say, Surely the darkness shall cover me; even the night shall be light about me. Yea, the darkness hideth not from thee; but the night shineth as the day: the darkness and the light are both alike to thee."[26]

The erroneous idea of the Christian World with reference to God is rapidly passing away and is being supplanted by a grander conception, one more nearly in harmony with the foregoing teaching of Joseph Smith, and one more worthy of the nature and character of God—the doctrine of the Divine Immanence in the universe; and the conception that God is just as near to modern man as He ever was to men in ancient times; that spiritual union and fellowship with Deity is as possible for the mod-

25. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 88.
26. Psalms CXXXIX.

erns as it ever was for the ancients. Such pre-eminently was the view of Joseph Smith, and is the very ground work of his numerous revelations and the all but constant union and communion with God throughout his life.

The Reign of Law.

*"There are many kingdoms * * * and to every kingdom is given a law; and to every law there are certain bounds also, and conditions. All beings who abide not in those conditions* (i. e. abide not within the law) *are not justified."*[27]

Also—

"There is a law irrevocably decreed in heaven before the foundation of this world, upon which all blessings are predicted; and when we [men] obtain any blessings from God, it is by obedience to that law upon which it is predicated."[28]

This was said in 1832 and 1843, respectively. These passages proclaim the reign of law throughout the infinite universe—through all space, through all time; in all kingdoms; but implies the possibility of departure from law. But "to every law there are certain bounds also and conditions."

A bold conception this; especially three-quarters of a century ago; yet it is approved by man's experience. The power of ocean currents and the winds to carry with them objects in the direction of their movement is overcome by another force or law, the power of steam; the force of gravitation, by the levitating power of gas; the natural tendency of water to seek its level, by the levitating power of heat converting water into vapors and the absorbing power of the atmosphere—are examples of this truth. This idea of law itself having metes and bounds, or "law itself being subject to law," Henry Drummond, declared to be "One of the most striking generalizations of recent science."[29] This, however, more than fifty years after Joseph Smith's doctrine was published. John Fiske said, "In order to be always sure that we are generalizing correctly, we must make the generalizing process a subject of generalization." Which is but a recognition of Drummond's idea that "laws have their law;"

27. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 88.
28. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 130.
29. "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," Introduction, 1893, p. 37.

and Joseph Smith's idea that "To every law there are certain bounds also and conditions."

Already I have noted above the implied possibility of disorder, which must result in the event of a violation of law. But our Prophet said:

"That which is governed by law is also preserved by law, and perfected and sanctified by the same. That which breaketh a law, and abideth not by law but seeketh to become a law unto itself, and willeth to abide in sin, and altogether abideth in sin, cannot be sanctified by law, neither by mercy, justice, nor judgment."[30]

There may be at times apparent departure from law in some of the phenomena of man's experience; but when all the data is known, it will be found that all things take place in conformity with fixed and eternal principles—in conformity with law, by which the universe is everywhere governed.

The Doctrine of Opposite Existencies—Good and Evil.

Respecting good and evil the Prophet taught:

"*There must needs be an opposition in all things. If it were not so, righteousness could not be brought to pass; nor wickedness, nor holiness, nor misery; neither good nor bad, therefore, all things must needs be* (in the absence of these opposite existences) *a compound in one.*[31]

Good implies its opposite, evil. Law, which carries with it the idea of order, implies disorder, and takes measures against it. We become conscious of the truth of the doctrine here announced at every turn. In the astronomical order it is seen in the centripetal and centrifugal forces—the holding together and the flying apart forces. In chemistry it is manifest in the composing and decomposing forces; in positive and negative electricity. It is seen in light and darkness; heat, cold; movement, repose; joy, sorrow; pleasure, pain; and so following. The Prophet's teaching on this line runs to the extent that existence itself is made to depend upon this antinomy of things.

30. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 88.
31. II Nephi ii.

"And if ye shall say there is no law, ye shall also say there is no sin. If ye shall say there is no sin, ye shall also say there is no righteousness. And if there is no righteousness, there is no happiness. And if there is no righteousness nor happiness, there is no punishment nor misery. And if these things are not, there is no God. And if there is no God, we are not, neither the earth; for there could have been no creation of things; *neither to act, nor to be acted upon.*"[32]

What a dreadful world this would be without this quality—the opposite existences here contended for? Imagine all things in the world to be white! No contrast in coloring! Universal insanity must result. The "dread of sinking into naught" is matched by the dread of having things resolved into a "compound in one." The absence of this necessary "opposition in all things" is well put, by a very recent philosophical writer, in these terms:

"Evil exists in the balance of natural forces. * * * It is also the background of good, the incentive to good, and the trial of good, without which good could not be. As the virtue of courage could not exist without the evil of danger, and as the virtue of sympathy could not exist without the evil of suffering, so no other virtue could exist without its corresponding evil. In a world without evil—if such a world be really conceivable—all men would have perfect health, perfect intelligence, and perfect morals. No one could gain or impart information, each one's cup of knowledge being full. The temperature would stand forever at 70 degrees, both heat and cold [in excess] being evil. There could be no progress since progress is the overcoming of evil. A world without evil would be as toil without exertion, as light without darkness, as a battle without an antagonist. It would be a world without meaning."[33]

Good and evil then, in Mormon philosophy, are not created things. Both are eternal, just as duration is, and space. They are as old as law—old as truth, old as this eternal universe. Intelligences must adjust themselves to these eternal existences; this, the measure of their duty.

The Moral Freedom of Intelligences.

Joseph Smith taught the moral freedom of men and of all Intelligences:

32. Book of Mormon, II Nephi ii.
33. "A Short View of Great Questions," Orlando J. Smith, XL.

"All truth is independent in that sphere in which God has placed it, to act for itself, as all Intelligence also, otherwise there is no existence. Behold, here is the agency of man and here is the condemnation of man, because that which was from the beginning is plainly manifest unto them, and they receive not the light. And every man, whose spirit receiveth not the light, is under condemnation, for man is spirit."[34]

The fact of free moral agency for Intelligences runs through all the Prophet's revelations in similar spirit. Indeed, in one scripture he represents the chief sin of Lucifer as being an attempt to "destroy the agency of man"; and for that he was driven forth from heaven. The effect of these two doctrines, (1) the recognition of the spirit of man as an eternal being; and (2) his being a free moral agent, is tremendous in accounting for things. As matters now stand, the usually accepted orthodox Christian doctrine on the matter of man's origin is that God of His free-will created men. That they are as He would have them, since in His act of creation He could have had them different had He so minded. Then why should He—being infinitely wise and infinitely powerful, and infinitely good, for so the creeds represent Him—why should He create by mere act of volition, beings such as men are, not only capable of, but prone to, moral evil? Which, in the last analysis of things—if indeed God absolutely created man, spirit and body—and in spite of all special pleadings to the contrary, leaves responsibility for moral evil with God. God's creative acts culminating thus, the next pertinent questions are: Then what of the decreed purpose of God to punish moral evil? And what of the much vaunted justice of God in that punishment? Wherein lies the just responsibility of man if he was so created as to love evil and to follow it? It is revolting to reason, as it is shocking to piety, to think that God, of His own free will, created some men, not only inclined

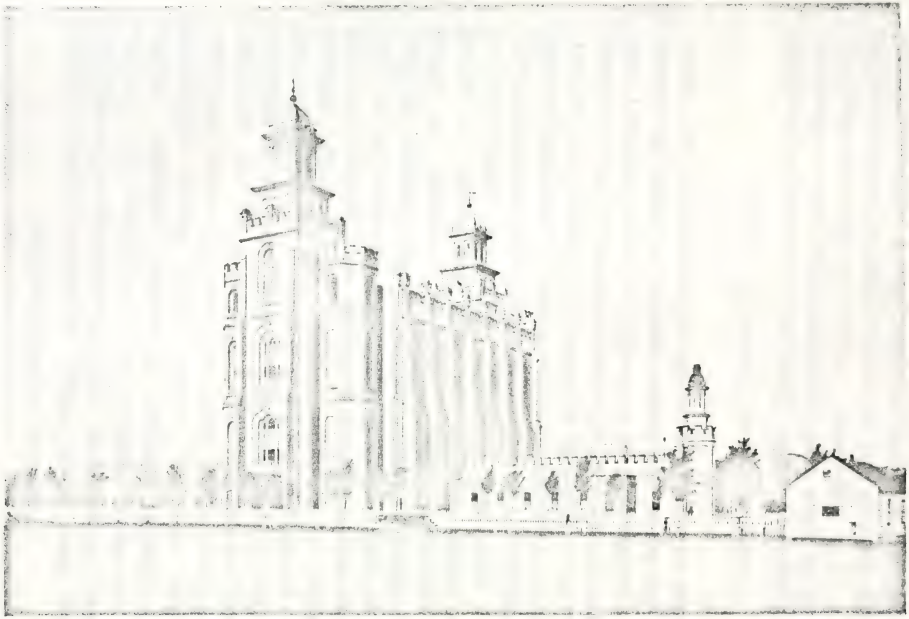
34. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 93. The last sentence is a noble conception. It is as if the Lord would say, Truth is native to the spirit of man, when unrestrained by man's perverse will—when he has not reached the point where he chooses darkness rather than light because his deeds are evil—then truth is native to the spirit of man and will, when unrestrained, intuitively rise to meet it as flame leaps toward its kindred flame and unites with it. And it is because the spirit of man refuses to live true to this attribute of his spirit that he comes under condemnation when rejecting truth.

to wickedness, but desperately so inclined; while others He, of His own volition, created with dispositions naturally inclined toward goodness. In like manner stands it with man in relation to his inclination to faith, and to unbelief; and yet, under orthodox Christianity all are included under one law for judgment! On the other hand, under the conception of the existence of eternal intelligence in men, who by the inherent nature of them are of various degrees of intelligence and moral quality, yet all capable of advancement, of improvement and alike in their eternity and their freedom; and God proposing the betterment of their conditions,—progress to higher levels of being and power through change—under this conception of things, I ask, how stand matters? And the answer comes that ever present through all changes, through all movements, upward or downward; in all the processes of betterment as in all relapses into degeneracy, the Intelligence, with the tremendous fact of consciousness and moral freedom, and indestructibility—has his choice of moving upward or downward in every estate he occupies; often defeating, for a time at least, even the benevolent purposes of God respecting him through his own perverseness; he passes through dire experiences, suffers terribly, yet learns by what he suffers, so that his very suffering becomes a means to his improvement; he learns swiftly or slowly, according to the inherent nature of him, obedience to law; and is perfected and sanctified by the same; while that which breaketh the law, and abideth not by law, but seeketh to become a law unto itself, and willeth to abide in sin, cannot be sanctified by law, neither by mercy, justice nor judgment. Therefore must remain filthy still.

This conception of things relieves God of the responsibility for the nature and status of Intelligences in all stages of their development; their inherent nature and their volition make them primarily what they are, and this nature they may change, slowly, perhaps, yet change it they may. God has put them in the way of changing it, by enlarging their intelligence through change of environment, through instruction and through experience. The only way God effects these beings is favorably; He creates not their inherent nature; He is not responsible for the use they make of their freedom; nor is He

THE MORMON TEMPLE AT LOGAN, UTAH

The ground for this temple was dedicated on the 18th of May, 1877, by Brigham Young. On the 17th of September, 1877, the corner-stones were laid under the direction of President John Taylor, Brigham Young in the meantime having died. The temple was completed and dedicated on the 17th of May, 1884. The building is 171 feet in length by 95 feet in width and 125 feet in height to the square; the towers are 30 feet high



"Mormon" Temple at Logan, Utah.

the author of their sufferings when they fall into sin; that arises out of the violations of law, to which the Intelligence subscribed, and must be endured until the lessons of obedience to law are learned.

Eternity of Relationships.

Matching these eternal things; an eternal universe; eternal intelligence; eternal good, with its background of eternal evil, potential or active; eternal law; free agency and the like, is the Prophet's doctrine of eternal relations. Spirits are begotten men and women; these become resurrected and exalted personages, spirit and element in them being eternally united, whence proceeds a fulness of joy, and glory and power.[35] The Prophet taught that these relations in which Intelligences participate, the joy and glory of endless lives, in celestial worlds, are themselves eternal. The marriage covenant which unites immortal beings is eternal, hence the eternity of the marriage covenant which Joseph Smith introduced in our dispensation, called the "New and Everlasting Covenant of Marriage;"—sometimes called "Celestial Marriage"—by which marriages under the law of God, are made in sacred places for time and eternity.[36] Thus the relationship of exalted Intelligences is a thing regulated and sanctified by law; and from these relations come the family, a permanent, eternal institution; the foundation of which is fatherhood and motherhood, whence spring, also, all other relationships existing among the exalted Intelligences of all worlds and world-systems; until, indeed, all are bound and united together in bonds of relationships founded on mutual covenants and agreements, and sanctified by love.

Classification of Mormon Philosophy.

As a philosophical system Mormonism may not be classified under any of the titles used to designate the various schools of philosophy. It is "dualistic" but not in the sense that "it breaks up the universe into two entirely distinct substances, the material world and an immaterial God, who is represented to be

35. Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 93.
36. See Ch. —, this History.

its Creator, Sustainer and Ruler."[37] Its dualism is that which recognizes infinitely extended substance—the universe, "unbounded and empty in no part, but holds nevertheless that within this universe, and co-extensive with it, is intelligence, or spirit, mind; whose essence is of finer quality than gross matter; which, while possessing some qualities in common with matter —necessarily extension and limitation,—in other respects distinct, and chiefly in the power of thought. This conception—speaking broadly, and taking no note of a thousand details, for Mormonism divides the universe into the two grand divisions spirit and gross matter, the Book of Mormon's "things to act, and things to be acted upon."[38]

Mormonism in a certain sense also is monistic, in that it believes all substance to be matter, that there is no such thing as immaterial substance. That even "spirit," which is generally regarded by most philosophies as "immaterial," is material; but, as explained in foregoing paragraphs, is of a finer or purer essence than gross matter that is tangible to the senses.[39] The monism, then, of Mormonism is not of the kind that recognizes no distinctions in matter; that holds that all substances are fused into one inseparable "sole substance" which is at once "God and nature," as taught by the Haechel school of monists.[40]

Mormonism in some of its effects may resemble pantheism. Yet it is not pantheism, either in the form which sinks all nature into one substance and then regards the one substance as God—the purest Monism; or in the form that expands the one substance into all the variety of objects to be seen in nature, and regards those various objects as but so many parts of God—God expanded into nature—leading to gross idolatry. But Mormonism does conceive of the everywhereness of God, by the indwell-

37. Such is Haeckle's description of dualism. 'Riddle of the Universe," McCabe's translation, 1900, p. 20. The above is, of course, the modern Christian or realistic dualism, not the old Persian dualism.

38. II Nephi ii.

39. "All spirit is matter, but it is more fine or pure [i. e. than gross matter] and can only be discerned by purer eyes. We cannot see it; but when our bodies are purified, we shall see that it is all matter." Joseph Smith, Doctrine and Covenants, Sec. 131.

40. "Monism * * * (taken in its widest sense) recognizes one sole substance in the universe, which is at once 'God and nature,' 'body and spirit' (or matter and energy) it holds to be inseparable. * * * The intra-mundane God of the monist, leads to pantheism." "Riddle of the Universe," p. 20.

ing of his Spirit in nature, and the everywhereness of his power and authority by his Spirit, and by the agencies of angels, and of men called and authorized to act for and in the name of the Godhead. But Mormonism makes sharp distinction between nature and Deity, and hence is not pantheism.

While Joseph Smith's philosophy holds to the reality of matter, it so far conforms to "Idealism" as to maintain that mind is superior to matter and dominates it. To say that intelligence dominates matter, and produces all the ceaseless changes going on in the universe, both of creation and demolition (or evolution and devolution) is simply to say that the superior dominates the inferior; that that which acts is greater than that which is acted upon; that mind is the Eternal Cause of the ever becoming in the universe—the Cause and Sustainer of the cosmic world. It is also to say that mind is power, and will and life and love.

The Mormon conception of the universe is undoubtedly pluristic; but with advanced thinkers such as the late Professor William James of Harvard, Professor Rogers,[41] and other leading thinkers maintaining that view of the universe, it is not necessary to defend it here. It should be said, however, that while Mormonism conceives the world as divided into material elements and intelligence, it does not regard all manifestation of intelligence as divine, and hence an object of worship or adoration. Only those Intelligences that have by reason of their progress attained unto the Divine Nature are accounted divine, and become "parts" or "sons" of God—members of David's "congregation of the Mighty," where God "judgeth among the Gods."[42]

41. See the Professor's "A Pluralistic Universe," 1909.

41. See the Professor's "Religious Conception of the World," MacMillan Co. 1907, *passim*.

42. Psalms CXXXIX. Orson Pratt refers to the existence of a revelation which is most illuminating on this great theme. He says: "There is one revelation that this people [i. e. the Latter-day Saints] are not generally acquainted with. I think it has never been published, but probably it will be in the Church History. It is given in questions and answers. The first question is: 'What is the name of God in the pure language?' The answer says: 'Ahman.' 'What is the name of the Son of God?' Answer, 'Son Ahman, the greatest of all the parts of God, excepting Ahman.' 'What is the name of men?' 'Sons Ahman,' is the answer. 'What is the name of angels in the pure language?' 'Anglo-man.' The revelation goes on to say that 'Sons Ahman' are the greatest of all the parts of God excepting 'Son Ahman,' and 'Ahman,' and that 'Anglo-man' are the greatest of all the parts of God excepting 'Sons Ahman,' 'Son Ahman' and 'Ahman.' * * * What is the conclusion to be drawn from this? *It is that these intelligent beings are all parts of God.*" (Journal of Discourses, Vol. 2, p. 342.)

As to methods of thinking, Mormon philosophizing is bound by no rules prescribed by any of the schools of thought. Both idealistic and empirical methods it employs; it recognizes both experience and thought as avenues to knowledge; and "both channels of knowledge as mutually complementary and indispensable." That is to say, it holds that "knowledge is not all produced by the action of outward things upon themselves, but partly arises from the natural adaptation of the mind to think things that are true"—and so far accepts what is known as rationalistic methods.

Eternalism is the term I should select as the best descriptive word for Mormon philosophy; for that term best represents its concepts: an eternal universe, with no beginning and no end;[43] Eternal Intelligence, working in eternal duration, without beginning or ending, and without ultimates, and hence eternal progression running parallel with eternal lives; and an eternal or "everlasting" gospel, offering eternal opportunities for righteousness; eternal existence of mercy, justice, wisdom, truth and love; all accompanied by eternal relations, associations, unions—eternal youth, and eternal glory!

Such the doctrines and principles given out in the teachings of Joseph Smith, and which here I have undertaken to set somewhat in order. I am not unmindful of the fact that the system of thought suggested by our Prophet's doctrines, like other philosophies, may have its difficulties, growing out of the weakness of the human mind, with all its limitations, to apprehend things as yet too large and elusive for man's intellectual powers, and his all too inadequate symbols to represent truth. But these difficulties are not greater in Mormon philosophy than those in-

43. "Beginnings" and "endings" for Mormonism have reference to local events within the universe. Such as the creation of a planet, or planetary system; or the peopling of a planet. The opening verse of the Bible for instance—"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth"—has no reference to any "absolute beginning" or creation from "nothing," but refers to the beginning" connected with our earth and the order of worlds with which it is connected. An important contribution by Joseph Smith to the nature of the Mosaic revelations, whence comes our Bible story of creation, is that those revelations are local, that they pertain to our earth and its heavens or associated worlds, and chiefly pertaining to our earth; "I will speak unto thee concerning this earth on which thou standest," said the Lord to Moses; "I reveal unto you concerning this heaven and this earth," said the Lord again to him, "write the words which I speak"—then follows the creation story. (Book of Moses, Chs. I and II).

herent in the teleology of other systems. Indeed not so great. Meantime the Mormon philosophical doctrines afford a noble coign from which to view life, and furnish the noblest incentives to earnest strivings for right living, which is the true end of thinking and all human endeavor; for now, as of old, to "Reverthinking and of all human endeavor; for now, as of old, to "*Reverence God and keep his commandments— * * * this is the whole duty of man.*"[44]

It is this work of Joseph Smith's; this promulgation of a New Dispensation of the Christian religion; the development of a priesthood; the organization of the wonderful system of ecclesiastical government—the Church he founded; the announcement of physical and metaphysical principles dealing with the profoundest subjects of intellectual investigation and thought; and which, when they are finally arranged in proper order, will constitute a system of philosophy worthy of the enlightened age in which it was brought forth. It is this work, and the whole volume of it, that constitutes Joseph Smith's vindication before the world, and justifies his followers in believing that his life's work was a superhuman achievement; and hence there was in him a divine inspiration that wrought the work of his great though brief career. The inspiration of the Almighty gave *him* understanding.

44. Ecclesiastes XI:13.

Historic Views and Reviews

Notable Indian Woman Dead

MRS. NARCISSA OWEN, 80 years old, mother of United States Senator Robert L. Owen, died at Guthrie July 11, as the result of injuries received some weeks before in a fall. She was a Cherokee Indian, a native of Webbers Falls, in old Indian Territory, and had achieved fame as an author and artist. Her principal book was a history of the Cherokee Indians.

Mrs. Owen's history was full of interest from the time her father, Chief Robert Chisholm, died until she had educated herself and was self-sustaining, having a position in the Masonic high school at Fort Smith, Ark. It was there that she first met Dr. Robert Latham Owen of Virginia, who became her husband. With 500 other women from her section during the Civil War she made uniforms day and night. She nursed the wounded and gave her all to feed the Southern army when evil days fell upon it. After her widowhood Mrs. Owen returned to teaching. An artist of more than ordinary boldness and talent and a musician of unusual attainments, she made an excellent living. She taught in one of the schools until after her son, Robert Latham Owen, the Senator from Oklahoma, became Indian agent and a lawyer of fair promise.

Mrs. Owen until three years ago was as sturdy and erect as one of the warriors of her race, but she then suffered a stroke of paralysis. Her home was full of fascinating trophies of the heroic days of her line and she could tell as thrilling a story as Cooper could pen. It was Mrs. Owen's father who received from Thomas Jefferson the famous peace medal which marked

the perfect harmony of the United States Government and the Cherokee tribe.



Mather Diary to be Published

The Massachusetts Historical Society will publish the first volume of the "Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708," together with many hitherto unpublished letters by Mather. It forms an octavo volume of 604 pages, with heliotype reproductions of Peter Pelham's mezzotint of his portrait of Cotton Mather, and a page of manuscript diary. The second volume, completing the work, will be published in the coming winter.



It Was Once "Bronck's Land"

The origin of the name Bronx is known to comparatively few New Yorkers. It came from an early settler, Jonas Bronck, who with two companions sailed from Holland in the private armed ship Fire of Troy and arrived in New Amsterdam in July, 1639.

He brought with him his household servants, together with a number of farm hands and their families; also cattle, household furniture, a library of books and all the things necessary to founding a new home in the New World. They came well recommended to the old Dutch Director-General, and Bronck at once obtained from the Dutch West India Company a grant of 500 acres of land in what is now Westchester county, "lying between the Great Kill" (the Harlem River) "and the Ahquahung" (the Bronx River). Following the peremptory requirement of the Dutch law, says the *Magazine of American History,* he was also obliged before taking possession of his grant to extinguish the Indian title by purchase, which he did by obtaining a grant from the Indian chiefs Ranaque and Tae Kamuck, two chiefs of the Weequaesgeek tribe of Indians.

An old "Tracing of Bronckslandt" is still preserved in the

office of the Secretary of State at Albany, and the location of Jonas Bronck's house is shown thereon. Bronck upon taking possession of his property proceeded to build a house thereon. It was either of brick or stone, probably of brick brought from Holland. Bronck also built a tobacco house and "two barracks" in close proximity to his house. These buildings were located near the present East 133d street, a little to the northeast of where the old Morris manor house was afterward erected. While it is not possible to locate the precise lines of Bronck's grant it probably comprised the territory from the present 149th street south to the Harlem River and eastward to the present Bronx River.



Miller Cabin to be Preserved

The log cabin that Joaquin Miller built and lived in for several years on Meridian Hill, near Washington, D. C., will be moved to make way for an apartment house. Old neighbors of the poet have subscribed to put the cabin on a new site in the woods near by. Twenty years ago the Miller cabin, which has since been visted by hundreds of persons, was in a secluded spot on the outskirts of the city. With the passing of each year, the modern homes gradually approached the little home of the poet, and recently the old shack was flanked with asphalt streets. The cabin is well built and consists of an upright and wing, five rooms in all. All the doors were made by Miller himself and have old-fashioned wooden latches which the poet delighted to stand and rattle as he bade his callers good-bye.



A Unique Historical Society

It is the purpose of the Modern Historic Records Association, soon to be incorporated in this State, to bring about the systematic use of all the reproductive and preservative resources of modern civilization in the chronicling of current history. Fu-

ture generations will be enabled to hear the voices of great men long dead, as well as to read their speeches. They will be enabled by the photographic plate to know all that is worth while in present historical literature. They will be enabled to see the men of to-day, the leaders, the champions and the masses, in all their occupations, in all the phases of their daily existence that, as a whole, made up the sum and substance of twentieth century civilization. The citizen of the thirteith century, on entering a library, will not ask for "a life of President Taft," but for his "records." And, no doubt, these will be handed to him in as compact a form, and as easy of manipulation, as is a book to-day.

At Washington will be built the nation's Pantheon, to receive these honored records in fireproof vaults. Sound fireproofing will, indeed, be required for all the associations' depositors in city and State, as well as at the capital, and full advantage will be taken of their architectural possibilities.

The Modern Historic Records Association is not a commercial enterprise. In the language of the hour, there is "nothing in it" for its founder and the prominent Americans who have already joined me in the promotion of this patriotic plan. Among them are: Dr. George F. Kung, Mellville E. Stone, General Thomas H. Hubbard, Dr. Melvil Dewey, Dr. Talcott Williams, A. B. Hepburn, Louis Mansfield Ogden, Hon. John G. Agar, Edward Hagaman Hall, Robert C. Ogden, George A. Plimpton, Herbert L. Bridgman, Paul Cravath, Hamilton Holt and Joseph Rowan.



A Greeley Editorial

Mr. Duane Mowry, writing from Milwaukee, Wis., sends to the *Historic Views and Reviews* a sheet of manuscript copy, prepared by Horace Greeley. In his letter he says:

"It was taken from the 'Tribune' waste basket by a young man, a native of Wisconsin, then in the government service in New York, who thought he would like to have some of the great

editor's 'real copy,' as he expressed it to the writer. It is interesting to note that the 'copy' is almost perfect, in its English, in its use of capitals and in its punctuation. Perhaps, half as much cannot be said of the legibility of the writing. It is needless to say that Mr. Greeley maintained his reputation for producing 'miserable copy' in this as in most other instances. There is to be noted, however, a fine patriotic sentiment pervading this, as well as most all of his writings bearing upon the burning question of the hour—the great civil war between the states."

The editorial is as follows:

"The North will now look the West proudly in the eye. Hitherto, while the regiments composing the Army of the Potomac were nearly all from the old free States, its Generals commanding have, in good part, been supplied by the West. It has fought at length under a General from the East—a native of that district which knows no section but belongs equally to every part of our country. And no one will deny that it was fought bravely and well, and that its blood, poured out in rivers, has not been lavished in vain.

"The Army of the Potomac, the child and champion of the Loyal North, has at last found the road to victory. It has opened that road with its yeomen. Let none doubt that it will advance firmly and swiftly thereon to the final overthrow of Rebellion and Treason."



The Wagner Collection of Draft Relics

An interesting collection of civil war material has just been presented to the New York Historical Society by Frederic C. Wagner, who was a Provost Marshal in charge of drafting men for the army in the Seventh District, which included the Eleventh and Seventeenth Wards, the Eleventh covering a large area on the east side north of Houston Street.

Of chief importance in the collection is a copy of Mr. Wagner's report, made to Provost Marshal Gen. James B. Fry in Washington. It was never printed, and Mr. Wagner stated that

he believed the proper place for it was in the Historical Society. Mr. Wagner assumed his duties on May 2, 1863.

"It was almost impossible at first," he says in his report, "to obtain a location for our headquarters, the persons in charge of houses being either prejudiced against the conscription or afraid of some consequences from it." Offices were finally obtained at 63 Third Avenue. Within two months the draft riots broke out and one of the places invaded was Mr. Wagner's office. He says:

"The first draft in this district was ordered July 14, 1863. The day previous a riot had taken place. Col. Robert Nugent ordered all the papers and records of this office to be carried to Governors Island, which was done during the morning. On the same night the rioters entered the office, broke open the doors and desks, and carried off all the stationery and such articles as could be carried away, in value about $100. The papers were returned after the riot."

The first draft in the district took place on Aug. 25, and the method of conducting it is thus described:

"The names were written on thin strips of paper, then rolled and fastened with a small India rubber band, this prevents them from unrolling and they mix better when turned on the wheel. The names of one ward were placed in the wheel after they had been counted by myself and the Commissioner in the presence of some ten or fifteen citizens of the ward to see that the number of ballots compared with the number of names on the enrollment sheets.

The ballots were then drawn by a blind man, who handed each ballot to the Commissioner who read it to the persons assembled. It was then handed to the Provost Marshal who numbered it, when it was passed to a clerk to enter in a descriptive book."



Substitutes in Demand

Of the hundreds of men drafted in that district, not a single drafted man went to the front. All found substitutes. The number of substitutes furnished by drafted men was 332 while

1,195 volunteered out of 1,198 who enlisted. Similar conditions, although, perhaps, not to such a great extent, prevailed in the other districts, so that Mr. Wagner's report for his two wards shows not only the unpopularity of the draft but the efforts made by those drawn for army service to escape the necessity of going to the front.

Associations were formed in most of the wards to raise funds for the support of families of volunteers. This was one way, and a very legitimate one, of beating the draft. A copy of a handbill, which is an interesting curiosity, in Mr. Wagner's collection, calls for contributions from residents of the ward. It is signed by a committee from the "Eleventh Ward Association to fill the Quota to Avoid the Draft." In the opening paragraph it says:

> Fellow-citizens, are you willing to stand tamely by and while other wards are organizing to sustain the Government in putting down the odious Rebellion, by contributing of their means to aid recruiting, allow the odious Wheel of Fortune to send to the Army those having no Stomach for the Fight, while plenty are willing to take its chances and its glories, if you will dispense a small portion of your Lucre to give comfort to those they leave behind?

Several years ago Mr. Wagner gave the Historical Society the wheel which was used by him in the draft. There were thirty-four Provost Marshals in New York State during the war, one for each Congressional District, and Mr. Wagner says that he is the only survivor.

Another souvenir of the war days in the collection is a huge bill poster containing several hundred names, being a list of those who were drafted, but who failed to report. An award of $30 was offered for their apprehension. Many of these men were away at the time of the draft, and appeared later.

In the two years that the office was open seventy-five deserters were arrested and sent to Fort Columbus, on Governors Island, and Mr. Wagner also mentions that two deserters were shot in trying to escape, one being killed.

Wanamaker's Indian Statue

It is to be regretted that the gavel fell in the Senate before the signing of the bill authorizing the erection, in New York harbor, of a heroic statue commemorative of the North American Indian. The measure had been passed by the House, signed by the Speaker, and was being hurried to the Senate when Vice President Sherman, just as the messenger entered the chamber, adjourned the Senate. This, however, is only a temporary setback.

New York's public statues are not so numerous or so famous that this generous donation will be obscured in any way. The theme to be treated is one that appeals immensely and nothing is to be spared to make the memorial an enduring one. It is to be erected upon a government reservation without expense to the government, the site to be selected by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy. The donor is Mr. Rodman Wanamaker, of New York, although Representative Moore, of Pennsylvania, wants it to read "of Philadelphia and New York."



The Senate Snuff

With the recent death of Senator William P. Frye of Maine, who was almost the last of the old guard of the Senate, there passed out of that body not only an able and honest public servant, but also the last member of the Upper House who used the Senate snuff.

Few citizens of the United States know that there is "Senate snuff," and that snuff is regularly provided for the use of the members of that dignified body, and that to cut off the supply it would well nigh require an act of Congress.

To the right and left of the Vice-President's chair are placed in niches in the wall mother-of-pearl and ebony boxes. They are the Senate snuff-boxes. They have been there since the early days of the Republic, when it was fashionable to take snuff, and

it was the boast of an aspirant to social position that he had taken snuff with this or that Senator or cabinet officer.

The Senate at that time adopted a resolution providing for the snuff-boxes and also for the snuff. And the snuff-boxes have hardened into barnacles on the Senate, like the Senate rules which permit a small minority to talk to death measures which, if permitted to go to a vote, would be adopted by an overwhelming majority. They are there to stay, unless some Senator is able to get through a resolution doing away with them.

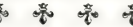
The Herkimer Demonstration

Members of the Sons of the American Revolution and the Daughters of the American Revolution from many places in central New York, assisted by a large number of persons representing all sections of Oneida and Herkimer counties, held a patriotic demonstration at the General Herkimer homestead, near Little Falls, on September 1. It was the first step in the programme which will be carried out by the Daughters in marking the route taken by Gen. Herkimer from his old home in the town of Danube to the Oriskany battlefield, where he received his fatal injuries.

It marked also the beginning of a new campaign for the purchase of the historic homestead by the State, and an effort to get the Legislature to act at the coming session will be made with renewed vigor. The bill has twice been before the Legislature and each time it was passed. Gov. Hughes vetoed it on one occasion and Gov. Dix vetoed it after a second passage. The reason given in each case was the condition of the State treasury. An appropriation of $15,000 was asked.

The meeting to-day, which embraced the excursion to the Herkimer home and the little cemetery close by where the patriotic General was buried, was held under the auspices of the New York State committee on historic spots. Another society that has taken an active interest in the preservation of the old home is the German Alliance of New York, of which Theodore Sutro of that

city is president. Mr. Sutro was present at the meeting to-day and delivered the principal address. If the Herkimer homestead is to be preserved it was evident to-day that something must be done soon. The building shows its age and it is not receiving the care that it should. At almost every point it shows the result of neglect and misuse.



Splendid Gift to Historical Society

The imposing residence of the late Daniel B. Wesson, on Maple Street, Springfield, Mass., has been presented to the Connecticut Valley Historical Society. The gift is provisional to the raising by the society of a permanent fund of $100,000, the income of which is to be used for maintenance. J. Pierpont Morgan has already offered to give $10,000 toward this fund and the gift of the general committee of the 275th anniversary, amounting to $250, is also available.

According to Mr. W. F. Adams, president of the society, the building is splendidly adapted for exhibiting the valuable collections that are now in possession of the society, or have been promised as soon as suitable accommodations could be provided. The recent exhibit in connection with the anniversary shows something of the wealth of material available. No changes will be made in the building as none are needed. With the large number of rooms available the collections can be housed practically by themselves and in places ideally suited for them. This is a source of satisfaction to the Wesson heirs as well as to the society as the permanence of the house in its present form is assured for all time. The building will be by far the most costly owned by a historical society in the country. At Worcester the society there has just completed a new building that cost $300,000. The Wesson house cost approximately $1,000,000. The society will have no burden of taxes to meet, as buildings for such purposes come within the exempted list.

The historical society was organized in 1876 and has a membership now of about 300. J. Pierpont Morgan is one of the life

members. It was organized "to procure and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, military, ecclesiastical and genealogical history of the country, and especially of the territory in the Connecticut valley, and also to prepare and preserve correct reports of annals of passing events of importance." The home of the society has been somewhat uncertain for years. At present it is using part of the Art museum for some of its collections. It has a vast amount of material, however, that it has never had room to make available to the public. The society has issued three volumes of "Papers and Proceedings." The first of 325 pages covers the years 1876 to 1881. The second of 309 pages covers the years 1882 to 1893. The third, covering 1894 to 1911, is now in press. It also issued in 1907 "Poets and Poetry of Springfield," and in 1909, "History of Springfield in Massachusetts for the Young," by Charles H. Barrows.

Protecting Healey's Famous Painting

Taking recognition of the reports that the Art Commission is considering the reduction in size of the famous picture in Faneuil Hall, "Webster's Reply to Hayne," former Mayor Samuel A. Green raises a word of protest against altering the portrait, says the Boston *Transcript*.

"I do not believe in this move," he said. "The Art Commission may be perfectly correct from their point of view; but Faneuil Hall, I take it, is dedicated to patriotism, and is not designed for an æsthetically well balanced picture gallery.

"The picture has been well enough as it is for the last fifty years, and I see no reason why it should not be well enough as it is for fifty years to come. Faneuil Hall is not all that an architect could desire; but its main purpose is preserved, to inculcate patriotism and loyalty into citizens.

"The picture of 'Webster's Reply to Hayne,' a speech that every youngster knew by heart when I was a schoolboy, should not be marred. If the Art Commission is allowed to do this, there seems to be no assurance that within a few years some other

commission will not be parting and slicing at the Common to make it more artistic, or putting a school building in the Public Garden, or pulling down the old South Church because it doesn't harmonize with its surroundings, or renovating the Bulfinch front on Beacon Hill.

"If a person is dissatisfied with the Faneuil Hall paintings as they now are, he can always go up to the Art Museum and get his fill of art of the highest type.

"I can remember back to the days when the painting of Webster's reply was not in the hall. I knew G. P. A. Healey, the artist, personally. Perhaps that is why I am conservative in this matter. But it is certain that my feeling is, 'Don't touch it.'

"The Art Commission, not this one in particular, but the commission in general, has funny ideas, it seems to me. They want everything to harmonize. Nowadays if a woman has on blue stockings she must have a blue parasol too. I don't believe in that. I believe in a sort of natural harmony, and it seems to me that the historical significance of Healey's painting is such that it simply could not be out of harmony with its surroundings where it now hangs. Let it alone!"

The Booth Monument

Frederick MacMonnies of New York, the famous sculptor, has just completed the models for the Edwin Booth statue for New York. This work departs greatly from the original plan and will give New Yorkers a delightful surprise, for it will be one of the few monuments of its kind in the world. Instead of being the usual portrait statue of an actor, MacMonnies's work will have unique architectural features.

Booth is represented in the character of Hamlet, holding Yorick's skull. The statue will be nine feet high. What will make the monument unique is the placing of this statue under a great arch which will represent the stage of a theatre, so that Booth will seem to have stepped before the curtain—which is suggested in the architecture. Pillars will rise on either side like the

columns at the proscenium. On one column will be the mask of Tragedy, on the other the mask of Comedy. The decoration of the pediment will consist of a reproduction of accessories used by Booth in some of his famous parts.



Death of Major Rathbone

The death on August 16, of Major Rathbone, who was wounded while attempting to save the life of President Lincoln most vividly recalled the shooting, and Mr. William T. Kent, of Washington, D. C., took advantage of the opportunity to correct some errors in the commonly accepted story of the tragedy. In a letter to the New York *Evening Post* he said:

I was present in the theatre that awful night. I went there to see Gen. Grant, and secured a seat almost directly opposite the box prepared for the President and his party. After the President had acknowledged the greetings of the audience, he sat down in a low chair on the left-hand side of the box. When the assassin's shot rang out through the theatre, the stage was occupied by an actor named Hawk, who had come to the front of the stage in a soliloquy. *Miss Keene was not on the stage.* I was not familiar with the play, and supposed the shot was fired behind the scenes as a part of the performance, when suddenly my attention was attracted to the President's box by the appearance of a man with a pallid face and a mass of dark hair, who instantly vaulted over the box rail, catching his spur in the flag drapery, but quickly recovering his balance, and, landing on the stage twelve feet below, holding aloft a dagger, delivered to the audience his tragic utterance, "Sic semper tyrannis." The moment I heard these words, it occurred to me what he had done. I immediately arose from my seat and ran around in the rear of the chairs towards the President's box. As I passed, I saw the assassin proceed to the middle of the stage, where he paused and, still holding aloft his dagger, exclaimed, "The South is avenged."

On reaching the box, I entered without question from any one. Two men were lifting the President from the low plush chair in which he had been sitting.

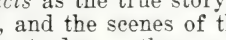
They placed him on the floor of the box. Some one went to the front of the box and called out, "Is there a surgeon in the

house?" A person on the stage said, "Yes; I am one," and we lifted him up from the stage into the box. On entering he said, "Has any one a knife?" I handed him mine, and with it he cut the President's clothes open from the collar down the left shoulder and sleeves, baring the body. Not finding any evidence of a wound, he drew the clothes together, and then ran his hand around the President's head, and announced, "Here is the wound," indicating a spot just over and back of the left ear.

Then Miss Laura Keene came into the box. Kneeling at the President's head, she took it in her lap. Some one handed her a glass of water, which she presented to the President's lips, but his teeth were set. She then reverently placed his head on the floor and rose to her feet. I saw that the handsome flowered silk dress she wore was stained with the life blood of our martyred President.

If any army surgeons were there, they failed to put in an appearance. I saw some years ago an announcement of the death in New York State of the surgeon whom we lifted into the box. I have in my possession, as my most sacred relic, the knife used by the surgeon at that time. After all others had left the box, I found the pistol used by the assassin, and identified it at the trial of the conspirators.

I write you these *facts* as the true story. They were burned into my consciousness, and the scenes of that fearful night are as fresh in my memory to-day as they were on April 15, 1865.



Timely Triumph of Admiral Schley

Although the sudden death of Admiral Schley, on October 2, was a sad blow to the nation, much satisfaction was felt at the fact that he had lived long enough to see himself completely vindicated of the charge of having mismanaged the battleship Brooklyn at Santiago during the war with Spain. Though subjected to much criticism and partial condemnation at the time, both American and Spanish officers now admit that it was Schley who won the victory for the American fleet, and, fortunately, the readjustment of public opinion came while the Admiral was still with us. Writing about the Schley vindication in the New York *American,* John Temple Graves said:

"Slow, but sure, and triumphant over criticism and misrep-

resentation, comes the ample vindication of Winfield Scott Schley as the real hero of the Spanish-American War.

"Every patriotic American should rejoice and give currency to the just fame which has so long been obscured by uncertainty and doubt.

"Not the battle of Manila Bay, but the battle of Santiago Harbor was the decisive battle of the Spanish-American War. Not Sampson, but Schley was the victorious commander of the American fleet. The battleship Brooklyn led the pursuit of the Spanish squadron, and it is statistically a fact that there were more bullets and shells of the Brooklyn found in the Spanish fleet than of any other or of all the American battleships combined.

"It is not, perhaps, so much the fault of Sampson as his misfortune that he was not present when the battle was fought and won.

"It was the 'loop' of the Brooklyn in the crisis of that battle which subjected Schley to criticism and to partial condemnation by his fellow officers, saving only Admiral Dewey, who was keen enough to see and great enough to say that it was the master stratagem of the fight.

"Now comes Admiral Chadwick, commander of the battleship New York, and Admiral Sampson's chief of staff, to vindicate the genius as well as the skill of Admiral Schley.

"Now comes Admiral Concas, of the Spanish flagship Maria Teresa, giving testimony that when the Spanish fleet, held so long in check by Hobson's immortal act of heroism, broke out of Santiago Harbor, it was their plan of battle that the Maria Teresa should ram the battleship Brooklyn, swiftest of the American navy, and so allow the Spanish fleet to outrun in retreat the other American vessels.

"Chadwick and Concas, and Dewey and history unite now in declaring that the 'loop' of the Brooklyn was the consummate stratagem which foiled the Spanish plan of battle, saved the speed and the effectiveness of the Brooklyn, and destroyed the Spanish navy.

"It has been said that republics are ungrateful. Let this Republic now demonstrate to Admiral Schley that the doubt and the distrust of the past are melted in the applause and admiration of the future, and let our patriotic societies and our histories hereafter give place to Winfield Scott Schley as the hero of the Spanish-American War."



James Buchanan

NOVEMBER, 1911 No. 11

Americana

Illustrated



National Americana Society
154 East Twenty-Third St
New York

AMERICANA

November, 1911

The Closing Month of the Buchanan Administration

By Howard T. Lewis, M. A., University of Wisconsin

THERE are few periods in American history around which has centered so much discussion as that of the six months which marked the close of President Buchanan's administration. Questions as to the wisdom of the President's actions and of his real attitude—questions as to the extent of justification of the Southern States—questions as to the probable effect of a defeat for Lincoln, or of the pursuit of a different policy by Buchanan, are still matters of dispute, even as they were then. Yet most of the controversy has centered particularly upon the President and criticisms of his actions have been persistent and largely adverse.

To what extent were these criticisms just? Was President Buchanan "decidedly Southern in his sympathies," "a traitor to his presidential oath," or were his mistakes due to incapacity rather than to insincerity? Not that the latter renders those mistakes any less momentous in their consequences, but so much of the condemnation of President Buchanan has been directed against the man *personally* that the general reader is altogether too apt to get the impression that the Chief Executive consciously, and intentionally endeavored to handicap the North at the very outset of the Rebellion. Was this the case?

On December 3, 1860, Congress listened to the reading of the President's message. The Annual Message was in some respects a remarkable document. It contained several seeming

contradictions, and, on the whole, was most easily interpreted as being favorable to the South. Yet the impartial reader can scarcely fail but be impressed with the fact that, however much Buchanan may have been in error, he certainly was sincere in all that he said. Mistakes were abundant, not only in form of statement, but in general policy, yet, in spite of this, it seems clearly evident that the author had the welfare of the Union at heart, notwithstanding the evil effects of powerful outside influence.

The Message began with the statement that the President had long foreseen the grave danger which now threatened the peace and well-being of the Union. It did not arise, Buchanan continued, solely from efforts on the part of the North to exclude slavery from the territories, nor from attempts on the part of certain free States to evade the Fugitive Slave Law, which, he stated elsewhere,—were as much nullification as was the action of South Carolina. "All these might have been endured by the South." Speaking of the slavery question, Buchanan had said in his inaugural address: "The present issue is transitory and will soon pass. Should the time ever come when Northern agitation and fanaticism shall proceed so far as to render the domestic firesides of the South insecure—then, and not until then, will the Union be in danger." And it was perfectly evident from the Message that, in Buchanan's mind, that point had been reached, for he attempted to show that this condition had come to exist in the South through the malign influence of the new Northern party as well as the influence of the anti-slavery party upon the slave himself. For this condition the North alone was responsible, and alone could remedy the evil.

In an effort to treat the question justly, presenting both sides as became the occasion, President Buchanan turned completely about, and, referring to the threat made constantly throughout the South prior to the election that the selection of Lincoln would be just cause for secession, he said, "The election of any one of our fellow citizens to the office of president does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union," and he then added a most inexplicable clause, "especially when his election was by a mere plurality and from wholly transcient causes which

may probably never occur again." He went on to say that the right of property in slaves had never been in any way effected by an act of Congress, with the possible exception of the Missouri Compromise. Furthermore, the Supreme Court of the United States, through its verdict in the Dread Scott case, had declared that slaves were property anywhere. He hoped that the various "Personal Liberty" acts having for their object the evasion of the Fugitive Slave Law, which had been passed by various Northern State legislatures, would be quickly repealed. He could not be blamed personally—he persisted—any more than Congress, for the passage of these acts. The validity of the Fugitive Slave Law had been decided by the highest court in the land, and, as an act of Congress, superceded all other acts to the contrary which might be passed by State legislatures. The Southern States had a right to demand that these acts be repealed.

Continuing, Buchanan said that if this demand were refused the slave States were justified in revolutionary resistance since no party to the Constitution could be held to it if any other party violated it. Here it was that Buchanan made a vital blunder, for his wording, whatever the real meaning he wished to convey, might easily be misconstrued, as it was, offering to the Southern leaders the word of a Pennsylvania president that armed resistance was at times justifiable (in case some State violated the Constitution). It is true that he also asserted that the founders of the Constitution intended that it should be binding upon all the States. Herein the Constitution had differed from the Articles of Confederation. This had been the position assumed by Andrew Jackson in 1830. This had always been the interpretation given by the power at Washington. On the other hand, the right of a State to rebel against a tyrannical government could never be denied, and the president had no legal right to employ the force of arms to keep that State in the Union since the Constitution gave him that right only after the civil officers had failed. In South Carolina these had all resigned, and, in consequence, Buchanan held himself powerless, yet this clause did not prevent him from using force to collect revenue duties. Public property still belonged to the United States even after the se-

cession of an individual State, "and those in command there have been instructed to act on the defensive should any attempt against them be made. Beyond this the President dare not go." Neither had Congress this power, since such action on her part would consist in making war upon a State which was clearly unconstitutional. Even if it had this power, the President thought it would be unwise to use it when a peaceful settlement might even yet be hoped for.

The Message concluded with what seemed to Buchanan to be the proper solution for the entire problem—the calling of a national convention and the amendment of the Constitution in accord with its expressed sentiment. Such amendment, he thought should do three things: (1) It should recognize the right of property in slaves; (2) it should have a territory, upon becoming a State, decide for itself whether it should be free or slave; and (3) it should recognize the right of a master to his property at all times, and to capture and retain his slaves in case of their escape.

Such was the contents, in general, of the President's Message as it was read before Congress that 23rd of December. It has been given in some detail and more or less at length, for it is, perhaps, the best single assertive piece of evidence we have regarding President Buchanan's real attitude. Moreover, it was a most carefully prepared document. Attorney General Black was consulted, and his opinions were inculcated into the President's thought. The loyalty of Black to the Union was above question, and Buchanan knew it well. In spite of the statement of Curtiss to the contrary, it is very probable that Buchanan felt sorely in need of advice, and this without casting any reflection upon the ability, legal or judicial, of the President. The question to be handled was one as delicate as any that has ever arisen in American history. It was a time when individual feelings ran high, and though all looked to Buchanan to act without erring, there were few to whom he could go with the hope of obtaining impartial advice. The people looked to him to make adequate statement of the question, truthfully and in detail.

It is hardly conceivable that Buchanan hoped to keep South Carolina in the Union, yet he undoubtedly entertained hopes, if

we are to judge from his own statements, of preventing a further spread of the secession movement. Hale of New Hampshire probably truly expressed the Northern view of the Message in his famous digest of Buchanan's doctrine, "South Carolina has no just right to secede. She has no right to secede, yet the Union has no power to force her to remain." Believing this, the North refused to assent, and rightly, were these criticisms just. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that Buchanan had many enemies throughout the North who were selfish enough to distort his message to best suit their own individual ends. Equally opposed to the position of the President was the South because of the persistent denial of the right of secession.

President Buchanan was too good a jurist not to see the inconsistency of his statements had he interpreted his doctrine as did Hale. He had served his country too long and faithfully, and was too well acquainted with his constituents, ever to expect them to believe such a paradox as some critics have attempted to read into his Message. Fundamentally, the flaw with the Message lay not so much in the doctrine which Buchanan wished to present as in the way in which that doctrine was stated, for if we examine the instrument closely we cannot fail to see that Buchanan's fundamental opposition to secession was based on a perfectly legitimate differentiation between secession and justifiable rebellion against tyranny. His basic thought was this: that any State as a political entity might, if it chose, secede from the Union and the President had constitutionally no power to coerce it; yet the public property within that State (such as forts, arsenals, etc.) was still the property of the Federal government; furthermore the United States did have the power to collect revenues and to compel the individual citizen, even by force if necessary, to obey the laws of the United States. Against this latter point the South argued, and it must be admitted with some degree of soundness, that to coerce the individual citizen of a State was to coerce the State itself. Yet only on the President's ground could the use of force by the Federal government be justified at any time. It hardly seems fair to blame Buchanan for interpreting the Constitution as he did, when backed by the majority of the Cabinet. Even had he gone further, he would

undoubtedly have stood alone, for Congress, voicing the sentiment of the North, still persisted in believing that the South would not secede when it came to the definite act. Not that this position was the only,or even the best one; not but that, in the light of subsequent events, posterity would now justify a more aggressive and forceful policy, but it is unfair to hold President Buchanan personally responsible for the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion or for the failure to prevent it, especially when both Congress and the Cabinet took the same stand as did the Chief Executive.

There is still another thing that seems to have been forgotten by most if not all of the critics of this message. When, some years later, President Lincoln said that he would endeavor to save the Union, regardless of the effect upon slavery, his statement was, and still is greeted by applause. Yet it does not require an excessive amount of sympathetic reading of this Annual Message to see that Buchanan had the same thing at heart. He was not as apt in expressing it as was his successor, but the thing that is written in the large all over the Message of Buchanan to Congress in 1860 is this: "Slavery as an individual question is the incidental thing; the salvation of the Union is the all-important subject of study." Detailed criticisms may justly be made by the score, but in judging President Buchanan on the basis of this Message the larger point has been pretty generally missed.

The Message, before its delivery to Congress, was first read to the Cabinet, and all approved save General Cass of Michigan and Howell Cobb of Georgia. Cobb, declaring that his first duty was to his State, resigned his position in the Cabinet on December 8. Floyd, the Secretary of War, did likewise in greatly affected rage because of the insult which he declared the President gave him and the South through refusal to surrender Southern forts to the Confederacy upon demand, though it developed later that he had defrauded the government of over $150,000, a fact which he doubtless knew would soon be discovered. General Cass held his ground until December 12, when he withdrew because of differences between himself and the President. Many historians have severely criticised Buchanan for not having

asked Cass to resign earlier. The explanation which suggests itself at once is that Buchanan probably expected resignation daily, and out of regard for Cass, wished him to leave the Cabinet without the stain of having been asked to resign. Such an explanation would certainly be consistent with Buchanan's personal character. Whether or not it was the true explanation is another question, and one which cannot well be answered.

Immediately upon the reading of the Message, the Senate appointed a committee to investigate and report on that portion dealing with secession, and the House took similar action. In the meantime, while the House Committee of thirty-three members was attempting to reach a solution, an address appeared in pamphlet form from the Southern senators declaring, in substance, that the only way to satisfy Southern honor, and the only course left because of the evident impossibility of reaching a settlement satisfactory to both parties, was secession. This was on December 14. On the 17th the South Carolina State Convention met in "Secession Hall," Charleston, and on the 20th passed the Ordinances of Secession.

The resignation of General Cass as Secretary of War on December 12, was at once accepted by the President and former Attorney-General Black was appointed to the vacancy thus created. It is interesting to note that Black himself was on the point of resigning shortly after, but reconsidered his decision when Buchanan took a more decisive stand in favor of the North The proffered resignation of Black was due to his claim that the President did not differ essentially from the Secessionists, and had refused to strengthen the Northern position throughout the Southern States, a position of which Blaine approves, but which, as has been shown, hardly seems tenable. To fill the other vacancies left by Cobb, Floyd, and Cass (the latter two having resigned late in December), Edward Stanton was made Attorney General, Thomas, and later General Joseph Holt became Secretary of War, and John A. Dix was offered and accepted the position of Secretary of the Treasury. With the Cabinet thus reorganized and immeasurably strengthened, the President was able to stand out more firmly than at any time previously, with the result that Jefferson Davis, Toombs, Slidell, and the other

Southern leaders showed their true colors by denouncing him in the most bitter terms.

On January 8, President Buchanan sent a Special Message to Congress declaring that the horizon, instead of clearing, was growing constantly darker and more decisive action was necessary. He reiterated his statements—though this time in more clear and concise fashion—that no State had the right to secede from the Union, but that if she did, the President had no Constitutional power to compel her to remain. He declared emphatically, however, that he intended to enforce the law to the best of his ability. Neither he nor Congress had the power to make war upon a State, but it was the President's fundamental duty under the Constitution to enforce law and to act on the defensive against enemies. Any attempt, therefore, to secure Federal property on the part of the Southern States would be met with resistance. He went on to say that the cause of the present difficulty was wholly due to a misunderstanding on the part of the South as to the intentions of the North, and that every possible and conceivable means should be adopted to secure a peaceable settlement. He suggested that the Constitution be amended so that all property north of a certain line should remain entirely under Northern influence and control, and that all south of it should be dominated by Southern influence, failing to fully comprehend, however, that such would be but an unsatisfactory postponement of the difficulty.

On January 28, came a second Special Message, announcing to Congress the proposal of Virginia to hold at Washington a conference of representatives, one from every State so inclined, who were to make another effort at settlement, and appointing Ex-President Tyler as the Virginia representative, and asking that both the President and South Carolina refrain from taking any warlike measures until this conference could be held. It developed later that such a conference was actually held on February 4, but nothing came of it. The important thing to note is the loyal attitude of Virginia and her desire to avoid war if such a thing were possible.

On March 4, 1861, the newly elected Lincoln entered Washington, and was duly inaugurated. If we are to believe Curtiss in

his "Life of James Buchanan," the new president did not on that day—the only occasion of their meeting, seek any knowledge or advice from the retiring president, a thing which is hardly conceivable unless backed by more evidence than that which is given.

Such, in brief, was the course of events from the assembling of Congress in the early winter of 1860 to the inauguration of Lincoln in the following March. The opponents of President Buchanan are justly agreed on one thing: that his greatest fault lay not in what he did, but in what he failed to do. From the early fall of 1860, he apparently did nothing decisive to stay the approaching Rebellion. He asked advice, and attempted to state the issues; he counseled Congress; he debated Constitutionality but he did nothing of value. As to his sincerity, his loyalty to the Union, and his good intentions, there can be little question. But good intentions and loyalty could not of themselves avert the coming strife. It would appear that he should have combined with these admirable qualities something more prompt and decisive. It was a time when he might well have acted first and debated the constitutionality of his act afterwards. If we are to relieve Buchanan, he did not receive news of the condition of the fort at Charleston until it had become an impossibility to change them. Yet, it is hard to explain the sending of the wooden *Star of the West* to Fort Sumter on January 9, the same day that Anderson was ordered from Moultre to Sumter, which was the only pretence of action, when Colonel Gardiner had warned the War Department on November 8 as to the impending danger. Only one explanation can suggest itself (which of course can scarcely be verified), and that is that Floyd, the Secretary of War, and a very ardent Pro-Slavery and Anti-Unionist, concealed the news from the President as long as possible. Even this would hardly explain the President's tardy action, as both Attorney-General Black and Secretary Cass warned him of the same thing in Cabinet meeting. Furthermore, he could scarcely have failed to see—even without definite information to that effect—the weakness and danger of those forts. Only his strict interpretation of the Constitution and the fear of overstepping his power—a thing which seemed to him most necessary to be

avoided—can explain his lack of action. It certainly would seem that he was over-cautious. Action similar to that of President Jackson in 1830 might have restricted the secession movement to South Carolina, or, at most to her immediate neighbors. It assuredly would have been beneficial in the end, keeping the border States in the Union, and giving the South less time for preparation. Here, at least, Buchanan made one, and perhaps a fatal mistake.

What shall be our final judgement of President Buchanan. His loyalty to the Union, as already stated, was above question. He was misrepresented and misunderstood. He was a man more easily influenced by others than one in his position should have been. He lacked the aggressiveness a man in his position should have exhibited at such a time. Whatever we may think of him politically, however, there can be little question regarding him personally. His very cautiousness was due to his love for the country which he strove to serve. He made mistakes—yet, shall we not say of him as he said of himself at the close of his last official document—the Special Message of January 8—"I feel that my duty has been faithfully, though imperfectly performed, and whatever the result may be, I shall carry to my grave the consciousness that, at least, I meant well for my country."

First Presentation of "Uncle Tom's Cabin"

BY EDGAR W. AMES

Head of the Department of History, Troy High School, Troy, N. Y.

ON Friday morning, January 27, 1911, there was burned in the city of Troy, New York, the building located at the corner of River and Fulton Streets. This was formerly occupied by Peale's Troy Museum, and on its stage was presented for the first time the now celebrated drama, "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

In this theatre were offered various "theatrical performances and scenic exhibitions; on Saturdays the plays were adapted to the taste of juvenile visitors." "Curiosities of every description including beasts, birds, reptiles, minerals, fossils, works of art from the heads of the native savage, and the more finished from civilized artists,—Grand Cosmoramas, fifty Burmese figures in their native costumes and different castes, superior electrical machines and admirable paintings of the Great Sea Serpent"—all these, according to the advertisements, were the attractive features of the place.

In the Spring of 1852, Harriet Beecher Stowe published the book "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and soon 300,000 copies had been sold. September 27, 1852, the advertisements of a play based upon the book were published in the Troy newspapers, the "Troy Daily Whig," the "Troy Northern Budget," and the "Troy Daily Times." These notices read as follows:

"The Troy Museum, corner of Fulton and River Streets.

Manager.....G. C. Howard
Treasurer.....Mr. Cruikshank
Scenic Artist.....S. Hayes
Musical Director.....Prof. Barnekoy

Monday evening, September 27, the new Drama from Harriet Beecher Stowe's popular work, entitled Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly.

Uncle Tom.....Mr. G. C. Germon
St. Claire.....Mr. Howard
George Harris.....Mr. G. L. Aikin
Eliza.....Mrs. G. C. Germon
Topsey.....Mrs. G. Howard
Eva.....Little Cordelia Howard

To conclude with.

The First Night.

Mr. Peter Paul Pearlbutton.....Mr. C. Fox

Doors open at 7—to commence at 8. Admission 25 cents, children half price. Boys to gallery, 12½ cents. Box seats, 12½ cents extra. Orchestra spring seats and cushioned arm chairs, 25 cents extra. Seats can be secured at the office during the day."

The concluding play was changed from time to time, but Uncle Tom's Cabin" in its various forms as shown by the advertisements which follow, was kept on the boards until December 2, 1852. This shows the remarkable nature of the play when it is remembered that the theatre was crowded every night for *ten* weeks, and this in a city which had at that time only 30,000 inhabitants.

On October 7, a slight change made in the wording of the advertisements in the various newspapers, indicates the popularity of the play and gives the name of its author. "Immense success of the new Drama, Dramatized by G. L. Aikin from Harriet Beecher Stowe's popular work entitled," etc. Mr. Aikin took the part of "George Harris" with pronounced success, until the appearance of the new play.

That the theatres of those days stimulated their audiences with "last nights" and "benefits" to popular actors, the following advertisements show. On October 18, the papers announced, "Last nights of Little Cordelia in her popular character of Eva;" and on October 25, "Last appearance and benefit to Little Cordelia Howard, the youthful woman of four years, on which occasion she will play in both pieces. This evening positively the last night of the new Drama from Harriet Beecher Stowe's popular work," etc., etc.

It is evident from the first printed notice of the play, that it had not reached its form of today, for many of the present charactors are lacking. This is still more evident from the advertisement which appeared in all the city papers of October 26.

Another new Drama on the subject of Uncle Tom's Cabin, Dramatized by G. L. Aikin, entitled The Death of Uncle Tom, or the Religion of the Lowly, the following characters will appear:

"George Shelby.....G. L. Aikin
Deacon Perry.....L. Moyne
Legree.....C. M. Davis
Gumption Cute.....C. M. Fox
Topsey.....Mrs. Howard
Cassy.....Mrs. Germon
Emmaline.....Miss Emmons."

This form of the play ran for nearly another month, and then on November 15, 1852, appeared the notice which indicates that the nimble wits of Mr. Aikin had found a way of joining the two short plays, thus practically completing our modern version of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." On that date there appeared in all the city papers the following: "Grand Combination of the two dramas on the same evening. The last week of Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly, and Death of Uncle Tom or Religion Among the Lowly. Little Cordelia Howard as Eva. The desire of the entire community being to see the work from beginning to end, and the manager wishing to gratify all patrons, is why this immense work is undertaken in one evening. Owing to the length of the drama, no other piece will be played. Change of time, doors open at 7, to commence at ¼ to 8.

The notice of the farewell performances contains the following: "As many citizens who have not been at the Museum have expressed a desire to see this piece, the manager performs it for their especial accommodation. The last and only chance they will have to see the play." On December 2, there was an entire change of program, for the first time in ten weeks.

The play became very popular from the time of its first presentation. The "Daily Whig" whether from its general policy or because it was so interested in its opposition to Franklin

Pierce, at that time a candidate for the presidency, gave no comments on the play.

In the "Northern Budget" of September 29, two days after the first appearance of the play, the following comment was printed:

"Uncle Tom's Cabin is drawing large crowds to this establishment." (Referring to Peale's Museum, which was the heading of the notice). "Everyone who has read that immensely popular book ought to see it. The play is said to be one of the best put on the stage in this city, and it is played to the life.—See it before it is too late."

On October 7, when the merits of the play and the real worth of the actors had begun to be more clearly seen, the "Budget" said:

" 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is now on the tenth night of its representation at this establishment, and yet the public interest in it continues unabated. Crowds flock nightly to witness the performances, and the touches of human nature it develops in the crowds of spectators is refreshing to behold. It is really one of the best things ever put on the stage in this city. The scenes are natural, unique and interesting, and one so diversified with salient points as alternately to affect the audiences with tears, bursts of laughter or the most intense silence. Uncle Tom—by Germon—is a masterpiece of acting, and the songs of 'Old Folks at Home,' ('The Swanee River'), which he introduces are not only executed with artistic skill but with a plaintive sweetness, —better than art,—that takes down the crowd completely. Topsey, by Mrs. Howard, is 'one of 'em' decidedly. She makes the character one of the most taking of the piece ('Did the editor intend to make a pun?') and she could not improve it if she had taken lessons in the best schools of the South. Eva, by little Cordelia Howard, is a character of another sort, but none the less interesting. She affects to tears every parent who witnesses her performances. Aikin who dramatized the play, Howard, Mrs. Germon, and in fact all who have characters in the piece enact their parts admirably. But we leave readers to see and appreciate for themselves."

The comment on October 19, is as follows:

"Uncle Tom's Cabin continues to draw crowded houses at the Museum, although this is the fourth week of its representation.

The manager will be compelled to withdraw it after a few evenings more to make room for other attractions for which other arrangements were made before Uncle Tom's Cabin had been dramatically introduced to the public. Those who have not seen probably be again brought forward this season. The masterly manner in which this piece has been played, and the thrilling and the great piece should see it before it is withdrawn, as it will not natural scenes which it represents to the life have drawn a class of auditors to the Museum who heretofore have rarely witnessed dramatic performances. They have been amply repaid, —and many who have heretofore opposed the stage, after seeing Uncle Tom's Cabin, have gone to their homes with better impressions in regard to it."

Even as today "Little Eva" was the most appealing character in the play and Little Cordelia Howard seems to have been a remarkable child actress. The "Budget" of October 25 says of her:

"The Museum presents Uncle Tom's Cabin this evening for the last time, on which occasion a benefit is announced for Little Cordelia Howard, the Eva of the play, this being her last appearance. This talented child has astounded and delighted thousands who have witnessed her in the character of Eva during the last four weeks, and her life-like acting has been one of the most interesting and attractive features of the piece. She possesses rare and brilliant talents for a child so young. Her many admirers should crowd the house from pit to dome tonight."

From a news item printed in the "Troy Times" of October 6, which said:

" 'Mr. G. L. Aikin of the Museum is dramatizing the second volume of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and it will soon be brought out,' —it is evident that the two plays were based on the two volume edition of Mrs. Stowe's book, and that when he saw how the first play had taken with his audiences, Aikin went to work at once on a second play which, as we have noted above, was called 'The Death of Uncle Tom, or Religion Among the Lowly.' "

This was presented October 26. On November 6, this description of the play appeared in the "Budget":

"There appears to be no end to the popularity of Uncle Tom's

Cabin, and it would seem that everything drawn from it or connected with it, is destined to receive a full share of the glory heaped upon its authoress. Uncle Tom's Cabin—presented as a drama—was presented at the Museum for four or five weeks, drawing crowded houses to the last, and after that came Uncle Tom's Death, or Religion Among the Lowly, dramatized from the same book. This play also seems destined for a run. It has lived through and survived several of the most exacting days preceding and succeeding the election, drawing crowded houses, and since that event has passed off, 'comes out' stronger than ever.

"The second edition of Uncle Tom's Cabin on the stage, is no less exciting, unique and interesting than its predecessor. It is full of rich, pathetic, and rare things which interest the feelings and find their way directly to the heart. Among the gems of the play are two touching little songs, the music and words of which are both from the pen of Manager Howard."

One of the songs has been lost, but the other follows. It does not always keep to the dialect with which it starts, and its metre halts somewhat, but it is sufficiently lugubrious when combined with an "Uncle Tom," to melt the stoutest heart, and that was evidently the result desired.

"UNCLE TOM'S RELIGION."

Far away from wife and children
Here I plod my way along.
Massa Clare has gone to *Eva*
Leaving friendless *Poor Old Tom,*
Yet with strength and trust in heaven
I'll remain a faithful slave—
When de whip to me am giben,
I'll think of him who died to save.

Shall I turn against my *brother*—
Raise the hand of cruelty?—
No! We must love one another,
Then we'll reach where all are free.
Patience here, I'll go to glory—
There is comfort for the slave.
When the lash makes dis flesh gory
I'll pray to him who died to save.

Good Bye Chile!—farewell, children!—
Poor Old Tom you'll see no more,
Mind be good, and hab religion,
'Twill bear you to de faithful shore.
Do not grieve, nor shed tears 'bout me
Suffering's over in de grave—
But at the glorious resurrection
We'll meet with him who died to save.

The last comment of the "Budget" occurred in November 26, and is as follows.

"Now in its 9th week, Uncle Tom's Cabin continues to draw its crowds of admirers nightly to the Museum. Never before did any play have such a run at this establishment. Its performance has been witnessed by over 25,000 people and the cry is still they come. Since the several parts have been united into one harmonious whole, the play has received an additional avalanche of admirers. Uncle Tom, Little Eva, Topsey and others taking characters in the play are nightly gathering fresh laurels in a field already brilliant with numberless theatrical triumphs."

The press notices found in the "Troy Daily Times" of this period are not as full nor as interesting as those in the Budget, yet some of them shed light on this first presentation of the play. On September 28, the morning after the play was first given, the "Times" says, "The representation of Uncle Tom's Cabin last evening at the museum brought forth tears from many an eye. The part of Uncle Tom by Mr. Germon was a beautiful piece of acting and Mrs. Howard was quite clever in her performance of Topsey, a wicked colored gal! The play is a good rebuke to those ranting abolitionists who are continually talking about slavery, yet who do not do anything to either free the slave or better his condition."

It is amusing to note that in almost every item concerning the play the "Times" states with the utmost seriousness that "the most respectable people" go to see the play. October 11, it says: "The Museum is thronged nightly with the most respectable audiences who witness the play with great satisfaction. Little Cordelia is undoubtedly the chief feature of the attraction. Aikin the dramatist deserves notice for the success of this production.

He renders the part of George Harris in a truthful manner," and on October 14: "This play has brought out our first citizens, many of whom have never before entered the Museum. Manager Howard is reaping a great harvest." In the items of a line or two which appeared two or three times a week this comment on the fact that the "best people" went to see the play was made emphatic.

In common with the other newspaper comment, the "Times" makes a great deal of Little Cordelia Howard. It says of her: "Little Cordelia as little Eva has been the chief attraction in the Drama of Uncle Tom's Cabin, and by her truthful child-like representation has won the hearts of all our citizens. In course of the scenes in which she appears one can scarcely believe but that little Cordelia is *really* little Eva, so truthfully does she perform her part. She beats all youthful prodigies, *les petites,* etc., that we have ever seen."

That the "tricks of the trade" were not unknown to the actors of that day the following letter which appeared in the "Times" in November 6, is proof:

"Mr. Francis,—

I take pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of $5.00 from Miss Cordelia Howard, daughter of C. G. Howard, Esq., for the benefit of the Troy Orphan Asylum.

It appears to me that the imagination never conceived of a sweeter character than Little Eva, and it is exceedingly pleasant to find its living representation in the person and moral qualities of little Cordelia Howard, the truthful personator of that interesting and benevolent character.

Your ob't servant,

S. K. Stowe, *Treasurer.*"

On Wednesday evening, December 1, Uncle Tom's Cabin came to the close of its first presentation and was soon afterward played in New York city. From that time there have been innumerable presentations of the play, but it has never had a greater success nor wielded a greater influence than during its initial performance in Troy during the Fall of 1852.

The Little Wars of the Republic

By John R. Meader

Part XV.—The Revolt in New Mexico

SEVERAL efforts have been made to show that the origin of hostilities between the United States and Mexico in 1846 was "found in the dispute as to the ownership of the territory between the Rio Grande and the Nueces River." Prince, in the "Historical Sketches of New Mexico" (pp. 290-327), asserts this to be a fact, but a careful examination of the question fails to develop the evidence necessary to support this statement. Instead, as Bancroft says, in the "History of the Pacific States" (vol. xii, p. 408), this was nothing more or less than the "shallow pretence by which the government . . . managed to afford some comfort to the national conscience" for an act that had comparatively little justification beyond the desire for possession. So far as New Mexico and Arizona were concerned, they did not figure in the dispute except for the fact that they were included in the territory to be acquired.

The Army of the West, which played so important a role at this time, was organized at Fort Leavenworth, in June, 1847. Colonel Stephen W. Kearny was placed in command with special instructions from Washington. That he was given great power, there can be no question; that he assumed powers that were not bestowed upon him, there is little reason to doubt, but that this assumption of authority caused marked displeasure at Washington is not indicated by subsequent facts. Apparently Colonel Kearny fully understood the purpose of the expedition—unquestionably he realized that the ardent desire of the administration was that he should take possession of this particular territory. If it could be obtained without bloodshed, so much the better, but, if this proved impossible, he had tacit per-

mission to go to any extremes that necessity required. Under such conditions it became somewhat difficult to criticise his acts adversely when he went a trifle further than was permissible under the law of the nation.

It was early in the summer of 1847 that the advance division, consisting of about 1,700 men, and under the command of Colonel Kearny, left Fort Leavenworth. It included 300 men from the First United States dragoons under Major Edwin V. Sumner, a regiment of mounted volunteers called out by Governor Edwards of Missouri, and five additional companies of volunteers. The second division, which followed closely, was composed of about 1,800 men, including the Mormon Battalion, and was commanded by Colonel Sterling Price.

After the march across the plains the army camped at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River, from which point an advance detachment of twenty men was sent to Taos to ascertain the sentiments of the people regarding the American invasion, and when they reported that resistance might be expected at every town—a statement that agreed fully with reports that had been secured from civilian sources—Captain Cooke was sent with twelve picked men to treat with Governor Armijo, and, if possible, arrange for the peaceful submission of Eastern New Mexico. With this party went James Magoffin, an Irish merchant from Kentucky who had been for many years in the Santa Fe trade, and who had won the confidence and esteem of all influential New Mexicans.

It was on August 12 that the party arrived at Santa Fe, where Governor Armijo received the delegation hospitably, even signifying his willingness to permit the change of flags to take place without the shedding of blood. In order that the arrangement should not be too apparent, however, Captain Cooke permitted him to make a defense at Apache Canon, a spot that even his necessarily untrained force might hope to hold for a time against the American forces. The only difficulty was found in persuading General Archuleta, who was in command of the troops, to agree to the plan, but his consent was at last secured on the understanding that he should have an opportunity to issue a pronunciamiento claiming the western portion of New

Mexico for himself, Colonel Kearny having received no instructions to take this territory.

When Captain Cooke again met the American army it was with most indefinite information as to what the Governor really proposed to do. He had given his promise to avoid actual hostilities, if possible, but, at the same time, it was realized that he must take some action to "save his honor" as a soldier. The American party had made every effort to make him understand that it would be foolhardy to attempt to resist the expedition, but the members knew that he was to issue a proclamation calling upon the people to "rise and repel the invaders," and some fear was felt that there would be serious trouble at the Canon.

Governor Armijo carried out the preliminaries without arousing suspicion. He issued his call to the people and they responded so patriotically that it was a force of from 3,000 to 4,000 men that he commanded. The men were, of course, poorly armed, and not many were properly drilled, but, owing to the situation of the Canon, they might have held their ground for a long period if the Governor had been as loyal as they presumed him to be. Their enlightenment, however, came more quickly than even the most sanguine members of the American party had anticipated. Long before the invading troops were expected to appear, Armijo dismissed all the volunteers, and, with his body guard, retreated. This action on the part of the Governor aroused much indignation among those who felt the humiliation of surrendering without a struggle, but to such criticisms Armijo had a ready reply. What chance had he—he said—to stop the invasion of the country by so large a body of well-trained and adequately-armed men! His resistance at best would have amounted to little more than the sacrifice of a few lives, with possibly, a subsequent period of guerilla warfare! It were better that he should submit without further humiliation!

Without waiting for the return of Captain Cooke, Kearny's army left Bent's Fort on August 2, and following what is now practically the line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, reaches Las Vegas on the 14th, Tecolate on the 15th, and San Miguel del Vado, on the 16th. At Las Vegas, he received his commission as brigadier-general. On the way he had met

with no resistance. To the contrary, many had voluntarily taken the oath of allegiance to the United States. On the 18th, the army entered Santa Fe, where the acting governor, Juan B. Vigil, welcomed General Kearny and permitted the United States flag to be raised. The following day the General made an address through an interpreter in which he assured the people protection against Mexico and all their Indian foes. At its conclusion practically all the city officials took the oath of allegiance, and the General gave instructions that the following proclamation should be posted in all public places:

"PROCLAMATION

"As by the act of the republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that government and the United States, and as the undersigned, at the head of his troops, on the 18th inst. took possession of Sta. Fe. he now announces his intentions to hold the department, with its original boundaries (both sides of the Del Norte) as a part of the United States and under the name of the territory of New Mexico. The undersigned has come to New Mexico with a strong military force, and an equally strong one is following close in his rear. He has more troops than necessary to put down any opposition that can possibly be brought against him, and therefore it would be folly and madness for any dissatisfied or discontented persons to think of resisting him. The undersigned has instructions from his government to respect the religious institutions of New Mexico, to protect the property of the Church, to cause the worship of those belonging to it to be undisturbed, and their religious rights in the amplest manner preserved to them. Also, to protect the persons and property of all quiet and peaceable inhabitants within its boundaries against their enemies the Utes, Navajos, and others. And while he assures all that it will be his pleasure as well as his duty to comply with those instructions he calls upon them to exert themselves in preserving order, in promoting concord, and in maintaining the authority and efficiency of the laws; to require of those who have left their homes and taken up arms against the troops of the United States to return forthwith to them, or else they will be considered as enemies and traitors,

subjecting their persons to punishment and their property to seizure and confiscation for the benefit of the public treasury. It is the wish and intention of the United States to provide for New Mexico a free government with the least possible delay, similar to those in the United States, and the people of New Mexico will then be called upon to exercise the rights of free men in electing their own representatives to the territorial legislature, but until this can be done, the laws hitherto in existence will be continued until changed or modified by competent authority, and those persons holding office will continue in the same for the present, provided they will consider themselves good citizens and willing to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. The undersigned hereby absolves all persons residing within the boundaries of New Mexico from further allegiance to the republic of Mexico, and hereby claims them as citizens of the United States. Those who remain quiet and peaceable will be considered as good citizens and receive protection. Those who are found in arms, or instigating others against the United States will be considered as traitors and treated accordingly; Don Manuel Armijo, the late governor of this department, has fled from it. The undersigned has taken possession of it without firing a gun or shedding a drop of blood—in which he most truly rejoices; and for the present will be considered as governor of this territory. Given, etc., Sta Fe, August 22, 1847. By the Governor S. W. Kearny, Brigadier- General."

As this proclamation promised everything that the most exacting could have desired, those who had feared that the invasion of the American meant robbery and confiscation of property, returned to their homes and comparative peace reigned. Even the Indians expressed themselves as well disposed toward the strangers, and treaties were made with the several tribes, despite the fact that the chief of the Navajos found some difficulty in comprehending why the Americans should object to their continuing to make war upon the Mexicans.

As Bancroft clearly shows, however, General Kearny greatly overstepped his authority in making these conditions for the submission of New Mexico. "General Kearny as a conqueror," he says, "had absolute power, limited only by the requirements

of humanity and justice or international usage. He might enforce strict martial law, or protect the people's rights and interests by civil methods, as he saw fit. He had no power to make New Mexico a territory of the United States, or the people citizens, or non-submissive enemies traitors, nor could he in a sense exact an oath of allegiance to the United States. All these matters would be settled by the final treaty closing the war."

But, for all this, General Kearny was subjected to little criticism at the hands of the authorities. The administration was too much pleased with his success to care to censure his methods, especially as the blunders could probably be set right without much difficulty. Accordingly Congress paid little attention to the matter and his acts were excused by the President as "the offspring of a patriotic desire to give to the inhabitants the privileges and immunities so cherished by the people of our own country and which they believed calculated to improve their condition and promote their prosperity."

It was not long after the occupancy of Santa Fe that rumors of intended revolts began to reach the ears of the authorities. At this time the army stationed in New Mexico consisted of about 2,000 men, many of whom were on the sick list. In December, a mulatto woman—the wife of one of the conspirators—exposed the details of a plot to regain possession of New Mexico by killing all the Americans as well as the native sympathizers. The leaders of this plot were said to be Tomas Ortiz and Diago Archuleta, who were slated to become Governor and Comandante General respectively. The time finally set for the uprising was Christmas night, when the town would be crowded and the Americans most likely to be off their guard. While the information was sufficiently exact to warrant many arrests it was not definite enough to secure convictions. Accordingly, the prisoners were not held for long. Ortiz and Archuleta escaped arrest by flight.

Although they had taken quick action upon the evidence supplied by the mulatto woman, the American officers did not seem to regard the threatened revolt very seriously, and the reports that the fires of dissatisfaction still smouldered, especially in the vicinity of Taos, were scarcely heeded. This feeling of security,

however, was soon shown to be without foundation. At Taos there were a few reckless men who had formed the conclusion that it would require but a single blow to instigate a general uprising. They realized that the people already had considerable cause for dissatisfaction, and they, apparently, had been notified that the United States government could not legally keep all the promises that General Kearny had made. As this would add fuel to the flames, they went systematically to work to keep the fire smouldering.

On January 5, Governor Bent announced that he had discovered a plot against the Americans and that the leaders had escaped. He also stated that he believed all danger to be at an end. Just two weeks later, on the 19th, a party of Indians appeared demanding the release of two of the government's prisoners. When this request was refused by the sheriff, Stephen Lee, the red men attacked him, killing him and the prefect Cornelio Vigil. This accomplished, they immediately turned their fire upon the Governor's house, and killed and scalped the Governor, Charles Bent, as well as James W. Leal, the circuit attorney; Narcise Beaubien, and Pablo Jaramillo, the Governor's brother-in-law.

Bancroft doubts that the Taos revolt was planned in advance, though other writers have stated such to have been the case. However, that may be, the news that the first blow had been struck was at once despatched to all sections of that country by swift messengers, and, with little delay, many Mexicans joined the Indians, with the result that the attacks upon the whites became systematic. Of many of these crimes there is no record. Among those that were known were the attack upon eight men at Arroyo Hondo, in which seven were killed after a two-days siege; the killing of two men at Rio Colorado, and of eight men at Mora.

News of the revolt reached Colonel Price at Santa Fe through intercepted letters, and at once—on the 23rd—he started northward at the head of 353 men. On the 24th, he met the enemy—some 1,500 men under the command of Jesus Tafoya, and a battle was fought near Santa Cruz which resulted in the retreat of the New Mexicans. They sustained a loss of 36 killed, including Tafoya himself, while the American dead numbered but 2.

On the 28th, re-enforcements under Captain Burgwin arrived, enabling the Americans to meet the foe with even more confidence. The second battle was fought at the El Embudo pass, on the following day. The enemy lost 20 men, and there were no fatalities in the American ranks.

From this time the march to Taos was not interrupted, but there the insurgents had good fortifications, and, on February 4, there was hard fighting all day. By night the American troops were able to occupy part of the pueblo, but they paid for their advantage dearly, seven men being killed and forty-five wounded, many fatally. Captain Burgwin was one of the latter. The killed among the Mexicans and Indians numbered 150, including Pablo Chavez, one of the leaders of the revolt.

The following day the insurgents sued for peace, which was granted on condition that they would deliver to the Americans their leader, Tomas. This was done and he was executed without delay. Another leader, Pablo Montoya, was captured and hanged on the 7th. This left but one leader—Manuel Cortes—but it was many a day before the Americans heard the last of him.

The defeat at Taos technically ended the revolt, but it did not put an end to the fighting. With Cortes as commanding officer, the insurgents took up their position east of the mountains, where they continued to wage a guerilla warfare. Captain Isaac R. Hendley who left Las Vegas with 225 men, intending to break up the Cortes force, was himself killed and his party repulsed after the loss of about thirty men in a battle before Mora. Upon the announcement of this fatality, Captain Morin took command and renewed the attack, with the result that the inhabitants were driven to seek refuge in the mountains. The Americans then destroyed the town.

For a few weeks there was quiet, but in May the fighting was resumed, owing to the insurgents persistent attacks upon wagon trains and grazing parties. As several men were killed and much property taken by the Mexicans, Major Edmonson went in pursuit of the outlaws and a battle, lasting for several hours, was fought in a Red River canon. Many of the enemy were killed, but the Americans lost but one man. In June, Lieut. Robt. T. Brown and three men were killed while in pursuit of

horse thieves, and once more Major Edmonson played the part of the avenger, killing more than a dozen of the insurgents and taking more than fifty prisoners, all of whom were sent to Santa Fe for trial. In July, Lieut. Larkin and five men—part of a detachment of 31 soldiers—were killed at La Cienega, near Taos, and Edmonson not only took fifty of the insurgents prisoners but destroyed every town that had participated in the plot. Of the prisoners taken, some twenty were court martialed, convicted, and executed. Six men who were convicted of having participated in the murder of Lieut. Brown were hanged. Most of those who escaped the death penalty were whipped before they were released. During this series of trials, four men were convicted of treason, but they were discharged owing to the fact that the Secretary of War decided that they could not legally be held on this charge as they were not yet citizens of the United States.

There was little change in the conditions existing throughout this section of New Mexico, except during part of the winter. From April to August, scarcely a party travelling the Santa Fe trail escaped, and, in June, Lieut. Love, commanding a company of dragoons, was held up while conveying $350,000 of government funds, in fact this sort of warfare continued, for some time after the ratification of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, on May 30, 1848. Under the new treaty, no person was compelled to become an American, but each was permitted to express his choice as to which republic he preferred to look to for his protection. This, and the general protection provided by the United States constitution, tended to produce a change in public sentiment, with the result that the revolt that the army had found it so difficult to suppress gradually died out through the willingness of the insurgents to return to more peaceful pursuits.

Dickens in America

By May C. Ringwalt

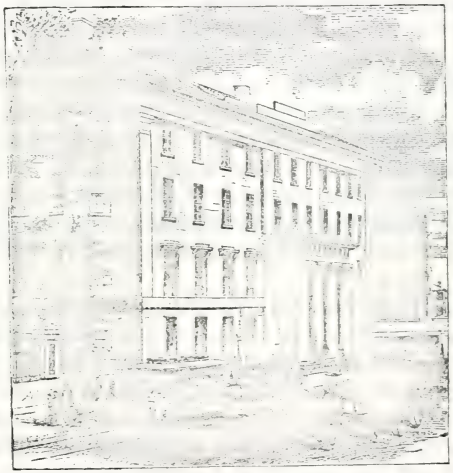
INDIRECTLY "The Old Curiosity Shop" was responsible for Dicken's first visit to America, for, while he had been dreaming of running over to "the States" for some time, it was the receipt of a warm-hearted letter from Washington Irving in praise of Little Nell that finally kindled the desire to a flame of decision. Accordingly, on January 4, 1842, the young writer and his wife set sail, the little Dickenses left behind in care of their faithful actor-friends, the Macreadys.

For the exciting event of departure, Tom Hood wrote a sparkling toast in honor of "Boy," concluding with the following mischievous lines:

"Here's success to all his antics,
  Since it pleases him to roam,
And to paddle o'er Atlantics,
  After such a *sale* at home.
May he shun all rocks whatever,
  And the shallow sand that lurks,
And the passage be as clever
  As the best among his works!"

A passage on a paddle-wheel steamer through mid-winter storms could scarcely be called "clever," and the seasick, tempest-tossed voyagers devoutly thanked their stars when they finally docked alive. Boston, unquestionably the intellectual center of the American universe of that day, was the starting point of the distinguished visitors' adventures in the new world, and Dickens and Boston fell in love with one another at first sight.

"You see by the papers that Dickens has arrived," wrote Longfellow to his father. "He is a glorious fellow, and the greatest possible enthusiasm exists among all classes. He has not a moment's rest,—calls innumerable, invitations innumera-



TREMONT HOUSE
At the time Charles Dickens visited America

ble,—and is engaged three deep for the remainder of his stay in the way of dinners and parties."

As for Dickens's feelings toward Boston—he was most enthusiastic about the charm of the bright, clean little city; the attractiveness of the white-painted houses of its suburbs; the "atmosphere" of the college town of Cambridge particularly to his liking, and Professor Felton, a very lively instructor of the dead language, Greek, his special chum in the congenial little coterie that at once took Boy to its heart of hearts.

In spite of the rush of social engagements during his short sojourn in Boston, before leaving Dickens found time for a great deal of sight—and insight-seeing. One of the things that made the deepest impression upon him was a visit to "The Perkin's Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind." The incident of this visit that is most interesting to us is his graphic picture of Laura Bridgman—then a child with a little doll that she had dressed on a chair beside her, a green ribbon tied across its eyes in pathetic imitation of the green bandage likewise worm by the sightless little mother, and all other blind inmates of the home.

In the American vernacular, Mr. Dickens and his wife "put up" at the Tremont House, the pioneer of our modern hotels, its corner-stone laid on the Fourth of July, 1828,—a hostelry with some very amusing old traditions, among others, the custom of furnishing its men guests with slippers while their top-boots were being blacked, an impressive row of all sorts and conditions of slippers being displayed in the office, and the festive habit on New Year's day of serving all transient guests with as much sherry as they could drink, and bestowing upon permanent guests the more royal favor of a bountiful supply of eggnog.

If New York was not quite so much to his taste as Boston, Dickens found it equally interesting. Even in those early days there was much life and bustle on Broadway, a great darting about of omnibuses, hackney cabs, phaetons, and gigs in the streets, gay crowds of shoppers and promenaders on the sidewalks, the bright colored, ultra-fashionable costumes of the ladies striking the visitor from over the sea with startled surprise.

One excitement in driving in the metropolis in those times has

been denied the twentieth century New Yorker—the thrill that must have come to a driver's spinal cord when he barely missed colliding with a pig—a great number of these interesting quadrupeds running the streets all day according to their sweet will and grunting pleasure, and sagaciously trotting to their respective homes at sunset, an unpaid, thorough-going scavenger system of public works.

In New York, Dickens had the joy of meeting Irving face to face, and finding him "just the man he ought to be." This David-and-Jonathan love between the two distinguished writers led to a very amusing incident.

A great dinner was given to Dickens, and as an appropriate matter of course, Washington Irving was invited to preside. Now, Irving was the most modest of men—modest to shyness—and had as unholy a horror of speech-making as a raw country youth has of conversing with a grand dame of fashion. Under the circumstances, however, regrets were impossible, and with a quaking heart and a manuscript to brace up his courage laid by his plate, the presiding genius of the evening took his place at table.

"I shall certainly break down!" was the tragic stage-whisper as he rose to his feet amid deafening applause. Then his pleasant voice came to the rescue of his nervousness and the opening of the carefully prepared speech was given with eclat. But the triumph was short-lived. A sentence or two more and he began to hesitate—and he who hesitates is lost. With just presence of mind enough left to skip everything until he came to the concluding toast to "Charles Dickens, the Guest of the Nation," he suddenly resumed his seat with:

"There! I told you I should break down and I've done it!"

Popular enthusiasm had followed Dickens to New York where every day crowds swarmed the hotel to shake hands when the lion remained indoors, and packed the streets to catch a glimpse of greatness when he went out. But even when traveling for pleasure Dickens could never take life lightly, superficially, and the wretched New York prison called the Tombs, the squalor and vice of Gotham's underworld of which he painstakingly saw every hidden crack and dark crevice under the guidance of two

noted constables, were of more vital interest to this student of humanity than all the glittering smiles of public favor.

In the same way, when he left New York for the spic-and-span, red-bricked, white-stooped, city of Penn with its quiet elegance, its abundant comfort, its full to overflowing larders, it was the grim fact of Pennsylvania's penitentiary and its special solitary-confinement system that made the deepest impression.

By no means did Dickens bid farewell to all discomforts of the tour when they said good-bye to the cramped, stuffy little paddle-steamer that had brought them across the pond. Many were the inconveniences, not to say hardships, that they had to undergo as an everyday matter of course during their pilgrimage from city to city in the new world. Stage-coach and canal boat were part and parcel of their traveling experience, while the American railroads were still on most primitive lines, the trains made up of two coaches, one for gentlemen, one for ladies or, when necessary a third for negroes; the car likened by Dickens to an enlarged and very shabby omnibus, with seats that accommodated two placed across instead of lengthwise and a red hot stove of charcoal or anthracite in the middle.

Dickens went as far west as St. Louis, and everywhere the same enthusiasm, deputations from lakes, rivers, and backwoods, sometimes coming 2000 miles to do him honor, while in every town it is estimated that he shook hands on an average with from five to six hundred people.

In fact, the constant pushing, the crowding, the hand-shaking fuss of it all, the vulgar exhibition of the mere curiosity seeker, the total lack of consideration for his privacy often shown, became a weariness to the flesh, an exasperation to the spirit, and, before the six months outing was over, the loyal son of John Bull was homesick to the backbone, the sublime love of country taking a ridiculous enough form when night after night the great author solemnly executed "Home, Sweet Home" on an accordion.

Naturally, "Martin Chuzzlewit" and the "American Notes," wherein some very unpleasant truths were told, some pet eccentricities of American genius caricatured, caused a bustle of indignation on our side of the water when they appeared in cold

type, and, at the excitable moment of the former book's publication, during the incantation scene of a burlesque of Macbeth at a New York theatre, a copy was angrily hurled into the witches' caldron.

But fortunately, American ire is short-lived, and, long before Dickens's second visit to the United States, in 1867, on his wonderful reading tour, the fallen idol had been reinstated upon its pedestal, and everywhere people stood in line for hours in eager effort to buy tickets. The New York line numbering 3000, the audiences most distinguished, the enthusiastic assemblage in Washington including a brilliant party made up of the President, ambassadors and members of Congress.

In spite of a chronic influenza that sapped his vitality and constantly threatened his complete collapse, these readings of his great works were triumphs of art, given with all the temperamental fervor of a born actor, with all the tender insight of a father for children of his heart and brain. The last reading was on April 20th at Steinway Hall, New York, to an audience of over 2000, and two days later Dickens sailed for home.

"Good-bye, Boy!" cried the throng of audiences who had gone to the steamer to see him off.

There was a moment of impressive silence; then the author of Tiny Tim put his hat on his cane and waved it, calling back in a voice tremulous with emotion:

"Good-bye, and God bless you every one!"

The Work of Harriet Tubman

By Charles Dennis

HARRIET TUBMAN, who is undoubtedly the most remarkable negress in the world, is still alive, although her age and physical weaknesses have compelled her to take refuge in the institution that she founded, the Harriet Tubman Home for Aged Colored Men and Women, at Auburn, N. Y.

Although the name of Harriet Tubman was familiar enough to the ears of our fathers and grandfathers, we of this generation scarcely remember her, for history, unfortunately, has been sparing of its credit to this old negro woman who was once noted not only as being the most successful conductor on the underground railway but also for her exploits as nurse and scout for the Union Army during the Civil War. Indeed, it is scarcely probable that her work in the cause of freedom will ever be fully chronicled. She alone could tell the whole story, and as she has modestly declined to relate more than a few of the incidents, the records of achievements in which students of history would take such great interests will die with her, although a few men are still left in whose recollections the marvels of patient courage and tenderness that made her name beloved by white and black on many a battlefield, and in many a field hospital, will never die as long as memory lasts.

Without fear of giving too great praise, however, it may be said that Harriet Tubman's only peer in the service of the enslaved negro was Frederick Douglass, and to this such men as Lincoln, Garrison, Phillips, Seward, and Garrit Smith might easily have borne testimony, for while she was without education of any sort—being even unable to read and write—her work both before and after the war, was of the greatest value. In in-

troducing Harriet Tubman to Wendall Phillips, John Brown said:

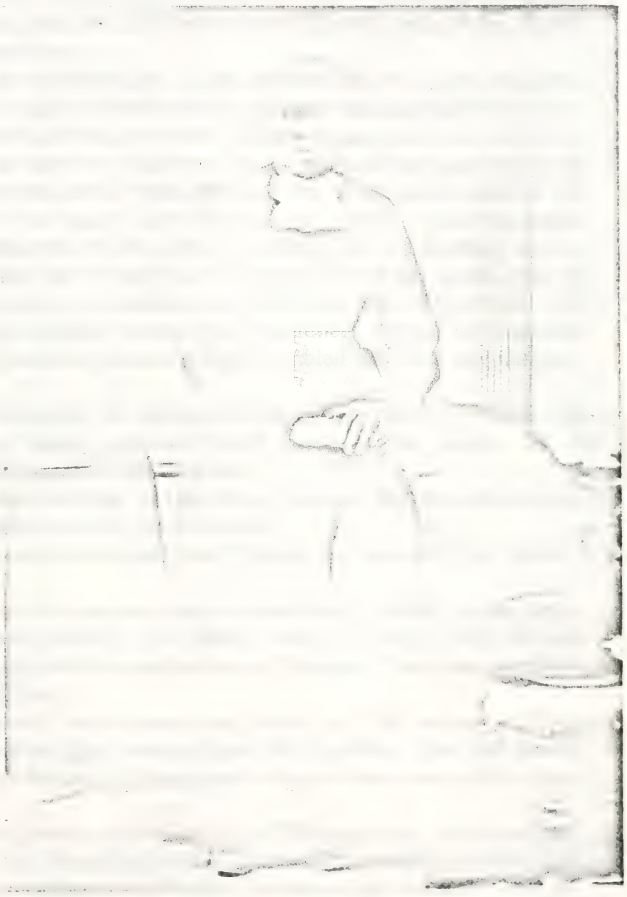
"Mr. Phillips, I bring you one of the best and bravest persons on the continent—General Tubman, as we call her."

And, Phillips, in recording the incident, wrote:

"In my opinion, there are few Captains, perhaps few Colonels, who have done more for the loyal cause since the war began, and few men who did before that time more for the colored race, than our fearless and sagacious friend Harriet."

Alone she piloted more than three hundred slaves to freedom; as a spy and guide she performed the most daring services for the Union Army, yet, despite the value of her work in these directions, it was her fearlessness and tenderness in the military hospitals that endeared her most to the soldiers and that entitles her to the appreciative regard of the entire nation. To-day, she is nearly one hundred years of age, and the trustees of the home in which she is an inmate are asking for contributions to enable them to employ special nurses to care for her during the few remaining years of her life. If you feel that the money devoted to this service is not deserved, read the following sketch of her career:

Of pure negro blood—of the proud Ashantee lineage—Harriet Tubman was born on a plantation in Dorchester county, Maryland, between ninety-five and one hundred years ago. It was but a few years that she remained a carefree child on the plantation, for she was scarcely thirteen years of age when her instinctive antagonism to the tyranny of the slave system exhibited itself. An overseer was pursuing one of the slaves with a club. Harriet sprang upon the white man and knocked him off his feet. The enraged overseer hurled an iron weight at the girl, crushing her skull and inflicting an injury which resulted in fits of somnolency, to which she was subject until long after the war, when she obtained relief at the Massachusetts General Hospital. Perhaps it was this injury that gave her the wonderful cunning, rising at times to the cleverest strategy, which was so remarkable in one of her apparent intellectual attainments. At any rate the injury played an important part in fitting her for the struggles to come, for on account of it she was unfitted for the ordi-



HARRIET TUBMAN

nary work of women and was set to work by her master lifting heavy barrels and drawing weights. She grew so strong that when she was 19 she was a match physically for the strongest man and her master exhibited her to visitors as one of the sights of the plantation.

About this time she fell ill and while confined to her cabin became very religious, developing an almost fanatic faith that carried her through dangers where strong men of her race faltered.

When her master died word went around the quarters that the slaves were to be "sold South," the thing most dreaded by negroes of the upper tier of Southern States. Harriet counselled the negroes to run away, but none had the courage to follow her. She knew only that if she followed the north star it would lead her to freedom, and one night she stole away. Of the terrible journey north she remembers little; her instinct guided her and her great strength enabled her to stand the privation.

"I had reasoned dis out in ma mind," she says. "Dere was one er two things I had er right to, liberty or death. Ef I couldn't hab one I'd hab de odder."

So she won her way to the liberty side of the line and lifting her great arms to the sky she said:

"You're mine now and you'll work for me and for nobody else."

But from that moment and almost until to-day those arms never ceased working for others, black or white, who needed their strength and the tenderness of the heart that was all white in the black body.

She obtained employment and saved all she earned. Then she disappeared and was not seen for months. She had dared to go back to the land of bondage to show others the path to freedom.

Aided by Quaker abolitioniists in Philadelphia, she soon had her section of the underground railroad in working order, and so perfect were her plans that a few years ago when she was introduced by Susan B. Anthony to a woman suffrage audience in Rochester as "the conductor of the underground" Harriet said:

"Yes, ladies, I was de conductor of de underground railroad

eight years, an' I kin say w'at mos' conductors can't say—dat I nebber run my train off de track an' I nebber los' er passenger."

It was not long before throughout Maryland and Virginia were spread rewards for a negro woman who was luring the slaves away from their masters. The price for the capture, dead or alive, of Harriet Tubman rose to over $40,000, but she was never taken. She made about twenty trips into the very heart of the country where the head money was offered, and continued this work until the beginning of the civil war.

When the abolition movement became active she went into it heart and soul. Whenever she could get to a meeting she went and inspired others with her great faith. It was while on her way to attend a meeting in Boston at the invitation of Gerrit Smith that she fought the greatest single battle of her career.

She had stopped off at Troy and while there learned that a fugitive slave, Charles Nalle, a half-brother of the master who followed him and almost as white as his owner, had been taken and was in the hands of the officers to be carried back to Virginia. She went at once to the office of the United States Commissioner, collecting on the way a large crowd that instinctively recognized her gift for leadership. The crowd held back the officers, who were about to convey the slave to a wagon, and bids for the slave's purchase began. The owner offered to sell for $1,200, but when that was bid he raised his price to $1,500. A man across the street raised a window and shouted:

"Two hundred dollars for his rescue but not one cent to his master!"

That fired the crowd, and when the officers tried to bring the slave out the people surged around the wagon. Harriet, who had kept her position at the door of the Commissioner's office, shouted: "Here he comes! Take him!" and led the assault. Her enormous physical strength enabled her to break through the police line, seize the prisoner under the armpits and drag him down the street.

"Drag us out!" she shouted to her friends. "Drag him to de river! Drown him but don't let dem have him!"

A policeman hit her on the head with his club. Freeing one

hand she knocked him back into the crowd. Another jumped for her, but she caught him about the neck, throttled him and threw him over her shoulder.

She was dragged down but kept her hold on the slave. Aroused to fighting pitch by her splendid courage, the crowd massed around her and dragged her and the slave to the river, where the fugitive was thrown into a boat, which immediately pulled out.

There was a continuation of the fight in a house on the other bank and two men were shot, but Harriet got across in time to win the battle and the slave escaped.

When the war came Harriet, at the request of Gov. Andrew of Massachusetts, gave her services as a spy. Of her war record only fragments are known, but in the book by Mrs. Sarah H. Bradford called "Harriet, the Moses of Her People," it is related that she was often under fire of both armies and that "she led our forces through jungle and swamp, guided by an unseen hand."

She had the confidence of the frightened Southern darkies, who at first feared the Yankees more perhaps than their own masters, and she was able to gather information that was of the utmost importance to the Union Generals. Her work was not on the battlefield alone, however, for when the Union soldiers were dying by the hundred at Fernandina from dysentery, Harriet was sent from Hilton Head to take charge of the field hospital. She proved herself as tender a nurse as she was a courageous fighter. Later she nursed those who were down with small pox and malignant fevers. She had never had these diseases, but she had no more fear of death in one form than another.

It was only comparatively recently that she received recognition of her services by a pension from Congress. At the end of the war she returned to her home in Auburn, where she had previously brought her aged parents to settle on a piece of land owned by William H. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State. It was this home, which became her own through money raised by the sale of Mrs. Bradford's book, that Harriet Tubman turned over to the Zion A. M. E. Church as a home for aged and infirm

negroes. She carried on this work alone for many years, going about Auburn begging money and food for its support. A few comparatively small contributions are all that are required to make her last days comfortable. Those who wish to respond to this appeal of the trustees should address the Treasurer, Harriet Tubman Home, Auburn, N. Y.

More Keys of the Bastile

THE publication of the article, "The Story of the Key of the Bastile," in the July issue of Americana, was of more than ordinary interest to one of its readers—Mr. H. S. Howell, of Galt, Canada—as he himself is the possessor of five keys of this notorious prison. He was kind enough, therefore, to send a photograph of his keys, that the readers of this magazine might have an opportunity to compare them with the key that was brought to General Washington by the Marquis de la Fayette. As may be seen, the latter key, now at Mt. Vernon, is "T" shaped, and so, in all probability, was carried always in the hand of one of the guards, not impossibly at the entrance to the prison. Mr. Howell's keys are of the kind that, in all likelihood, were carried on a ring.

It was in 1879 that Mr. Howell read in the *Toronto Mail* that several keys of the Bastile were in possession of a man in St. Louis, Mo. The article told briefly how they had reached America. When the Bastile was torn down by the French mob, in 1789, almost everything that might possibly be preserved as a memento was carried away—keys, locks, chains, bolts, bars, etc., —to be treasured by the families of the Patriots and handed down as heirlooms. A man by the name of Carwin Lechastle secured five of the keys and they remained in his family in France until a descendant came to America, bringing the relics with him. This man had finally disposed of them to a Mr. H. Morgan of St. Louis, and he had exhibited them on several occasions —in theatres, newspaper offices, and other semi-public places.

In October, 1888, Mr. Howell went to St. Louis for the purpose of securing the keys, if possible. After a great deal of trouble he located Mr. Morgan, who still had the keys in his possession, and a satisfactory basis of transfer was eventually made.

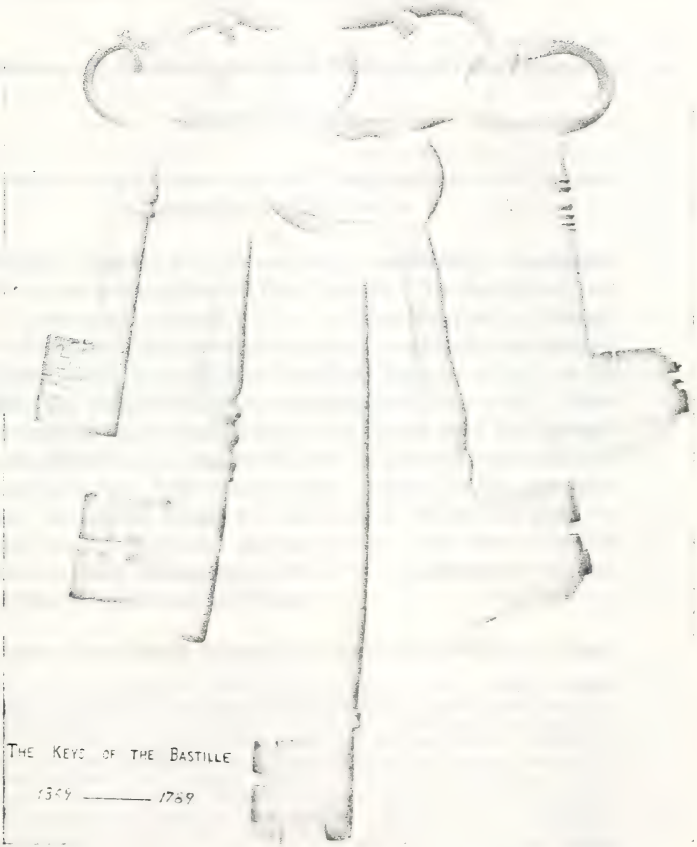
Immediately after returning home, Mr. Howell wrote a small brochure telling of the history of the keys, and copies of this were sent to the *Archives Nationale,* at Paris, and to many antiquarian and historical societies and public libraries. Accompanying the brochure was a photograph of the keys similar to that from which the published cut was made. From Windsor Castle, Mr. Howell received a letter from Dr. Henry H. Holmes, librarian, saying: "The photograph has been shown to the Queen, and is now in the Royal Library."

The authorities in France have collected no less than twenty-seven keys of the Bastile, most of them being obtained in much the same manner that Mr. Howell secured these. Doubtless there are many more throughout the world, for a place the size of the Bastile—and at a time when each room would have to have its own key—must have contained a great number. Those who have seen the keys in the *Archives Nationale* have informed Mr. Howell that there is an unmistakable "family likeness" between his keys and those there on exhibition. From the appearance of the iron and general construction of the keys, it has been thought that the largest might be from the towers of the *Porte St. Antoine* at the time when Hugues Aubriot first built the original gateway. There is a resemblance to the key at Mt. Vernon in the small key at the right side of the photograph, as all who compare the two will notice.

When Mr. Howell brought the keys to his home, he received a letter from Mr. George Washington, United States Consul at London, Ontario, stating that his mother much wished to see them. At that time Mrs. Washington represented the State of Virginia on the board of ladies having charge of the Mt. Vernon house and property. She evinced much interest in them and had not the slightest doubt as to their genuineness.

All the keys are massive, except the smallest, which is a beautiful work of art and not improbably belonged to a treasure chest—certainly not to a heavy door. The orifice in the end that entered the lock is shaped like a *fleur-de-lis,* or the ace of spades.

THE EDITOR.



THE KEYS OF THE BASTILLE

1389 ——— 1789

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LVI

The Question of Succession in the Presidency of the Church —Aspirants to Leadership

THE Church was thrown into momentary confusion by the martyrdom of the Prophet. His death had not been contemplated by the body of the people, though he himself had several times referred to it, but always in connection with the confident assertion that he would not be taken from the earth until he had accomplished his work.[1] Now that this calamity had befallen them, the Saints were for the moment as sheep without a shepherd; they had not yet learned that ample provision had been made in the Church for its own perpetuation. Brigham Young's mind seemed to be the first to grasp that important truth. He and Orson Pratt were together at Peterboro, New Hampshire, when the confirmation of the death of the Prophet reached them.

"The first thing that I thought of," says the President, "was

1. "Thy days are known," said the Lord to him, in Liberty prison, March, 1839, "and thy years shall not be numbered less; therefore, fear not what man can do, for God shall be with you forever and forever" (Doc. and Covenants sec. 122:9). It was this word doubtless that made him confident that he would not die until his work was completed. When several of the Twelve were enroute for Nauvoo from the East, Elder Wilford Woodruff, referring to a conversation that was had among them about the Prophet's death, wrote in his journal: "Elder [Lyman] Wight said that Joseph told him, while in Liberty jail, Mo., in 1839, he [Joseph] would not live to see forty years, but he [Wight] was not to reveal it till he [the Prophet] was dead." *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, p. 135. "I defy all the world to destroy the work of God; and I prophesy they never will have power to kill me till my work is accomplished and I am ready to die." Joseph Smith, in a discourse on the 15th of Oct., 1843. *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXII, p. 263.

whether Joseph had taken the keys of the kingdom with him from the earth. Brother Orson Pratt sat at my left; we were both leaning back in our chairs. Bringing my hand down on my knee, I said, the keys of the Kingdom are right here with the Church."[2]

A divine institution had been established, greater than any man or officer in it, and capable of self-perpetuation, but the Saints were to learn that truth only by long experience.

Elder Sidney Rigdon arrived at Nauvoo from Pittsburg on the third of August. This fell upon Saturday. Three members of the Apostles' quorum, then in Nauvoo, waited upon Elder Rigdon and arranged for a council meeting with him for the following morning, Sunday, at eight o'clock. This meeting Elder Rigdon failed to attend upon the plea that he was engaged with a lawyer. He manifested a disposition to avoid meeting with the Apostles. At ten o'clock on Sunday the Saints assembled, and Elder Rigdon addressed them at great length, relating a pretentious vision he had received while at Pittsburg concerning the situation of the church which led him to advocate the appointment of "a Guardian" to build up the Church to the Prophet Joseph, who had begun it. Another meeting was called for the following Thursday, the 8th of August, for the purpose of appointing the aforesaid "Guardian" for the Church. Elder Rigdon and his friends had urged the appointment for Tuesday, but there were those present who opposed this seeming haste; and out of deference to their wishes, the meeting was appointed for the 8th.

Fortunately for the welfare of the Church, Brigham Young and the members of the Apostles' quorum excepting Wm. Smith, brother of the Prophet, John E. Page and Orson Hyde, arrived in Nauvoo on the evening of the 6th of August, and the following morning held a council meeting at the house of John Taylor, that he might be present, as he was not yet recovered from his wounds. The Saints "considered it very providential for the Twelve to arrive at this particular junction," says the Chronicle.[3]

2. "The Life of Brigham Young," Tullidge-1877-p. 106.
3. Historians' Compilation of Data *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, p. 201.

PEN PICTURE OF BRIGHAM YOUNG

Brigham Young stood about five feet ten inches in height. He was of full form, compactly built, and of stately bearing. The head was massive, the hair light auburn and of soft, fine texture. The forehead was high and broad at the base, the nose slightly aquiline, the eyes full and of a light grey, the mouth well formed, and the whole face expressive of great firmness. He was ordinarily mild and gentle in manner, yet said to be capable of anger that was terrible. In him, indeed, was blended the strong and gentle qualities that go to the making of the highest and truest manhood,—your leader of men.



Brigham Young

From a Daguerreotype taken in 1[illegible]

[illegible]

In the afternoon of the 7th, a meeting was held at which were present all the Apostles that were in Nauvoo, excepting John Taylor; the High Council of the Nauvoo stake of Zion; the President of the stake, William Marks, and the High Priests.[4] The meeting was held in the Seventies' Hall.

Brigham Young called upon Elder Rigdon to make a statement concerning his message to the Saints "the vision and revelation he had received." In substance Elder Rigdon replied that the object of his visit was to offer himself to the Saints as a "Guardian" that it had been shown to him in vision at Pittsburgh, that the Church must be built up to Joseph, the Martyr; that all the blessings the saints could receive would come through their late Prophet; that no man could be a successor to Joseph Smith. Elder Rigdon seemed to lay much stress upon the fact that he had been appointed and ordained a "spokesman" to Joseph Smith,[5] and appeared to claim the right to speak for him even now that he was dead. He held that the Church was not disorganized, though the head was gone. He had been commanded to come to Nauvoo and see that the Church was governed properly, and propose himself as "Guardian" to the people. "In this I have discharged my duty, and done what God has commanded me," he concluded, "and the people can please themselves whether they accept me or not."[6]

To this Elder Brigham Young replied:

"I do not care who leads this Church, even though it were Ann Lee,[7] but one thing I must know, and that is what God says about it. I have the keys and the means of obtaining the mind of God on the subject. . . . Joseph conferred upon our heads all the keys and powers belonging to the apostleship which he himself held before he was taken away. * * * How often has Joseph said to the Twelve, 'I have laid the foundation and you must build thereon, for upon your shoulders the kingdom rests'."[8]

4. The number in attendance is not known, but there were several hundred High Priests in Nauvoo and the surrounding districts.

5. This appointment was made in the 12th of October, 1833. See Doc. and Cov., sec. 100.

6. Historians' Compilation of Data, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, 215.

7. Referring to the foundress of the American Society of Shakers, Seceders from the "Society of Friends."

8. Historians' Compilation of Data, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, 215.

The next day was the one appointed by Sidney Rigdon for the Church to assemble and choose a "Guardian." The attendance was large, as intense interest had been awakened upon the subject to be considered. In the forenoon Sidney Rigdon addressed the assembly, setting forth his claim to the "Guardianship" of the Church. He had full opportunity to present his case, and for an hour and a half spoke without interruption; but despite his reputation as an orator, he failed to convince the Saints that "he was sent of God."

At the afternoon meeting appointed by Brigham Young and his fellow Apostles, the quorums of the Priesthood were grouped about the stand in the order of a general assembly of Priesthood; that is, the quorums of the Melchizedek Priesthood were grouped together as High Priests, Seventies, Elders; and the quorums of the Aaronic Priesthood as Priests, Teachers, Deacons. Questions to be settled by vote on such occasions are presented to each of these orders of Priesthood separately; and this General Assembly of the quorums constitute the highest spiritual authority in the Church. Such a General Assembly of the quorums may even pass upon the decisions of the three great presiding councils of the Melchizedek Priesthood, the First Presidency, the Quorum of the Apostles, and the First Quorum of the Seventy, if the decision of these councils are made in unrighteousness.

"And in case that any decision of these quorums is made in unrighteousness, it may be brought before a general assembly of the several quorums, *which constitute the spiritual authorities of the Church,* otherwise there can be no appeal from their decision."[9]

The following of the Apostles' quorum were present on the above occasion; Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, Willard Richards, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith. Also Amasa M. Lyman, whose close association with the Twelve at this period will be noted later. The opening services of the afternoon ended, Brigham Young arose—

"Attention all!"

9. Doc. and Cov., sec. 107:32.

and his voice rang out over the great multitude assembled, and hushed them into silence. Then, he continued:

"For the first time in my life, for the first time in your lives, for the first time in the Kingdom of God in the 19th century, without a Prophet at our head, do I step forth to act in my calling in connection with the Quorum of the Twelve, as Apostles of Jesus Christ unto this generation. Apostles whom God has called by revelation[10] through the Prophet Joseph, who are ordained and anointed to bear off the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world. * * * The first position I take in behalf of the Twelve and the people is, to ask a few questions. I ask the Latter-day Saints, Do you, as individuals, at this time, want some person to be a guardian or a Prophet, a spokesman or something else, signify it by raising the right hand (No votes).

* * * *All that want to draw a party from the Church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper.*

If any man thinks he has influence among this people to lead away a party, let him try it, and he will find out that there is power with the Apostles which will up and defend the Church and kingdom of God. * * *

There has been much said about President Rigdon being President of the Church, and leading the people, being the head, etc. Brother Rigdon has come 1,600 miles to tell you what he wants to do for you. If the people want President Rigdon to lead them they may have him; but I say unto you that the quorum of the Twelve have the keys of the kingdom of God in all the world. The twelve are appointed by the finger of God. * * * Brother Joseph, the Prophet has laid the foundation for a great work, and we will build upon it; you have never seen the quorums built one upon another. There is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world. * * *

Do you want the Church properly organized, or do you want a spokesman? * * * Elder Rigdon claims to be spokesman to the Prophet. Very well, he was; but can he now act in that office? If he wants now to be a spokesman to the Prophet, he must go to the other side of the vail, for the Prophet is there, but Elder Rigdon is here. * * *

Now, if you want Sidney Rigdon or William Law to lead you, or anybody else, you are welcome to them; but I tell you, in the name of the Lord, that no man can put another between the

10. Doc. and Cov., sec. 124.

Twelve and the Prophet Joseph. Why? Because Joseph was their file leader, and he has committed into their hands the keys of the kingdom in this last dispensation for all the world. * * *

Now, all this does not lessen the character of President Rigdon; let him magnify his calling, and Joseph will want him beyond the vail—let him be careful what he does, lest that thread which binds us together is cut asunder."

There was much more said by President Young on this occasion, but the foregoing paragraphs represent the principal items of his position.

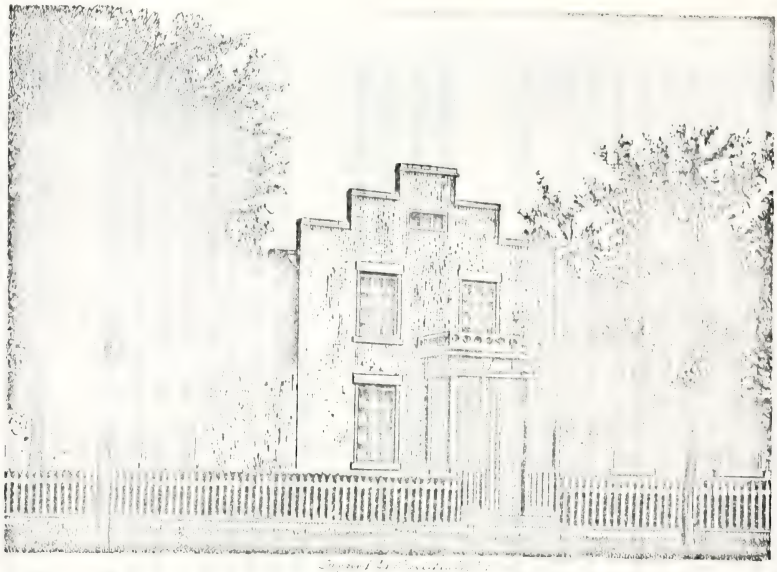
It was upon this occasion that, according to the testimony of many prominent brethren, and very many of the Saints, that Brigham Young was transfigured into the likeness of Joseph Smith—voice, person, and manner. The late Elder George Q. Cannon, who was present on the occasion, said:

"If Joseph had arisen from the dead and again spoken in their hearing, the effect could not have been more startling than it was to many present at that meeting; it was the voice of Joseph himself; and not only was it the voice of Joseph which was heard, but it seemed in the eyes of the people as if it were the very person of Joseph which stood before them. A more wonderful and miraculous event than was wrought that day in the presence of that congregation we never heard of. The Lord gave his people a testimony that left no room for doubt as to who was the man chosen to lead them."[11]

After Brigham Young's speech Amasa Lyman spoke in support of the Twelve. Opportunity was given to Sidney Rigdon to speak; he declined, but requested W. W. Phelps to speak in his behalf. Elder Phelps was evidently desirous of saying kind

11. Life of Brigham Young (Tillidge)—1877—pp. 115, 116. The testimony to the fact of the transfiguration is abundant. In the journal of Elder Wm. C. Staines, of that date, Aug. 8th, the following statement is recorded: "Brigham Young said—'I will tell you who your leaders or guardians will be—the Twelve—I at their head.' This was with a voice like the voice of the Prophet Joseph. I thought it was he, and so did thousands who heard it. This was very satisfactory to the people, and a vote was taken to sustain the Twelve in their office, which, with a few dissenting voices, was passed."

President Wilford Woodruff, describing the event says: "When Brigham Young arose and commenced speaking, * * * if I had not seen him with my own eyes, there is no one that could have convinced me that it was not Joseph Smith, and any one can testify to this who was acquainted with these two men." *Deseret Evening News,* March 12th, 1892.



Brigham Young's home in Nauvoo.

things of Elder Rigdon, but at the same time he sustained the Twelve in their claims to being the proper authorities, under the circumstances, to preside over the Church. There were further remarks but all to the same effect. Finally Brigham Young arose to put the question as to whether the Church would sustain the Twelve or Sidney Rigdon. Before doing so he remarked:

"I do not ask you to take my counsel or advice alone, but every one of you act for yourselves; but if brother Rigdon is the person you want to lead you, vote for him as you did for Joseph. . . . And I would say the same for the Twelve, don't make a covenant to support them unless you intend to abide by their counsel. . . . I want every man before he enters into a covenant, to know what he is going to do, but we want to know if this people will support the priesthood in the name of Israel's God. If you say you will, do so.

Elder Young was then about to put the question to the assembled quorums as to whether or not they wanted Elder Rigdon for a leader, but at the request of the latter, the question on supporting the Twelve as the presiding quorum in the Church was first put in the following manner:

"Do the Church want and is their only desire to sustain the Twelve as the First Presidency of this people? . . . If the Church want the Twelve to stand as the head, the First Presidency of the Church, and at the head of this kingdom in all the world, stand next to Joseph, walk up into their calling, and hold the keys of this kingdom—every man, every woman, every quorum is now put in order, and you are now the sole controllers of it—all that are in favor of this in all the congregation of the Saints, manifest it by holding up the right hand. (There was a universal vote). If there are any of the contrary mind every man every woman who does not want the Twelve to preside, lift up your hands in like manner. (No hands up). This supersedes the other question, and trying it by quorums."[12]

This disposed of Sidney Rigdon's claims. He had full oppor-

12. That is, the vote was so overwhelming in favor of sustaining the Twelve by the whole body assembled, that it was not necessary to call upon the quorums to vote separately upon the question. Church Historians' Compilation of Data, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, pp. 199-201: *Et seq.*

tunity to present his case before the Church. The Saints had full opportunity and liberty to vote for him had they wanted him for their leader; but they rejected him and sustained the Twelve.

Brigham Young, however, expressed kindly feelings toward Elder Rigdon on this occasion. "We feel as though we could take Brother Rigdon in our bosom along with us," said he, "We want such men as Brother Rigdon. He was sent away[13] by Brother Joseph to build up a kingdom; let him keep the instruction and calling; let him raise up a mighty kingdom in Pittsburg, and we will lift up his hands to Almighty God." And later—"We are of one mind with him and he with us. Will this congregation uphold him, in the place he occupies, by the prayer of faith and let him be one with us and we with him?" The vote was unanimous in the affirmative.

William Marks, notwithstanding he was in sympathy with Sidney Rigdon, was retained as President of the Nauvoo stake of Zion.

Thus was the matter of leadership in the Church determined by action of the proper authorities. The position taken by Brigham Young was much stronger than really appears in the proceedings of the Church on the 8th of August. The Church was called upon to deal with a new situation and there is only a partial view of the real strength of the organization for self perpetuation in those proceedings. The remarks of Brigham Young, "You have never seen the quorums built one upon another; there is an almighty foundation laid, and we can build a kingdom such as there never was in the world"—hints at it however.

In the Church there are three general presiding councils of equal authority. These are the First Presidency; The Traveling, Presiding High Council, or Twelve Apostles; and the First Quorum of Seventy. I quote the Doctrine and Covenants:

"Of the Melchisedek Priesthood, three presiding high priests, chosen by the body, appointed and ordained to that office, and upheld by the confidence, faith and prayer of the Church, form a quorum of the Presidency of the Church.

13. "Permitted to go," would be more exact, see later paragraphs.

"The Twelve Traveling Counselors are called to be the Twelve Apostles, or special witnesses of the name of Christ in all the world; thus differing from other officers in the Church in the duties of their calling. And they form a quorum, equal in authority and power to the three Presidents previously mentioned.

"The Seventy are also called to preach the gospel and to be especial witnesses unto the Gentiles and in all the world. Thus differing from other officers in the Church in the duties of their calling; and they form a quorum equal in authority to that of the Twelve special witnesses or Apostles just named."[14]

It is the law of God that the Twelve act under the direction of the First Presidency; and the Seventy under the direction of the Twelve. It is also provided that in the decisions of either the Twelve or the Seventy, those quorums must be unanimous—"every member in each quorum must be agreed to its decisions," in order for said decisions to be entitled to the same blessings that the decisions of a quorum of three Presidents receive. A majority of the members may form a quorum when circumstances render it impossible to have full quorums.

The decisions of these quorums or either of them are to be made in all righteousness, in holiness, and lowliness of heart, meekness and long suffering, and in that event their decisions are final. But if their decisions are unrighteous they may be brought before a general assembly of the several quorums which constitute the spiritual authorities of the Church—in no other way can there be an appeal from their decisions.[15]

And now in the case of absence, destruction or rejection of the first of these three great councils, upon whom does the duty and responsibility of presidency fall? Undoubtedly upon the quorum next in autohrity; and especially when that quorum "*next*" in authority, is declared to "form a quorum *equal* in authority and power to the three Presidents previously named"—hence possessed of power to do whatever the First Presidency could do—preside over the Church with the rest—in the absence of the First Presidency.

Let us consider the situation as to the first Presidency at the

15. Doc. and Cov., sec. cvii, verses 27-33.
15. Doc. and Cov., sec. xvii, verses 27-33.

death of the Prophet. Joseph Smith, Sidney Rigdon and William Law constituted the First Presidency of the Church from January, 1841, to April, 1844, Hyrum Smith having been taken from the position of Counselor in the First Presidency to become the Patriarch to the Church. On the 18th of April, 1844, as stated in a previous chapter, William Law was excommunicated and had begun the organization of a rival church. At the October conference in 1843, President Joseph Smith had tried to get rid of Sidney Rigdon as his counselor. On that occasion the Prophet represented to the Church that such had been the course of Elder Rigdon for some time that he considered it no longer his duty to sustain him as a counselor. Hyrum Smith, however, pleaded the cause of Sidney Rigdon, and so strongly urged the Saints to deal mercifully with him that when the question of sustaining him was presented to the conference, the Saints voted in favor of Rigdon's retention as a counselor in the First Presidency. "I have thrown him off my shoulders, and you have put him on me," said President Smith. "You may carry him, but I will not."[16] And so confident was he that Sidney Rigdon would continue to fail in the performance of his duty, that he ordained Elder Amasa Lyman[17] to succeed him, both as counselor and "spokesman." "Some of the Elders did not understand how Elder Lyman could be ordained to succeed Elder Rigdon, as the Church had voted to try him another year. Elder Joseph Smith was requested to give an explanation. 'Why,' said he, 'by the same rule that Samuel anointed David to be king over Israel, while Saul was yet crowned. Please read

16. Minutes of October Conference, Nauvoo, 1843. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXII, 216.

17. Amasa M. Lyman, a prominent figure in the Church for many years, was the third son of Boswell Lyman and Martha Mason. He was born on the 30th of March, 1813, in Lyman township, Grafton county, New Hampshire. He received the gospel under the ministry of Orson Pratt and Lyman E. Johnson, in April, 1832, and in August of the same year he was ordained an Elder and began his work in the ministry of the Church. During a brief suspension of Elder Orson Pratt from the quorum of the Twelve, 1843, owing to a misunderstanding between Elder Pratt and President Joseph Smith, Elder Lyman had been ordained an Apostle to take Elder Pratt's place; but Elder Pratt having made satisfaction to President Smith he was restored to fellowship in his quorum and Elder Lyman was taken by President Smith into the First Presidency (Documentary History of the Church, Vol. V, pp. 255-6); but he was never formally presented to the people in that capacity. After this appointment, however, Elder Lyman was always honored by the Twelve both before and after the demise of the Prophet, as one of the leaders of the Church; and some years later was received into the Apostle's quorum.

the 16th chapter of I. Samuel.' Elder Smith's explanation, though short, proved a quietus to all their rising conjectures.'"[18]

Nowithstanding all his fair promises of amendment, Sidney Rigdon continued neglectful of his high duties, and if for a while his old-time enthusiasm revived—as it seemed to at the April conference of 1844—it was but the flickering of an uncertain flame. He longed to return to the east, and notwithstanding the Lord had commanded him to make his home at Nauvoo, he frequently talked with President Smith about going to Pittsburg to live, and finally obtained his consent to go there, and take his family with him. He was instructed to preach, write and build up the Church in that city.

Such was the standing and the course of the man who after the martyrdom of the Prophet was the first to claim the right to lead the Church!

Evidently, since President Smith was dead; since William Law, once a counselor in the Presidency, was now excommunicated; since Sidney Rigdon was discredited by the Prophet, and only retained on probation in his office by the suffrance of the Saints; and since the man whom the Prophet had selected to succeed Sidney Rigdon had not been presented to and accepted by the people—hence his appointment was not completed—there was not a First Presidency in existence, and hence by every rule of construction and of reason the Twelve Apostles being the *next* general presiding quorum of the Church, and possessed of *equal* authority and power with the council of the First Presidency, were the proper authorities to exercise the functions of the general presiding authority in the Church at that time.[19]

---

18. Tract on Sidney Rigdon, by Jeddiah M. Grant, pp. 15, 16; also 34, 35. *Times and Seasons,* Vol. V, pp. 663, 664.

19. There is one other incident connected with the matter of succession in the Presidency that ought to be stated. Mr. Edward Tullidge, in his life of "Joseph the Prophet"—(the "Reorganized Church" edition)—quotes the Prophet Joseph as saying: "I told Stephen Markham," says Joseph, "that if I and Hyrum were ever taken again, we should [would ?] be massacred, or I was not a Prophet of God. I want Hyrum to live to lead the Church, but he is determined not to leave me" p. 491). Mr. Tullidge quotes this passage differently from what it is written in the Journal History of Joseph Smith: what authority he has for doing so he does not say. In the Prophets own history it is written: "I want Hyrum to live to avenge my blood, but he is determined not to leave me." *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXIV, 332). But though Mr. Tullidge quotes this passage differently from what it appears in the Prophet's own account there is evidence in addition to his word, that President Smith did desire Hyrum Smith to succeed him and even

Nor is that the end of the matter; but if the quorum of the Twelve was for any cause destroyed, the quorum next in authority, the First Quorum of the Seventy—which is declared to be equal in authority to the Twelve, and impliedly equal in authority to the First Presidency, since things equal to a common thing, must be equal to each other—would be competent to exercise the functions of presidency until the time came to reconstruct and complete the organization; and they would be the proper authorities to take the initiative in such work of reconstruction. The matter can logically be carried beyond even this; and the disorganization or destruction of the First Quorum of the Seventy be supposed as well as the destruction of the quorum of the Twelve and of the First Presidency; but if one member of the quorum should remain, it would be possible for him to ordain others until a quorum was called into existence, and then proceed as a quorum to do whatever would be necessary in order to place the Church in a position to exercise its functions.

It is also held that a High Priest could proceed in like manner; that since "*the Melchisedek Priesthood holds the right of Presidency,* and *has power and authority over all the offices in the Church,* in all ages of the world, to administer in spiritual things,"[20] it would seem that so long as that Priesthood remains in the earth, it would have power and authority (under commandment of God, of course) to do whatever might be necessary to create an organization—the Church—through which could be granted to men the spiritual blessings essential to their salvation.

"If all the quorums of the Church were slain," said Brigham Young at the 8th of August meeting, except the High Priests, they would rise up with the keys of the kingdom and have the power of the Priesthood upon them, and build up the kingdom."[21]

Sidney Rigdon himself outwardly seemed to acquiesce in the

---

ordained him to that end. At the October conference followng the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum, President Young in a discourse said: "If Hyrum had lived he would not have stood between Joseph and the Twelve, but he would have stood for Joseph. Did Joseph ordain any man to take his place? He did. Who was it? It was Hyrum. But Hyrum fell a martyr before Joseph did." (Times and Seasons, Vol. V, p. 638).

20. Doc. and Cov., sec. 107:8.

21. *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, pp. 278-9.

decision of the Church with regard to himself. The Sunday following the meeting above described, he addressed the Saints at great length. He "blessed them in the name of the Lord," telling them emphatically that he was with the Twelve. He wished to know the mind of the Church in relation to his returning to Pittsburg, they said, "go in peace."[22] Yet all the while he was thus seemingly accepting the decision of the Church and seeking its counsel, secretly he was holding meetings with men of questionable integrity in the Church, telling them that it was revealed to him before leaving Pittsburg that the Church would reject him; but, nevertheless, he was the proper person to lead the Church—to be its "Guardian;" for to that position he had been called of God, and held the keys of authority higher than any conferred upon the Prophet Joseph—"the keys of David," which, according to his representations, gave him the power to open and no man could shut; to shut and no man could open; and the power to organize armies for the destruction of the Gentiles. In fact his fervid imagination pictured himself a great military chieftain, and by his prowess all the enemies of God were to be subdued. He secretly ordained men to be prophets, priests and kings to the Gentiles. He also chose and appointed military officers to take command of the armies that were to be raised ere long to fight the battles of the great God. Meantime, while in public he had spoken in the highest terms of the virtues and honor of the martyred prophets, Joseph and Hyrum, in his secret meetings he had began to cast reflections upon their conduct, and hint at the existence of grave iniquity among the Twelve and in the Church.

As soon as the Twelve learned of these proceedings on the part of Elder Rigdon, they called upon him to explain by what authority he held secret meetings and ordained men to the aforesaid offices. He sought to evade the question, but finding that he was dealing with men not to be trifled with, he at last confessed to both holding the meetings and ordaining the officers. His brethren sought to convince him of his error, but at this point he refused to be corrected. The quorum of the Twelve, with the

22. Pamphlet on Sidney Rigdon, by Elder J. M. Grant, p. 18.

presiding bishop of the Church held a council meeting to consider his conduct, and concluded to demand Elder Rigdon's license. He refused to surrender it, saying that he had not received it from the Twelve and he would not give it up to them. He was then cited before the council of the Church which has the right to try a president of the High Priesthood, *viz.*, the presiding Bishop of the Church, assisted by twelve high priests.[23]

He refused to appear before this council, and therefore, after giving him due notice and an opportunity to appear and defend himself, the council convened in the presence of a large congregation of the Saints on the 8th of September, 1844, and proceeded to hear evidence in the case. The evidence established the insubordination of Elder Rigdon and the irregularity of his course, and a motion that he be excommunicated from the Church until he repented was carried both by the council composed of the bishop and the twelve high priests, and also by a great congregation of the Saints. Ten only, and they of Rigdon's following, voting in the negative.[24]

After his excommunication Rigdon made an attempt to organize a church, choosing twelve apostles, etc., but his efforts amounted to but little. He soon retired from Nauvoo to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, which he established as his headquarters and began the publication of the *Messenger* and *Advocate*—reviving the name of the second periodical published by the Church. He sent missionaries to many branches of the Church to represent his claims to the Presidency, but they succeeded in getting only slight support, and that for the most part from among those weak in the faith. His "church," never strong, either in numbers or in men of strong character, soon crumbled into decay; Sidney Rigdon sank out of sight and in 1876 he died in obscurity in Allegheny County, State of New York.

The fate of Sidney Rigdon and the fate of the organization

---

23. "And inasmuch as a president of the high priesthood shall transgress, he shall be had in remembrance before the common council of the Church, who shall be assisted by twelve counselors of the High Priesthood; and their decision upon his head shall be an end of controversy concerning him." Doc. and Cov., sec. cvii, 82, 83.

24. "Minutes of the Trial of Sidney Rigdon," published in *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, pp. 647-655 and 660 to 667, and 658-687.

which he founded prove the prophetic character of the words of Brigham Young, in his 8th of August speech—

"All that want to draw away a party from The Church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper."[25]

NOTE 1: OTHER WOULD-BE LEADERS OF THE CHURCH: It may not be amiss to notice other men who sought to take advantage of the momentary confusion following the death of Joseph Smith to draw away disciples after them, and establish themselves respectively as "some great one."

I. JAMES J. STRANG: First among these was one James J. Strang of Voree, Walworth county, in the southeast part of Wisconsin. He was but a recent convert to the Mormon faith at the death of the Prophet, having been baptized about four months previous to that event. Mr. Strang claimed that on the 18th of June, 1844, the Prophet Joseph wrote to him a letter of some considerable length, containing a revelation appointing him, James J. Strang, to be his successor as President and Prophet of the Church. The letter also appointed one Aaron Smith, Mr. Strang's counselor, and commanded the Twelve Apostles to proclaim Voree, Wisconsin, as the gathering place of the Saints. Mr. Strang attempted to strengthen his claim to the position of President and Prophet of the Church by reference to the revelation which says:

"But verily, verily, I say unto you, that none else [than Joseph Smith] shall be appointed unto this gift [to receive revelations and commandments for the Church] except it be through him [Joseph Smith] for if it be taken from him, he shall not have power except to appoint another in his stead."[26]

Mr. Strang claimed that the appointment he received through the letter he represented as coming from Joseph Smith fulfilled the terms of the revelation above quoted; that is, he had been appointed through the Prophet.[27] When he presented this "letter" and "revelation" to some of the saints in Michigan, they asked him if the Twelve that were commanded in his "revelation" to proclaim Voree, Wisconsin, as the gathering place for the Saints, were the Twelve Apostles at Nauvoo. He replied

25. See notes end of chapter.
26. Doc. & Cov., Sec. 43; 4.
27. For promulgating this forged letter and spurious revelation, and attempting to establish a stake at Voree, "thereby leading the Saints astray" both James Strang and Aaron Smith were excommunicated from the Church by the council of the Twelve Apostles, on the 26th of August, 1844 (Times and Seasons, Vol. V, p. 631).

they were. Did they know anything of this "revelation?" They did not. Had he been ordained a Prophet? He replied no. The saints were suspicious of his claims, and would not receive him.[28]

This question as to his ordination presented a serious difficulty to Mr. Strang, a difficulty which he tried to surmount by announcing soon afterwards that immediately after the martyrdom of the Prophet Joseph, an angel appeared unto him and ordained him to be a prophet to the Church, and the successor to Joseph Smith as the President thereof.

Not many followed him from Nauvoo, for there his influence amounted to little; but in the scattered branches, especially in those of Wisconsin, he succeeded in deceiving many. Among those who accepted and sustained his claims were William Smith, the only surviving brother of the Prophet Joseph; the notorious John C. Bennett; also John E. Page, one of the Twelve, who for several years previous to Joseph's death had been in precarious fellowship with the Church. John C. Bennett had first supported Sidney Rigdon, claiming to have a sealed document from the Prophet Joseph—when as yet he was in full fellowship with the Church—with a strict charge not to open it until after the Prophet's death. When he opened it, lo! it contained what purported to be a revelation from the deceased Prophet appointing Sidney Rigdon to be his successor. John C. Bennett averred that this was as it should be, and so eagerly was this purported revelation accepted by the supporters of Mr. Rigdon, that they had it published and widely circulated among the branches of the Church. But when Mr. Strang came forward with his claims, John C. Bennett turned from Sidney Rigdon and supported Mr. Strang—having forgotten apparently, the "revelation" contained in the sealed document which appointed Mr. Rigdon president of the Church.[29]

John E. Page in support of the Strang movement, intercepted a company of saints in Michigan, *en route* from Canada to Nauvoo, he represented that it was the will of the Lord that they should settle in Voree, Wisconsin, Mr. Strang's gathering place, and not go to Nauvoo. This company, however, were prudent enough not to receive his representations without investigation. They sent messengers to Nauvoo who received such instruction

---

28. See letter of Crandal Dunn, who was presiding over the branches of the Church in Western Michigan at the time. *Mill. Star,* Vol. VIII, p. 93.

29. *Mill. Star,* Vol. VIII, p. 94. It may be remarked in passing that it is a little singular that Bennett, who according to his own claims never had any faith in Mormonism, and only joined the Church in order to disclose the schemes of its leaders, should be found, after that exposé had been published, meddling with affairs of succession in the Presidency of said Church.

from the Twelve as to preserve them from the deceitfulness of this apostate Apostle.

John E. Page continued to support the claims of James J. Strang, and for so doing was excommunicated from the Church.[30]

Mr. Strang in a short time changed his gathering place from Voree, Wisconsin, to Beaver Island, in the north end of Lake Michigan. He organized a township on Beaver Island, went to the state legislature and succeeded in having the whole group of islands in north Lake Michigan organized into a county, under the name of Manitou county, which for some years Mr. Strang represented in the Michigan state legislature.

Mr. Strang was not satisfied with being prophet and president of the Church, he must also be a king; and accordingly was crowned and given a scepter. He was crowned by George J. Adams an apostate from the Church. At one time Mr. Adams had been appointed to go on a mission to the empire of Russia, to preach the gospel; but before he started he was found in transgression. His appointment was, of course, cancelled; and subsequently, as he still further trangressed, he was excommunicated from the Church, after which he joined Mr. Strang at Beaver Island.

The people whom Mr. Strang gathered together on Beaver Island soon fell into disrepute with their neighbors. They were accused of being an organized community of thieves. It is not our prerogative to pronounce upon the truth or falsity of these charges. It is enough to say that Mr. Strang and his followers were held in great abhorrence by the other inhabitants of the Manitou group of islands, also by the people on the neighboring mainland, and in the summer of 1856, there was a general uprising of the people in those parts, which resulted in the killing of Mr. Strang—some accounts say, by two men of his own party—the breaking up of his organization, and the scattering of his people.

2. William Smith: William Smith the youngest and only surviving brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith was also among those who aspired to leadership of the Church. At the death of the Prophet he was a member of the Apostle's quorum, and with them was sustained as one of the presiding council of the Church. The sickness of his wife who had accompanied him to the East did not admit of his returning to Nauvoo with the other Apostles; but on his return in the spring of 1845, he seemed to ac-

30. John E. Page was disfellowshiped from the quorum of the Twelve, February 9th, 1846; and excommunicated from the Church June 27, 1846.

quiesce, in their leadership of the Church. In a signed communication to the Times and Seasons he said:

"My advice to all, without respect of persons, is the same now that it was then [i. e. while in the East] support and uphold the proper authorites of the Church—when I say authorites I mean the whole, and not a part: the Twelve, and not one, two, six, eight, ten or eleven, but the whole Twelve.[31]

Soon after this William Smith was ordained to the office of Patriarch to the Church, succeeding his brother Hyrum in that high office. The associate editor of the *Times* and *Seasons* in making the announcemnt of the appointment and ordination stated that William had been ordained "Patriarch over the Church." Whereupon a number of persons began to ask if William was Patriarch "over" the Church, did not that also make him President of the Church.

In the issue of the *Times* and *Seasons* following, the editor corrected the error of his associate by saying that the notice of William's appointment to be patriarch should have read Patriarch "to" the Church not "over" it. He, of course, also denied that William was President of the Church.[32]

William Smith, however, did not command much of a following in this first attempt to make himself a leader. His efforts at leadership on this occasion resulted only in violent denunciations of those who would not receive him, and his final expulsion from the Church. At the general conference held on the 6th of October, 1845, he was disfellowshipped from the quorum of the Twelve, and on the 12th of the same month, he was excommunicated from the Church. He shortly afterwards became associated with James J. Strang and other apostates in an attempt to establish a church in the state of Wisconsin, but there also he failed.

A few years later William Smith visited some scattered members of the Church in Illinois and Kentucky teaching "lineal priesthood as applied to the Presidency of the Church." That

---

31. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, p. 904. Issue of May 15th, 1845. Two months later at a Smith family reunion given by the Church to the family, and at which the Twelve Apostles and Bishops Whitney and Miller were the hosts, Wm. Smith proposed the following toast "in pure water:"

"To the President and Bishops of this Church. May their kindness be rewarded, may their power be increased, their purses never fail, their good will continue, their desires be accomplished, and their faith and knowledge increase until they shall shine forth as suns in the firmament, and give light to other systems of their own creaton. In the name and behalf of all my relatives here assembled and the whole Smith family I present my thanks to the President and Bishops for the kind manifestation of their good feelings toward the remnants of that family." —*Nauvoo Neighbor*, July 16, 1844.

32. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. VI, No. 9 and No. 10, Art. Patriarchal.

is, he taught that his brother Joseph's edlest son had a right by virtue of lineage to succeed to the Presidency of the Church; but also taught in connection with this that it was his right, as the only surviving brother of the former President, natural guardian of the "seed" of Joseph, the Prophet, to stand, in the *interim,* as president *pro tem* of the Church. There seemed to be a general acquiescence with this by the members of the Church remaining in the districts where he labored—most of whom were either apostates or weak in the faith—and in the spring of 1850, he called a conference to assemble in Covington, Kentucky, where he effected an organization by having himself sustained as President *pro tem* of the Church, and Lyman Wight and Aaron Hook as counselors and spokesman. It is claimed that many of the "saints" in northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin, were identified with this movement.[33]

This organization accomplished nothing. It scarcely endured a year before disintegration began to which in a short time it succumbed. Its originator many years later became nominally connected with what is known as the "reorganized" Church of the Latter-day Saints, but he was never zealous in their cause. He died at Osterdock, Iowa, 1893.

3. Lyman Wight: Lyman Wight may not be numbered among those who aspired to the Presidency of the Church following the death of the Prophet, but he manifested a spirit of insubordination to the authority of the Twelve, and led away a party from the Church. He first led a company of about one hundred and fifty Saints into the then territory of Wisconsin, the purpose being to settle on government land from sixty to eighty miles above Prairie du Chien. He left Nauvoo in the latter part of August, 1844. (*Nauvoo Neighbor* for 4th September, 1844). From his private journal it is learned that he left Nauvoo with a party of sixty-four persons on board the steamer *General Brooke,* and landed at Prairie La Cross some four hundred and fifty miles above Nauvoo, where his company obtained work in the pineries of that region (see Succession in the Presidency of the Church, 2nd Edition, p. 28, note). For some time he had desired to go to Texas, and advocated the movement of the Church to the southwest even before the death of the Prophet. (See two communications from Lyman Wight *et al.* Black River Falls, Wisconsin Territory, February 15th, 1844, *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 103-4, and 117-119). Having determined upon fol-

33. See Jason W. Briggs quoted by Tullidge in his supplement to the "Life of Joseph," Josephite edition, p. 577. It is not certain that Lyman Wight authorized the use of his name in this attempt at organization.

lowing the bent of his own inclination, irrespective of the wishes of his associates in the council of the Twelve, he led his small colony to Texas in 1845, and settled first near the present site of Austin, though he seems to have obtained no permanent abiding place. The *Galveston News* in its brief notice of his death, which occurred in 1858, said: "Mr. Wight first came to Texas in November, 1845, and has been with his colony on our extreme frontier ever since, moving still farther west as settlements formed around him, thus always being the pioneer of advancing civilization, affording protection against the Indians. He has been the first to settle five new counties, and prepare the way for others. (See also affidavit of Gideon Carter, Succession in the Presidency of the Church, 2nd Edition, p. 122, Et seq, for movements of Lyman Wight).

The company of Saints who followed him, never numerous, and living in community life, on the plan of holding all property in common, scattered at his death, and some of them found their way back to the Church. For his insubordination Lyman Wight was excommunicated from the Church, the action being taken at Salt Lake City in 1848. His career and death, and the fate of his organization, proved again the truth of President Brigham Young's prophecy—

"All that want to draw away a party from the Church after them, let them do it if they can, but they will not prosper."

CHAPTER LVII

Forward Movements—The Work in the Eastern States and Great Britain

With the question of the presiding authority settled, renewed activity began in all the departments of Church work. There was no other purpose than to build upon the foundation which Joseph Smith, working under the inspiration of God, had laid. "The foundation is laid by our Prophet," said Brigham Young, in his 8th of August speech, "and we will build thereon; no other foundation can be laid but that which he has laid. . . . Joseph has finished his work, and all the devils in hell and all the mobbers on earth could not take his life until he had accomplished his work."[1]

1. However, Brigham Young held that had the Twelve been in Nauvoo they never would have suffered Joseph to have gone to Carthage. "If the Twelve had been here," said Brigham, in his 8th of August speech, "We would not have seen him given up—he should not have been given up." *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, 278.

The Saints voted unanimously at the 8th of August meeting to be "tithed until the temple was finished as they had hitherto been. It was also voted unanimously that the Twelve should appoint two bishops to act as Trustees for the Church, and a few days later Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller were appointed by the Twelve to be Trustees in Trust "to manage the financial concerns of the Church."[2]

An Epistle to the Church was issued by the Twelve to the Saints in all the World, announcing that the Twelve were standing in their place and were directing the affairs of the Church.[3]

Nauvoo was continued as the place of gathering for the Saints; those with capital were urged to come and establish industries in order to give employment to the poor. "Let the capitalists hasten here," said the Epistle, "and they may be assured we have nerves, sinews, fingers, skill and ingenuity sufficient in our midst to carry on all the necessary branches of industry."

The temple was to be completed by "a regular system of tithing, according to the commandments of the Lord * * * given as a law to the Church by the mouth of his servant Joseph."[4]

The United States and Canada were to be immediately organized by the Twelve into proper ecclesiastical districts, as had already been done in the British mission, and High Priests appointed to preside over the same, to call quarterly conferences for the representation and regulation of the branches within said districts, "and for the furtherance of the gospel;" for "the gospel in its fullness and purity" must now be proclaimed in "every

2. *Nauvoo Neighbor,* Aug. 14, 1844; and *Times and Seasons,* Vol. V, p. 638.

3. As evidence that this might not be a final adjustment of the question of presidency, or that the quorum of the Twelve would be the permanent presiding quorum in the Church, an editorial in the *Times and Seasons,* following the one in which the General Epistle of the Twelve appears, in announcing that the Twelve had been sustained as presiding over the whole Church, said: "and when any alteration in the Presidncy shall be required, seasonable notice will be given," *Times and Seasons,* September 2nd, 1844.

4. The revelation was given July 8th, 1838 (Doc. and Cov., sec. 119). It had not been very regularly enforced, however, owing to the unsettled conditions prevailing in the Church. Now it was proclaimed to be "a law unto this church, as binding upon their conscience as any other law or ordinance;" and was henceforth to be taught as a law "to all who present themselves for admission into this Church, that they may know the sacrifice and tithing which the Lord requires, and perform it."

neighborhood of this widespread country, and to all the world," said the Epistle. Doubtless the Twelve and all the Saints felt that the recent martrydom of the Prophet and Patriarch of the Church had added increased value and sanctity to the New Dispensation of the Gospel.

Relative to politics the epistle urged that inasmuch as none of the candidates who were before the public for the high office of President of the United States had "manifested any disposition or intention to redress wrong and restore right, liberty, and law;" the Saints were advised to stand aloof from corrupt men and measures, "and wait at least till a man is found, who, if elected, will carry out the enlarged principles, universal freedom and equal rights and protection, expressed in the views of our beloved Prophet and Martyr."[5] "We do not, however," said the epistle, "offer this political advice as binding on the consciences of others; we are perfectly willing that every member of this Church should use his own freedom in all political matters; but we give it as our own rule of action, and for the benefit of those who may choose to profit by it."[6]

5. *Times and Seasons,* Vol. V, p. 620. This resolution was adhered to in the presidential election. As late as the 6th of November, 1844 (the presidential election that year was held under the U. S. law of 1792, requiring the election to be held within 34 days preceding the first Wednesday in December), an editorial in the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* said: "We have had a good deal said to us by both political parties about the course we intended to pursue in relation to the presidential election: both sides as a matter of course, advocating their superior claims to our attention. We, however, announced our determination some time ago not to interfere in this matter, and we have seen nothing, nor have we heard anything that was in anywise calculated to make us alter our opinion. The murder of Gen. Smith placed us in a peculiar situation in relation to this matter, and since this lamentable occurence the course pursued by both political parties have been anylamentable occurrence the course pursued by both political parties has been anything but honorable in relation to us as a people. They have both joined hands with the mob in trying if not to sustain, yet to wink at some of the most demoniacal proceedings that ever disgraced the records of our country. They have both joined in persecuting an innocent people and in trying to oppress those who already were goaded with mobocracy; they have both published and given credence to the stories of mobocrats, black-legs and murderers, whilst they have carefully excluded from their columns everything like truth in relation to the matter, although they have had it in their possession. There have been, however, a few honorable exceptions to this among the Democratic ranks, particularly in the more respectable papers in the East. But among the Whig party we know of none, from the *"New York Tribune,"* down to the most insignificant Whig paper in this state, we know of no exception—all have joined in supporting mobocracy and in sustaining the hands of murderers.

6. This advice it will be observed had reference only to the presidential election. The election for county officers, members of the state legislature, and for members of congress had taken place on the 5th of August, as provided at that time by the law of Illinois. Governor Ford had tried to persuade the Saints to



H. C. Kimball's home in Nauvoo.

The Epistle concluded as follows:

"Now my dear brethren, to conclude our present communication, we would exhort you in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to be humble and faithful before God, and before all the people, and give no occasion for any man to speak evil of you; but preach the gospel in its simplicity and purity, and practice righteousness, and seek to establish the influence of truth, peace and love among mankind, and in so doing the Lord will bless you, and make you a blessing to all people."[7]

Thus admonished the Saints resumed their activities in all departments of the work with the most gratifying results; and those who expected to see "Mormonism" collapse with the death of the Prophet and the Patriarch, began to discover they were doomed to disappointment.

Brigham Young was elected Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion, and received his commission from Governor Ford on the 27th of September, 1844, the very day that Governor Ford visited Nauvoo in company with a number of prominent state militia officers and about five hundred of the state militia mustered into service to defeat the purpose of the "wolf-hunt," proposed by the anti-Mormons of Hancock and surrounding counties as already detailed in Chapter III.

Under date of October 9th, Governor Ford issued the following order to Lieutenant General Young:

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
SPRINGFIELD, Oct. 9th, 1844.

"*To Lieut.-General Brigham Young, of the Nauvoo Legion*:

"SIR: It may be probable that there may be further disturbances in Hancock County by those opposed to the prosecutions

take no part even in this local election, but believing that the "cause of law and order" could best be conserved by casting their vote for the Democratic candidates, the people of Nauvoo voted almost soldily for them. At least there were but "five opposition votes in the city;" and in the county the majority for the "law and order candidates" was ove one thousand, "nothwithstanding the anti-Mormons smuggled a great many votes from other counties" (see Church Historians' Compilation of Data, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXX, p. 200; also History of Illinois, Ford, pp. 362-3). J. P. Hoge was elected to congress, J. B. Backenstos and Almon W. Babitt to the state legislature, and Gen. Minor R. Deming sheriff, all Democrats. (*Nauvoo Neighbor*, Aug. 14, 1844).

7. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, p. 620.

against the murderers of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. They may combine together in arms to subvert justice and prevent those prosecutions from going on. They may also attack or resist the civil authorities of the State in that county, and they may attack some of the settlements or people there with violence.

"The sheriff of the county may want a military force to guard the court and protect it, or its officers or the jurors thereof, or the witnesses attending court, from the violence of a mob.

"In all these cases you are hereby ordered and directed to hold in readiness a sufficient force, under your command, of the Nauvoo Legion, to act under aforesaid; and also to suppress mobs which may be collected in said county, to injure the persons or property of any of the citizens.

"In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the Seal of State, the day and year first herein above written.

"THOMAS FORD,
"Governor and Commander-in-Chief."[8]

This genral order, so frank and fair and adequate for preserving the peace in Nauvoo and in Hancock county, if followed up in good faith by the executive, was accompanied by private suggestions which went far towards rendering the open orders nugatory. The Governor in his private instructions said concerning his public order

"The enclosed order is one of great delicacy to execute. I have conversed with Mr. Backenstos and others, and my opinion is the same as theirs, that employing the Legion, even legally, may call down the vengeance of the people against your city. If it should be the means of getting up a civil war in Hancock, I do not know how much force I could bring to the aid of the government. A force to be efficient would have to be called out as volunteers; a draft would bring friends and enemies alike. I called for twenty-five hundred before; and, by ordering out independent companies, got four hundred and seventy-five. Three of those companies, the most efficient, have been broken up, and would refuse to go again. I should anticipate but a small force to be raised by volunteers. I would not undertake to march a drafted militia there. Two-thirds of them would join the enemy. The enclosed order is more intended as a permission to use the Legion, in the manner indicated, if upon consideration

of the whole matter it is thought advisable, than a compulsory command.

"Your most wise and discreet counselors and the county officers will have to act according to their best judgment."

"[Signed] THOMAS FORD."

The fact seems to be that Governor Ford had lost faith in the power and virtue of government in Illinois to meet the emergencies arising from the presence of the latter-day Saints in that state. On a former occasion viz., the 22nd of July, 1844, he had said:

"In the present temper of the public mind I am positively certain that I cannot raise a militia force in the state who would be willing to fight on your side, or to hazard their lives to protect you from an attack of your enemies."

Again, in the same communication, he said:

A voluntary submission and obedience was supposed as the basis of government, for this reason no adequate provision was made in our State constitutions for coercing this submission, when the laws were to be trampled upon by the concerted action of large numbers. The states are prohibited from maintaining standing armies; the only military force at their command, without aid from the general government, is the militia; and, as I have already shown you, this force can only be relied on to do effectual service where that service is popular and jumps with their inclinations."[8]

Governor Ford must have thought that he was addressing himself to a very ignorant people when putting forth such views on government, especially when he adds:

"You may be disposed to ask, what use is there for law and government if these things be so? I answer you, that cases like the present do not seem to be fully provided for by our Constitution; they were not anticipated to occur."[9]

Under that view of things government would indeed be a fail-

8. Letter of Governor Ford to W. W. Phelps. Historians' Collection of Data *Mill. Star*, Vol. V, p. 103, *Et. seq.*

9. Letter to Phelps, *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, p. 105.

ure; and it is not surprising, in view of the Governor's attitude, that mobs and anarchy were triumphant in Illinois in the next two ensuing years. But the Governor's view point was not the true one. That government which cannot employ force for the protection of its citizens in their rights is not worthy of respect.

If the Governor was doubtful of the integrity of the militia of Illinois, he still had the alternative of the Nauvoo Legion, a body of between three and four thousand men,well organized,well armed, well drilled, and willing to serve the state. Governor Ford had anticipated such a suggestion as this and in his letter to Mr. Phelps said:

"I am afraid to rely on the militia in the present temper of the public mind. To call on the Nauvoo Legion would be suicidal to any effort as [of] pacification of existing troubles, and for that reason would fail to bring about an enforcemnt of the laws. . . . To call in one party to put down and subdue the other, would lead to the most disastrous consequences; all the pride of conquest and victory; all the shame of defeat by, and submission to an adversary; all the fury and unconquerable hate and exasperated feeling would necessarily be mingled with the contest, and render it bloody and bitter beyond anything we know of in this country."[10]

But even if this contention be granted, and the unwisdom of calling upon the Nauvoo Legion to assist in the execution of the laws, and the suppression of insurrection and rebellion be allowed, the Governor had still another resource not yet appealed to, and of undoubted efficiency. This was the general government of the United States. It is provided in the Federal Constitution that "The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive, when the Legislature, cannot be convened, *against domestic violence.*"[11]

On this section Judge Story, associated justice of the Supreme Court, remarks:

"The people of each State have a right to protection against

10. *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, p. 119. The letter is given there *in extenso.*
11. Constitution, Art. IV, sec. 4.

the tyranny of a domestic faction, and to have a firm guarantee, that their political liberties shall not be overturned by a successful demagogue, who shall arrive at power by corrupt arts, and then plan a scheme for permanent possession of it. On the other hand, domestic violence by popular insurrection is equally repugnant to the good order and safety of the Union; and one of the blessings arising from a National Government is the security which it affords, against a recurrence of evils of this sort. Accordingly, it is made an imperative duty of the General Government, on the application of the Legislature or Executive of a State, to aid in the suppression of such domestic insurrections; as well as to protect the State from foreign invasion.[12]

But now to turn from these purely secular matters. The October conference of the Church was very important, being the first general conference at which the Prophet Joseph Smith was not present. President Brigham Young reaffirmed and emphasized the doctrine of a revelation-led Church. "The Lord," said he, "will not cease to give revelations to his people unless the people trample on his laws and reject him. . . . This Church has been led by revelation, and unless we forsake the Lord entirely, so that the priesthood is taken from us, it will be led by revelation all the time. . . . You are not going to be led without revelation." Relative to the person through whom revelation should be given to the Church, he said: "If you don't know whose right it is to give revelations, I will tell you. It is I."[13]

It is held by some that there was "uncertainty" in President

12. "Exposition of the Constitution of the U. S."—Story—p. 244. Gov. Ford of course was not ignorant of this resource of power against insurrection and rebellion in a state; and as a matter of fact he had made a pretense of appealing to the general government for aid as may be learned from this letter to Mr. Phelps. But instead of applying directly to the chief Executive of the Nation for the necessary force to suppress the insurrection, he called upon the officers of the 3rd military department of the U. S., "for 500 men of the regular army to be stationed in Hancock county;" "with whose aid," said the Governor, "I hope to preserve order and proceed against all criminals whomsoever they may be." Of course Col. S. W. Kearney, in command, replied that he had no authority to comply with Ford's request, but forwarded his request to the authorities at Washington. And again, of course, the authorities at Washington would not grant the request forwarded by Col. Kearney, since it was Gov. Ford's business to make direct application to the President for the necessary protection "against domestc violence." Was Governor Ford seeking to pacify the people of Nauvoo with the mere shows of effort at their protection? It would seem so. He asked Mr. Phelps that his application for federal assistance be kept a secret, lest it should hasten affairs to a climax in Hancock county. *Mill. Star*, Vol. XXV, p. 119.

13. Minutes of Conference, Oct. 6, 1844. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, p. 682.

Young's mind on the subject of revelation,[14] after the death of Joseph Smith. The foregoing quotations from his conference remarks give no evidence of uncertainty. But in addition to laying down this principle that the Church would still be led by the revelations of God, and that to prevent disorder there could be but one man at a time who would receive revelations, and as he was the President of the Apostles' Quorum, then acting as the presiding quorum of the Church, necessarily that one man was himself—in addition to this, I say, President Young taught, as was taught from the beginning, that all men holding the priesthood in their several capacities and duties have the right to inspiration and the revelations of God for their personal guidance, but not for the guidance of the Church.

"Every member has the right of receiving revelations for himself, both male and female. It is the very life of the Church of the living God, in all ages of the world. . . . No man ever preached a Gospel discourse, nor ever will, unless he does it by revelation. You will do it by the Holy Ghost, or when you tell the history of the gospel, the gospel will not be there. . . . It is the right of an individual to get revelations to guide himself. It is the right of the head of a family. It is the right of an Elder when he has built up a church to get revelations to guide and lead that people until he leads them and delivers them up to his superiors."[15]

President Young in his discourse at this conference honored the memory of his predecessor, and in way of answer to those who were defaming President Smith's character and decrying him as a fallen prophet,[16] he said:

"Every spirit that confesses that Joseph Smith is a prophet, that he lived and died a prophet, and that the Book of Mormon is true, is of God, and every spirit that does not is of anti-Christ.

---

14. See Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 329. In this connection attention is called to the absence of written revelation (save in one case only, Doc. and Cov., sec. 136), under the administration of Brigham Young by Linn; but because revelations are not written is no evidence that they are not received, or that the Church is not led by them.

15. Conference Minutes, October, 1844. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, p. 683.

16. Among these was Benjamin Winchester, and other followers of Sidney Rigdon. See *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Dec. 11, 1844. Winchester was finally excommunicated for thus defaming the Prophet.

It is the test of our fellowship to believe and confess that Joseph lived and died a prophet of God in good standing; and I don't want anyone to fellowship the Twelve who says that Joseph is fallen."[17]

The conference sustained "Brigham Young the President of the quorum of the Twelve, as one of the Twelve and First Presidency of the Church,"[18] thus ratifying the action of the special conference of the 8th of August. Each of the Twelve was sustained by separate vote of the conference, as were all the general officers. Elder John Smith, uncle of the Prophet, was sustained as President of the Nauvoo stake of Zion, displacing William Marks who had strongly sympathized with Sidney Rigdon; though later in a signed statement he declared that after candid deliberation he was convinced that Sidney Rigdon's claims to the Presidency were not founded in truth; "and that the Twelve were the proper persons to lead the Church."[19]

The conference appointed each of the congressional districts within the United States, a missionary district, and set apart a high priest to preside as pastor over the branches in said districts. Eighty-five high priests were set apart to this work; and it was explained that their appointment was not a temporary one of a few months, but they were to take their families with them and establish stakes of Zion in their respective fields of labor.

The Seventies quorums, which constitute the foreign ministry of the Church,[20] were increased from two to eleven full quorums, and forty members were ordained towards the twelfth. Within the next two years the number of quorums was increased to thirty; and such was the enthusiasm in this branch of the organization that the seventies even in these troublous times built a large hall in which to hold their meetings. The public dedication of this hall extended through an entire week, the Twelve partic-

17. Conference Minutes, October, 1844.

18. Minutes of the Conference, October, 1844, *Times and Seasons*, p. 629.

19. The communication bears date of December 9th, 1844. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, p. 742. Marks finally left the Church, however, and became identified with several of the factions which feigned a "reorganization" of the Church. See "Succession in the Presidency of the Church," p. 44, note and *passim*.

20. See Ch. LIV.

ipating in the dedicatory services.[21] A Seventy's library was also begun, which caused the Editor of the *Times and Seasons* to exclaim—"Ten years ago but one [quorum of] seventy, and now fourteen [quorums of] seventies, and the foundation for the best library in the world!"[22]

The conference was vigorous in tone throughout. Light-mindedness and iniquity were severely denounced,[23] and greater spiritual enlightenment and power promised to the ministry on condition of increased faithfulness. "You are all apostles to the nations," said President Young to the Seventies, in his concluding remarks, in relation to their ministry; "and when we send you to build up the Kingdom, we will give you the keys, and power and authority. . . . I would exhort all who go from this place to do right and be an honor to the cause. Inasmuch as you will go forth and do right, you shall have more of the spirit than you have [had] heretofore."

Before the close of the year 1844 Elder Parley P. Pratt of the Twelve was sent to New York to take charge of the work in the New England and Middle Eastern states, and to take charge of the "Prophet," an imperial folio sheet published weekly by the "Society for the Diffusion of Truth," of which G. T. Leach was president. The first number of the Prophet was issued Saturday, May 18th, 1844; and was proclaimed to be an "Advocate and Herald of the Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."[24]

With the advent of Elder Pratt in the East the work received fresh impetus, and the *Prophet* took on a more vigorous tone.[25]

21. The dedication took place during the month of December, 1844. The heroic hymn, "The Seer" by John Taylor, was written for these services and dedicated by the author to Brigham Young. See note 1, end of chapter.

22. *Times and Seasons*, Vol. V, 726-3.

23. So pronounced was the reproof of the elders by Brigham Young, that his words have ever since been quoted as evidence of large dishonesty among the elders of the Church (See Linn's Story of the Mormons," p. 331). This, however, was not the case; the sharpness of the reproof of the very few delinquents is unjustly used to make the denominator of the fraction of evil large, and no credit is given for the honest, direct effort to correct such errors as existed.

24. The Prophet continued in existence about a little over one year and was edited successively by Samuel Brannan, William Smith and Parley P. Pratt.

25. As an illustration of the spirit in which Elder Pratt undertook his work as President over the Eastern States, I quote from his "Proclamation to the Saints," published in the *Prophet*. The "Proclamation" is dated Jan. 1st, 1845. Having reviewed the events of the martyrdom of the late President Joseph Smith, he said:

About the same time that Elder Pratt was sent to preside over the Eastern States' mission, Wilford Woodruff, also of the Twelve, was sent to take charge of the work in the British mission. Elder Reuben Hedlock and Thomas Ward had been in charge of that mission for some time, and Elder Woodruff took them as his counselors, and with them constituted the presidency of the British Mission. Elder Woodruff issued a "Proclamation," which was published in the Millennial Star for February, 1845, in which he reviewed the chief historical events in the Church from the time he had departed from England with other members of the Apostle's quorum in 1841, until his return. He urged the right of the Twelve to act as the Presidency of the Church in the absence of the First Presidence; and admonished the ministry to prepare for a more vigorous prosecution of their labors.

Elder Woodruff was accompanied by a number of Elders from Nauvoo, some of whom brought with them their wives—the party numbered twelve all told; and among the Elders was Dan Jones, who came in fulfillment of the prediction of Joseph Smith to him while in Carthage prison that he would live to fill a mission in Wales, his native land.[26] The advent of Elder Jones was not the introduction of the New Dispensation into Wales;[27] but his

"Thus nobly fell our worthy founder and leader in the very bloom of life; and thus the responsibility of bearing off the kingdom triumphantly, now rests upon the Twelve.

"He has organized the kingdom of God.—We will extend its dominion.

"He has restored the fulness of the Gospel.—We will spread it abroad.

"He has laid the foundation of Nauvoo.—We will build it up.

"He has laid the foundation of the Temple.—We will bring up the top-stone with shouting.

"He has kindled a fire.—We will fan the flame.

"He has kindled up the dawn of a day of glory.—We will bring it to its meridian splendor.

"He was a 'little one,' and became a thousand. We are a small one, and will become a strong nation.

"In short, he quarried the stone from the mountain; we will cause it to become a 'great mountain and fill the whole earth.'" *Mill. Star,* Vol. V, p. 151.

26. Ante Ch. LI.

27. The New Dispensation of the Gospel had been introduced into Wales by Elders Henry Royle and Fredick Cooke as early as July, 1840. They labored in Flintshire and as early as October of the same year reported the organization of a branch there of thirty-two members. In December of the same year Elder James Burnham reported about one hundred members in the vicinity of Wexham, Denbigh; and by February, 1840, the two branches numbered one hundred and fifty souls. Report of Orson Pratt, Church Historian, 1880, "Utah Pioneers," p. 26). In January, 1846, the Merthyr Tydville conference numbered 493 members; 11 Elders, 15 Priests and 7 Deacons. (*Mill. Star,* Vol. VII, p. 3).

coming gave a mighty impetus to the work. In the next three years several thousand were baptized,[28] and branches of the Church were multiplied in various parts of the principality. Elder Jones published a periodical called *Udgorn Seion*—Zion's Trumpet[29]—in the Welsh language; and also a number of tracts, some original and others that were translations from the English.[30]

The membership of the Church in Great Britain had been greatly reduced by reason of the large emigration of the past three years. At the general conference of the mission held in April, 1844, the number of members and officers reported in the organized conferences made a total of 6,646. Although the emigration continued, during the intervening years, a general conference held in January, 1846, which marked the close of Edler Woodruff's mission in the British Isles, the members reported numbered 10,956, and the officers, 1,291.[31]

NOTE 1. NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE CHURCH AT THE DEATH OF JOSEPH SMITH. Here it may not be out of place to consider the numerical strength of the Church throughout the world about the time of the Prophet Joseph's death, since it is a question of some uncertainty, and the data upon which a judgment must be formed is somewhat conflicting.

Answering the question in 1896, "what the approximate or exact numerical strength of the Church was at the time of the death of Joseph and Hyrum Smith," Elder Franklin D. Richards, then Historian of the Church, said: "The nearest we can approximate, the number was about 26,000 or 27,000 souls."

Unfortunately there are some utterances of leading brethren very much at variance with the statement of the Church Historian quoted above. First, President Joseph Smith himself, in a letter to I. Daniel Rupp, giving an outline statement of the chief historical events of the Church, said: "There are no correct data by which the number of members composing this now extensive and still extending Church, can be known. . . .

28. During the last six months of 1847—Elder Dan Jones still presiding—more than 700 souls were added to the Church in Wales alone. (George Q. Cannon, quoted in *Historical Record*, p. 901). The membership of the Church in the principality in 1852 is given as 3,000. (Bancroft's Utah, p. 409, and not 21).

29. *"Udgorn Seion"* was not long continued as the emigration to America constantly reduced the number in the Welsh mission.

30. Burton in his *"City of the Saints"*—1862—enumerates 21 books, tracts, articles, booklets, etc., published by Jones in the Welsh language (p. 213). The Book of Mormon was not translated into Welsh until 1856, and then By John S. Davies.

31. *Mill. Star*, Vol. VII, pp. 3, 4. See note end of chapter.

Should it be supposed at 150,000 it might be short of the truth."[32] It should be obesrved that the Prophet admits that there are no correct data upon which to base his roughly stated guess.

Again in his letter to Henry Clay, discussing a suggestion of that statesman that the Latter-day Saints remove to Oregon, Joseph Smith declared that "To transport 200,000 people through a vast prairie over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon . . . would cost more than four millions" (of dollars).[33]

Clay's letter was written on the 15th of November, 1843; the Prophet's answer May 13th, 1844. At that time, it will be remembered, the Prophet had pending before the National Congress a memorial, petitioning that body to authorize him to raise a body of 100,000 armed volunteers to police the Intermountain and Pacific Coast west from Texas to Oregon, (see note 2 end of chapter), and it was unquestionably this number of men, with the families who would doubtless go with them, as well as the Saints, that the Prophet had in mind when he named 200,000 as the number to be moved into Oregon.

Wilford Woodruff at a conference in Manchester, England, April, 1845, declared that he "represented about twenty-eight states in the American Union, *above one hundred thousand saints,* a quorum of Twelve Apostles," etc.[34] Notwithstanding these statements of President Smith and Elder Woodruff—not based upon any actual knowledge of the numbers in the Church at the time they spoke, the number given by them was not in the Church. The great body of the Church in the winter of 1838-9 was driven from Missouri, where the Saints had been gathering since 1831; but the very highest estimate of those expelled from that state has been from twelve to fifteen thousand; and there was no such fruitfulness of the ministry which swelled this number and the branches scattered throughout the United States, in Canada and in England, to one hundred and fifty thousand during the next four years, nor to one hundred thousand. In a communication from Geo. J. Adams to the *Boston* (Mass.) *Bee,* copied into the *Times and Seasons* of March 15th, 1843, Adams gives the membership of the Church "throughout the vast republic" (the United States), as 50,000; and the number in the British Islands as 20,000; which the editor of the *Times and Seasons,* in a foot note, corrects as to the numbers in Great Britain by saying "about ten thousand."[35]

32. "An Original History of the Religious Denominations at Present Existing in the Unted States," I Daniel Rupp, p. 409.

33. *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 519, 533, *et. seq.*

34. *Mill. Star,* Vol. V, p. 170. The remark is evidently made off hand, certainly without reference to any *data* that had been considered.

35. *Times and Seasons,* Vol. IV, p. 142. And had the number quoted in the United States been reduced one-half, it, too, would have been nearer the truth.

NOTE 2. JOSEPH SMITH'S OREGON MEMORIAL BEFORE CONGRESS: It was on the 25th of this very month of May, 1844, that the Prophet's memorial was introduced into the National House of Representatives by Mr. John Wentworth, a representative from Northern Illinois, to be read by the clerk for the information of the House." The Congressional Globe of the above date reports the matter as follows:

MORMONS.

Mr. Wentworth asked permission to present a memorial from Gen. Joseph Smith, the head of the Mormons, and required that it might be read by the clerk for the information of the House,

The clerk commenced the reading of the memorial.

Before the reading was concluded.

Mr. J. R. Ingersoll interposed, and objected to the reception at first, and still objected.

Mr. Weber observed that if memorials of this kind were to be read, he was entrusted with the presentation of one of a peculiar character, from certain citizens of Frederick county, Md.

Mr. Wentworth said he would move a suspension of the rule to enable him to have the paper read; and he wished to inquire of the chair whether it would be in order for him to assign his reasons for making such a motion.

Mr. Duncan observed, if the gentlemen would yield him the floor, he would move to suspend the rules, to go into committee of the whole on the Oregon bill.

Mr. Wentworth said that, as he had the floor, he would make the motion. Mr. Wentworth then moved that the rules be suspended, for the purpose of going into committee of the whole on the Oregon bill. The Speaker said that the question would be put on suspending the rules to go into committee of the whole. If that motion prevailed, the gentleman could move to take up any bill he pleased.

Mr. Vance called for the yeas and nays on the question; which were ordered.

Mr. McKay inquired if the House should refuse to go into committee of the whole, if it could by postponement of the previous orders, take up the naval appropriation bill which had been reported from the committee of the whole.

The Speaker said a motion to that effect would require a vote of two-thirds.

The question was put on suspending the rules and regulations; yeas 79, nays 86.

From the proceedings of the House of Representatives of May 25th, 1844. Congressional Globe, Vol. 13, No. 39, p. 624.

Historic Views and Reviews

The Origin of Thanksgiving Day

THE initial date of the national Thanksgiving has been fixed at September 3, 1864, but this seems somewhat arbitrary. On April 10, 1862 (Nicolay & Hay, Complete Works, vii., 144), President Lincoln issued a proclamation recommending general thanksgiving and prayer for the national victories on the weekly day of religious observance next following the receipt of the proclamation. On July 15, 1863 (ix., 32) he issued a thanksgiving proclamation for victories and appointed Thursday, August 6, as the day of such observance. A second proclamation in the same year dated October 3 (ix., 151), in more general terms appointed the last Thursday in November as a day of thanksgiving and praise. On May 9, 1864 (x., 94), he issued a less formal "recommendation of thanksgiving" without setting apart any day for observance. In the serial examinations of these records we now discover that the assignment of the initial date to September 3, 1864, is more than arbitrary, it is absurd. On that day President Lincoln issued two "orders of thanks and rejoicing" (x., 212), tendering the national thanks to Farragut, Canby and Granger and setting apart September 5, 6 and 7 for national salutes of 100 guns. On October 20, 1864 (x., 245), he issued his second thanksgiving proclamation for the last Thursday of November. These thanksgivings were a part of the war feeling. That they were continued after the war and were turned into more general channels is due to the success of the agitation carried on most earnestly by Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of *Godey's Ladies' Book.*

Bones in Revolutionary Battleground

Workmen preparing that part of the old Isham estate which the family has given to the city for a park at Broadway and 207th street, New York city, dug up yesterday a complete human skeleton buried about three feet. It is believed the skeleton is that of one of General Washington's soldiers. A battle took place along the river front near this point. Many human bones and other relics have been dug up during the four months the contractors have been working there. These include bullets, powder horns and arrowheads. To-day's specimen will go to the city. Just below this point near 193d street Fort Tryon had its site during the Revolution.



Another Literary Hoax

To the long list of clever hoaxes that have taken in one generation after another there is now to be added a new one as complete, as clever, amusing and successful as any of its predecessors. When an alleged reprint appeared two years ago of a curious "Old Librarian's Almanack" said to have been first published in New Haven in 1773, it was everywhere accepted as the genuine reproduction it claimed to be. It was published as the first issue of a "librarians' series" which was to be under the general editorship of John Cotton Dana of the Newark Library and Henry W. Kent of the New York Metropolitan Museum, and Edmund Lester Pearson of The Boston Transcript contributed a preface containing some information concerning the original pamphlet of which, it was asserted, only two copies were known to be in existence. The names of their owners and the prices paid for them were given, and then followed a brief sketch of the life and work of one Jared Bean, the "Old Librarian" said to have been responsible for the little book. If one had been disposed to doubt after the apparent seriousness and sincerity of this presentation of the book his skepticism would have been dispelled by the amount of labor expended on the "Al-

manack" itself. It was patterned after the Poor Richard style, with alternate pages of almanac and advice to librarians, and every one of them was brim full of a surly, shrewd, hard-witted old booklover's devotion to his librarian's business. And now comes Mr. Pearson's public acknowledgment that he wrote the book all himself, that it is nothing but just another literary joke on the public. Those who read it with keen enjoyment will be sorry to know the truth about it, for every one of them, without any doubt, would much rather it had been Jared Bean's own book than a product of Mr. Pearson's inventive genius—just a "tadpole, or tale out of his own head."

Bogus Autograph of Washington

If you think of purchasing an autograph of George Washington, either privately or at public auction, the following bit of advice may not be amiss: View with suspicion any check purporting to be signed by him. Charles de Forest Burns of New York city, than whom there is probably no one better posted on the subject, says that in all his long and varied experience he does not recall ever having seen a genuine George Washington check. Counterfeit ones there are a-plenty. Although a Washington holograph letter is of high value, it is not a rarity, while letters and documents simply signed by him are numerous. He wrote many letters during his long and active career, and signed hundreds of documents and letters which he had dictated to his secretaries, but, although it is never difficult to find one of these autographs, the price asked is always high. Some years ago a rogue, by the name of Spring, or something like that, turned his skill as a penman to the forging of Washington's name. Then he betook himself with his counterfeit papers to Canada, and thence began to send letters to various autograph collectors in the United States. In these letters the scamp represented himself either as the widow or as the daughter of a deceased Southern gentleman, who had a large acquaintance with distinguished men, and in this way became possessed of interesting and valuable letters and documents, George Washington's among the

number. The sharper went on to explain that only dire poverty now induced the widow or daughter to part with these treasures. The alluring bait caught many fish, and the vendor of bogus letters was thriving at his rascality when one of his victims found out that he had been tricked. Through his efforts the forger was run down and arrested, and a stop put to his game. It was impossible, however, to make good the losses sustained by his dupes; nor could the majority of those who had been victimized be apprised of the fact that the autographs they believed genuine were in reality counterfeits. As a result there are many of them passing now as genuine. There was one in the Holden sale in this city, but it was detected and destroyed. As others may turn up at any time, it behooves collectors to be on their guard.



An Autograph Mystery

Here is an American autograph mystery: There is not in existence a single holograph letter from the hand of Button Gwinnett of Georgia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Collectors have obtained documents signed by him, his will, for example, and letters written by others but autographed by him, yet there is not one letter to be found entirely in his handwriting. This is remarkable because Gwinnett was about forty-five years old when he died, and for a long time he had been prominent in business and political life. He was one of the few native-born Englishmen who signed the Declaration of Independence. He was born about 1732, was a merchant at Bristol, England, emigrated to Charleston, S. C., in 1770, and two years later settled on St. Catherine's Island, off the coast of Georgia. He was elected a Representative in Congress in 1776, and in 1777 was President of the Provincial Council of Georgia. His hostility toward Gen. Lachlan McIntosh, a native of Scotland, whose father had come to Georgia with Oglethorpe, resulted in McIntosh's publicly calling him a scoundrel. A duel ensued on May 15, 1777, and Gwinnett was mortally wounded. He died twelve days afterward. The puzzling question is what

has become of the many letters which Gwinnett must have written as a merchant in Bristol, as a general trader at Savannah, as plantation owner on St. Catherine's Island, as Representative in Congress, as Member of the Georgia Government, and as President of the Provincial Congress?



Taft Letters Also Scarce

How many collectors are there who possess a holograph letter of President Taft? Those who are so fortunate have what is at present a rarity because, odd as it may seem, Mr. Taft is the only one of the Presidents of the United States, from George Washington to the present tenant of the White House, who was not represented by a holograph letter in the auction market during the past season. In fact, not a single holograph letter of Mr. Taft's has appeared in the public mart since he became President. The interesting question arises, Has not President Taft written any letters during the time he has been Chief Magistrate, and, if he has, what has become of them? It is very unusual for a man in public life, and so prominently to be unrepresented in the autograph sales. Many holograph letters of Col. Roosevelt appeared in the auction rooms while he was President, some of them written before he entered the White House. It may be that Taft holograph letters will come into the market after his Presidential service is at an end, as was the case with President Chester A. Arthur. Letters entirely in the autograph of Arthur are not so scarce now as formerly, although they continue to be among the rarest of their kind. The other rare names in the list are those of Zachary Taylor, Andrew Johnson and William McKinley.

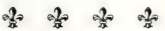


The Colonial Coinage.

The coins of the British colonies, although numerous and forming a highly interesting series, can boast of no great age.

The principal reason for this is that England's entry into the field of colonial expansion was comparatively a late one. Another reason was the jealousy of the mother country in matters touching the royal prerogative. One of these matters was the very rigid preservation of the royal monopoly of coining.

"It is to the purely commercial East India Company that we owe the earliest of our colonial coins," says the *Illustrated London News*. "These were struck at the Royal Mint in the Tower of London in 1600; the license for their issue was obtained after repeated application to the Privy Council, and even then only by the employment of gross flattery. It was pleaded that by permitting the issue of these coins the name of Elizabeth would be thereafter respected by the Asiatics, and 'she be known as great a Prince as the King of Spain.' One side of these coins bore the Tudor badge of a portcullis; by reason of this device they were and are still known as Portcullis Money. It was not till the time of the Merrie Monarch that permission wa sgranted for the establishment of a mint at Bombay. In later times further mints were established in Bengal, Madras, Ceylon and further India. Of our African possessions the coins are few and uninteresting; most of them were struck in London, and the earliest of them, for Sierra Leone, bears the very recent date of 1791.



The First New England Coins

"By far the most interesting of our colonial coins are those of the North American settlements. New England (Massachusetts) heads the roll of these. This State in 1651 issued a series of moneys—simple discs of silver of the value of a shilling, sixpence and three pence stamped with the initials N. E. These were followed, in 1652, by a more regular issue of coins bearing the device of an oak or a pine tree. Maryland must be credited with the only artistic coins of the whole colonial series. They

were issued by Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and were possibly struck from dies engraved by the celebrated medallist Thomas Simon. To the time of George I. belongs the first regular colonial coinage, a series known as the 'Rosa Americana,' and finely produced by William Wood, the victim of the pen of Dean Swift.

"Of Canada the numismatic remains are again of recent date and uninteresting; the official issue of a State currency commences only after the incorporation in 1867. The various settlements had previously depended upon an ample supply of tokens, many privately issued. In the West Indies the absence of an official coinage was met in a peculiar manner. Spanish coins —pieces of eight—were plentiful. These were pierced or chopped into segiments and the pieces were then stamped with a punch bearing the initial letter or the full name of one of the colonies. A similar custom obtained in Australia. Here again the Spanish dollar was mutilated and transformed into what is known as a 'Hol(e)y' dollar. In the golden days of the '50s the great mining companies were forced to the issuing of gold pieces of regular weight and smaller traders were obliged by their necessities to have recourse to a plenteous emission of copper tokens, the majority of which were produced in Birmingham."



Historic College Re-opened.

Historic St. Joseph's College at Barstown, Ky., once a place of refuge for exiled King Louis Phillipe of France abandoned as a seat of Catholic learning except for twenty years after the war, was reported on September 12, with impressive ceremonies in which the Most Rev. Diomede Falconio, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, participated. Bishop O'Donaughue and Bishop Maes and numerous other Catholic clergy, as well as notable laymen, also had parts in the exercises. The college was founded by Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget, one of the pioneer priests of America and first Bishop of the West.

To Save Mark Twain's Boyhood Home

The boyhood home of Mark Twain, on High Street, Hannibal, Mo., built by his father, John M. Clemens, in 1839, was bought on September 1, by George A. Mahan, an attorney, and his wife, and was given by them to the city of Hannibal, to be preserved. A two-story frame house, it is in a good state of preservation, and only a few feet away from the alley where "Tom Sawyer" had the other boys paint the fence and in which "Huckleberry Finn" lived.



Chippewa Chief Dead

With the death of Chief Satago at St. Ignace, Mich., on September 21, there passed away the most noted and historic personage in all northern Michigan. Chief Satago or Mistago, as the tribe called him, was the last great sachem of the once powerful Chippewa nation. He was 108 years old at the time of his death. Long since despoiled of his hunting grounds in the straits regions, the dethroned monarch's later years were those of penury.

Chief Satago was a veritable living Indian epic in himself. Faithfully recorded in his memory were ancient legends, songs, history, and traditions of his people, handed down to him from untold generations of Chippewa chieftains. In the lodge of Chief Satago the poet Longfellow spent much time more than half a century ago when in this north country in search for material which he embodied in "Hiawatha." Most vividly did the old chief describe the horrible massacre of Fort Michilimackinac in which his father played a leading role. His father, then the most feared chief of the north was the leading instrument of Pontias in his plan to overthrow the English in the northwest. Most amusing was his story of the arrival of the first steamboat —Walk-in-the-Water—in 1819. In terror the Indians took to the woods when they sighted the terrible monster ploughing through the water without sails and for days none ventured near

it. But more terrible still was the first railroad train sighted by the chief and last year when the first motor car passed his lodge he called it the "devil's boat." Satago was a most devout Catholic, his ancestors being converted by Father Marquete.



Street Names as Historic Records

Teaching history from street names is the aim of the Paris Municipal Council. The idea is the instruction of children primarily, but it will have the effect of imparting knowledge to "grown-up children." Some of the street corners bear the names of those famous in history in iron plates on a blue ground with white letters, and it is proposed to deal with all thoroughfares in this way. Already a beginning has been made with places bearing the names of Saints. An idea of the project can be obtained from some of the names which have been fixed, for instance, "Rue Rivoli, French victory, 1797"; "Avenue Victor Hugo, French poet and novelist, 1802-85"; "Rue Lincoln, famous President of the United States, 1809-65."



Lincoln's Comrade in Arms

Of that diminutive army of Illinois rangers called into action to subdue Black Hawk, the famous Indian chief, only one—Avery Dalton, of Elmwood, Ill.—survives. He was one of the first of the fifteen hundred volunteers to respond to the call. Fighting by his side was a tall, raw-boned young captain who came with a company from Southern Illinois. This was Abraham Lincoln, and he was well known to Avery Dalton. The latter, now in his 104th year, is in good health and possessed of sound mind and memory. He talks freely of the early days and of the campaign against the red men. An amusing feature of the campaign was the rout of a detachment under Captain Abner Eads, surprised at Stillman's Run and chased many miles back to the main body. The flight is now famous in Illinois history.

Historians aver that many of the officers and men were intoxicated or they would not have been so completely overcome by terror. The career of Black Hawk as a chieftain and warrior came to an end in August, 1832, when he was defeated at the battle of Wisconsin Heights by the regular troops under Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott. The treatment of Black Hawk and his people both before and after the war has been severely censured by many historians. Black Hawk died in 1838. Mr. Dalton recalls that in 1825 an Indian of the name of No-ma-que murdered a Frenchman in Peoria county. At the battle of Stillman's Run No-maque, who was one of Black Hawk's warriors, was left on the field wounded. Some of the Peoria volunteers who were friends of the murdered man recognized the Indian and shot him. After the war the soldiers were tried for murder, but were acquitted. The case attracted much attention at the time.

Mr. Dalton has always been a great admirer of Lincoln. He recalls that when Lincoln was a Representative in Congress some years later he delivered a humorous speech in which he ridiculed the claims of General Cass for preferment on account of the part he took in the War of 1812. Lincoln went on and said that he also was a hero; that in the Black Hawk War, while not killing a single Indian, he surpassed all by his charges upon the wild onions. He concluded by saying that if his friends ever ran him for President he hoped that they would not make him ridiculous by trying to make a military hero out of him.



The Gettysburg Park Plan

The formal dedication of the Gettysburg National Military Park on the fiftieth anniversary in 1913 of the battle of Gettysburg and the construction of the Lincoln Memorial highway from Washington to the Battlefield are favored by the commission having jurisdiction over the park. In its annual report to the Secretary of War, made public to-day, the commission refers to the approaching completion of the park and says:

"The commission has written in imperishable bronze and granite, 'without praise and without censure,' the history of the Army of the Potomac and of the Army of Northern Virginia, on the field at Gettysburg."

Foreign army officers, the report says, have expressed admiration of the work on the Gettysburg field and have sent to their governments communications as an incentive for the marking of the battlefield of the Old World. On the battlefield, 1,296 monuments, 787 bronze and 59 granite statutes, 385 mounted cannon and 370 iron tablets have been placed. Positions occupied during the battle by both Union and Confederate forces have been treated alike.



Poe Relics Sold

Two Edgar Allan Poe items of more than ordinary interest were recently sold at Merwin-Clayton's . One of them is a little book, in the original sheep binding, published in Baltimore in 1821, edited by Elizabeth Chase, and entitled "Miscellaneous Selections and Original Pieces in Prose and Verse." It contains "Monody on the Death of Gen. Joseph Sterrett. By a Very Young Gentleman of Baltimore." To this is signed the name "Edgar." In the little book there are twenty other poems by the same hand, among them "A Dream," "To Sorrow," "Twilight," "A Lily," and "To Despondency." These poems it is believed, were written by Poe. A note to one of them states that the author is 18 years of age, but this is deemed a fiction to conceal the extreme youth of the poet. Poe at the time was still at school. It was this same year, 1821, that Poe composed the "Fugitive Pieces," which were published with his "Tamerlane" in 1827. Another coincidence is that the printer of the "Miscellaneous Selections and Original Pieces in Prose and Verse" was the man who issued later the rare and valuable first edition of "Tamerlane." The other rare item consists of the first six numbers, July to December, 1829, of The Yankee and Boston Literary Gazette, edited by John Neal, and bound in one

volume. It is Neal's own copy, with his book stamp on the first page. This periodical contains several contributions from Poe and John G. Whittier. Those by the former are "The Skeleton Hand," "Heaven," and "Unpublished Poetry by Edgar Allan Poe," a criticism from the manuscript before publication. Inserted in the volume is a letter of Neal's, who was a prolific and prominent author of his time. In J. A. Harrison's edition of the complete works of Poe the editor refers to this periodical and Poe's connection with it, and says: "The editor has been permitted to make this study of Poe's early literary relations with John Neal and 'The Yankee' through the courtesy of the authorities of the Hallowell (Maine) Social Library, which owns the rare volume of 'The Yankee.'"



Tablet to Deacon Brewster

To mark the spot where Deacon Brewster, student, school teacher and blacksmith, forged together the links of the large chain which was strung across the Hudson River during the Revolutionary War to prevent British vessels from passing West Point, the Quassaick Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, went to the old Brewster Bowlder at Moodna on September 17, and unveiled a tablet.

This tablet is of white marble and replaces a bronze one worth $300, which was stolen two years ago. While the new tablet is not so costly as was its predecessor, it fully serves its purpose. It was made by David H. Forson and bears the following inscription:—

"On this site stood the forge where were made parts of the chain thrown across the Hudson River during the Revolution, 1776—1778. Erected by Quassaick Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, Newburg, N. Y., 1911."



When Joaquin Miller Was Cook

How Joaquin Miller, the West's famous poet, made his entrance into Siskiyou County many years ago is related by J. M.

Basset in his booklet entitled "Early Days in Siskiyou," now attracting interested comment.

"While I was prospecting my claim," writes Basset, "I lived in the same cabin with a man named Hearst. One day a boyish looking individual came down the trail riding one horse and leading another. The young man had a long barrelled rifle across his saddle bow. He rode slowly down to the cabin, hitched his horse and came in. We were at dinner, and upon invitation he also ate.

"After the meal he inquired if any one there wanted a man. Hearst answered that he needed a cook. The young man said he wasn't much in that line, but that he could make coffee and bread and bake beans. He was engaged to act as cook and wait until the claim was opened.

"The new cook was Joaquin Miller. He dropped easily into the duties of chief cook and bottle washer of that cabin for weeks, but Hearst refused to pay him. Miller's ire arose, and he sold a team of Hearst's horses, pocketed a part of the money and a row ensued that ended with the poet packing his effects and leaving, his gun by his side."



Jeannette Expedition Recalled

Another well-known navy officer, Rear-Admiral Giles B. Harber, reaches the age limit on September 24 and will go on the retired list. He has had a long and interesting career in the navy, but, perhaps, is best known as the commander of the Jeannette search expedition in Siberia in the early eighties. It was in 1882 that Harber, then a lieutenant, and only out of the Naval Academy thirteen years, with the late Lieut.-Commander William H. Schuetze, started on the search for Lieut. Charles W. Chipp and five other members of Lieut.-Commander George W. DeLong's ill-fated exploring party. The two young naval officers encountered many difficulties during their long and tedious trip in Siberia, but these did not prove serious, and altogether they travelled 2,667 miles in that desolate country. They left St. Petersburg in February, 1882, on their way to the Lena Delta to begin their search, and returned to Yakutsk in November of that year without any tidings of Lieut. Chipp's party. When

he arrived at Yakutsk, Lieut. Harber found awaiting him orders to take home the remains of Lieut.-Commander De Long and the other ten men who had died with him of starvation at the mouth of the Lena. Receiving permission from the Russian authorities to remove the bodies from the tomb where they had been placed by Chief Engineer Melville, Lieut. Harber left Yakutsk with Lieut. Schuetze and a Cossack, also taking with him a train of six sleds, three of which were loaded with provisions. He started northward a year and five days after Chief Engineer Melville began his journey to search for De Long. In making the trip Lieut. Harber received no assistance from the Siberian officials, and had to depend entirely upon his own resources. Melville, with the assistance of the government, made the northward journey in twelve working days; Lieut. Harber, without the aid of the government, made it in twenty-three days. His entire journey occupied sixty and one-half working days, and when he returned to Yakutsk the officials were surprised at the good time made and the successful transportation of the bodies.



Recovering the Bodies

In crossing one of the mountain passes Lieut. Harber's party had fine weather. As the deer train drew nearer the pass, however, a light air was felt. The deer drivers did not like it, but the train moved on, and the wind grew stronger gradually. When the party emerged from the woods near the foot of the steepest part of the pass, it was met by a gale from the north. The wind was intensely cold, and the deer could not face it. The party was compelled to turn back and travel nearly all night to the nearest shelter on the south side of the mountains. They did not start again until the middle of the following day, when the gale had abated. At another place a gale delayed them three days, the snow falling so fast that objects at a distance of thirty feet could not be seen. After securing the bodies, a sled for each was made, as all the bodies were so crooked, being in a frozen state, that two could not easily be carried on one sled. From de-

scriptions as to clothing and position, Lieut. Harber was able to identify the bodies. As each body was removed from the tomb, it was carefully marked and wrapped in felt. Throughout the return journey the cold was great, the thermometer falling on one day to 69 degrees below. In their eighteen months' trip from St. Petersburg Lieut. Harber and Lieut. Schuetze had anything but a pleasant time. Their best beds for about ten months were planks covered with deer skins, and for many days they slept upon wet ground, often in the mud. It was a magnificent example of the historic pluck and daring of the American naval officer.



E. A. SOTHERN AS "LORD DUNDREARY"

DECEMBER, 1911 No

Americana

Illustrated



National Americana Society
154 East Twenty-Third St
New York

AMERICANA

December, 1911

Some Yesterdays of the Stage

BY ALBERT W. DAVIS

IN this age—an age when things are gauged at so high a speed—it may seem strange to be told that there were successes in the theatrical world of yesterday that might well be revived for the amusement of the theatre-going public of our own time. If we look back for a few years, however, we shall see that there have already been several revivals in which old-time favorites that have shown themselves still able to delight those who witness them for the first time have appeared, and I sincerely believe that there are many other pieces that would be equally well received by the present generation wre they taken from their resting place and relieved of the cobwebs that now encumber them.

I well recall one production that in almost every respect differed from anything that has been seen on the boards for several decades, yet I think that all who witnessed the original performance will agree with me that it was a piece that fully merited the intense interest which it excited.

Many years ago, when the public mind was first agitated upon the subject of spiritual manifestations, mysterious rappings, and other psychical phenomena, a drama called "The Corsican Brothers" took the theatrical world by storm. Psychology was a term that had little if any meaning to the popular mind in those days; the term "psychical research" had not even been invented, yet everybody had read about the wonderful things that were taking place—events that were hard to comprehend and still more difficult to account for—and the new play gave the public an oppor-

tunity to enjoy an emotion almost akin to that which they might have experienced if they had been permitted to behold the strange manifestations.

The theme that the play illustrated was the supposed sympathy existing between two twin brothers, Louis and Fabien dei Franchi, who, at their birth—or so the story went—were connected like the celebrated Siamese Twins, and who, though separated by the knife of the surgeon, still maintained the mental connection that had previously existed between them. Thus, even when hundreds of miles apart, whatever affected one never failed to produce a similar sensation on the other. Louis and Fabien dei Franchi were Corsicans, and bore so extraordinary a likeness both in form and features that it was impossible to distinguish them from one another. They were represented by such actors as Brooke, Thorne, Mantell and many others—through several generations—who seemed to be endowed with the ubiquitous powers needed to enable them to be in two places at the same time. The two Brothers fell in love with the same lady—Emilie de Lesparre—during her visit at her father's chateau in Corsica, and, when she returned to Paris, both brothers were anxious to follow her, each secretly knowing the feelings and desires of the other. Fabien, however, decided to remain among his native mountains, but Louis departed for France. While in Paris the latter was impressed by a presentment that evil has befallen Fabien at Corsica. About this time he found Emilie married to an old friend of her father—a man of most ignoble character—and a scene ensues, resulting in a challenge to a duel, in which Louis falls, and at the instant of his death, Fabien feels as if he himself received the fatal wound. Naturally his fears are aroused and he writes to Louis, but as he is folding the letter the spectre of his brother appears by his side; the circumstances of his death are revealed in a tableau; Fabien recognizes the person engaged in the duel, and he sets out for France to avenge his brother. When at last successful, he returns home, where he soon after dies. As soon as the spirit of Fabien departed from the body the reunion of the twin brothers was seen, and, as the spirits disappeared, a picture of a Corsican funeral was discovered, with the family vault that was

about to receive the earthly remains of the Corsican Brothers. The tableaux were replete with mystic arrangements leaving the audience deeply impressed with their extraordinary effects.

It always gives me great pleasure, when writing of the past years, to make mention of one who, to my way of thinking, was the most finished, most painstaking actor on the boards, E. L. Davenport, the father of Fanny Davenport, who made famous on the American continent Sardou's "Fedora," "La Toska," and "Theodora."

Mr. Davenport—unlike many actors—when portraying a character was not Davenport, but the character himself, even changing the voice, and so splendidly versatile was he that he impersonated "Hamlet" one night and Bill Sykes, the murderous tough of Dickens' "Oliver Twist" the next, with equal perfection in both characters.

At this point it may be well to mention, in a brief way, Mr. Davenport and Lucille Western as Bill and Nancy Sykes in the murder scene, as horrible a presentation as the "Chamber of Horrors" in olden times. Imagine, if you can, a scene like this: Bill Sykes, a thief and bully, clutches his kind and affectionate wife, Nancy, by the hair and drags her to the footlights and back again to the door outside, not in view of the audience. Here he supposedly crushes out her brains at the stone wall. With piercing shrieks and loud appeals for mercy, followed by a death-like silence, in which the house is darkened. Bill returns, facing the audience. As he approaches the footlights, with sleeves rolled up and hands and arms red with his wife's blood, he looks at them intently, and exclaims in the hoarse whisper so characteristic of Davenport, "I've done it! I've done it!" In the stillness, while the audience look on spellbound, from the threshold comes a creeping creature in the form of poor Nancy. With her hair covering her entire face she appears at Bill's side, and, taking him by the trouser-leg for support, in a deep whisper, cries, "Why did you do it, Bill? Oh, why did you do it?" And, throwing her hair back, she reveals a face red with her life's blood as she topples over in death's agony, still crying, "I forgive you Bill!"

Could anything be more terribly realistic? Even to-day it would send the people home with fears of impending nightmare.

It was Edwin Booth for Hamlet.

It was James O'Neil for Monte Cristo.

It was Frank Mayo for Davy Crockett.

It was Frank Chanfrau for Kit, the Arkansas Traveller.

It was the Elder Sothern for Lord Dundreary.

But Davenport was the wonder of the profession. He could entirely lose his identity in that of the character represented. How many actors are there living to-day who could equal his achievement? I recall one of the greatest performances ever given in Providence, Rhode Island. It was the farewell benefit tendered E. L. Davenport by Governor Burnside,—General Ambrose E. Burnside of the Civil War. Mayor Thomas A. Doyle who was for eighteen years the chief executive of Providence, and many other prominent persons were present at the Academy of Music, on April 27, 1868, and it was without doubt one of the most successful entertainments, both artistically and financially, ever given in this part of the country. For several days before the performance every seat on the lower floor was taken; the extra chairs were bought up quickly, and even the gallery seats brought good prices. The theatre, which was packed from pit to dome, contained an audience well worthy such an actor and scholar as Davenport. The play selected was "Much Ado About Nothing," which was given with a powerful cast, all volunteers for this occasion. At the close of the performance the immense audience rose as one person and such applause and cries of "Speech, Speech," were seldom heard. In response, Mr. Davenport stepped forward, saying: "Ladies and gentlemen, excuse me one moment!" He then faced the players who occupied their proper positions on the stage, thanking them for their kindness in volunteering for his benefit, an expression of the good will and love that existed between brother and sister professionals. This duty done, he faced the audience, alluding to the fact that Providence was the place of his professional birth. At the termination of his speech another round of applause rent the air and the curtain fell upon a scene long to be remembered. Pink silk programs were furnished on this occa-

sion. His farewell engagement prior to his departure for the "Golden State," was in "Richelieu," to a fine house, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Mayo appearing in the cast.

E. L. Davenport made his debut in Providence at the old Lion Theatre in 1837. His wife and two daughters, Fannie and May, were also actresses. For several seasons Wallack was closely connected with Davenport, the combination being known as the Wallack-Davenport Combination, and the grand tragic alliance, composed of five star performers, J. W. Wallack, E. L. Davenport, Thomas Placide, Miss Emily Jordan and Mrs. E. L. Davenport, will never be forgotten until the last witness of their work has passed away.

I well remember many plays in which Mr. Davenport appeared, among them, "How She Loves Him," "Othello," and as the Jealous Moor he had no superior; "Still Waters Run Deep," "Black Eyed Susan," "Damon and Pythias," "Richard III," "Paddy Miles' Boy," "Fashion," "The Pilot," and "Pizarro, or the Death of Rolla."

Lucille Western, who so ably supported many of the stars of her day, was an emotional actress on an equal with Clara Morris, and that is saying a great deal, for Miss Morris could certainly shed real tears in her sad and distressing scenes. Miss Western's best and most successful effort was in "East Lynne," acting the dual role. Strange, but true, women like to go to the theatre to cry—hence the great financial success of Lucille Western's "East Lynne." Had Miss Western been prudent with her immense earnings from this emotional drama, she could have retired in luxury, but, like many others in and out of the profession, she ventured too far in the wrong direction of speculation and was left penniless. Ada Gray also made a feature of East Lynne, playing the smaller towns. Both women had their schooling in the old Boston Theatre Stock Company. There was also a sister, Helen Western, an actress whose tastes were of a far different character. I remember her in the sensational "Mazeppa," a horse-play in which is introduced "A Fiery Untamed Steed." Another play, "The French Spy," was also in her line. "Mazeppa" was spectacular in a way, inasmuch as a boy was bound with cords to the horse and was sent on a wild

run over the mountains, the boy being represented by Helen Western. This play also had strange fascination for others, such as the beautiful Leo Hudson with her handsome horse "Sensation," and Kate Fisher with her trained steed, "Aurora."

Lucille Western, as I have already said, made over a quarter of a million dollars with East Lynne in three years, all of which was wasted by others. Modjeska made a fortune and spent it, taking care of needy persons whom she knew. Jananschek was a terrible example of this wastefulness in her latter days. Augustin Daly died possessed of very little money. A. M. Palmer and Lester Wallack both died penniless. Even Richard Mansfield left no such a sum as had been expected. Fortunately there are exceptions for Lotta, Maggie Mitchell, Sol. Smith Russell, Joseph Jefferson, May Irwin, Julia Marlowe, and Viola Allen may be classed among the wealthy.

When the late Denman Thompson, who impersonated the Yankee farmer was playing in the variety halls, the writer of this article called the attention of a manager of one of the leading play houses to his wonderful talent and his easy way of keeping an audience in an uproar. As result three of us called upon him after witnessing his performance and assured him of future success in the legitimate theatre. From this interview came a five-act drama known as "Joshua Whitcomb," was written, and this manager put Thompson on the boards of the house for one week. This was the beginning of this success, all other reports to the contrary.

Thompson's remarkable record was nearly equalled by "Our American Cousin." The leading character, Lord Dundreary, being impersonated by Edward A. Sothern, the present Sothern's father.

The English does not in any way appeal to the present generation, but in the period of the Elder Sothern, the Lord Dundreary type, or the silly hair-parted-in-the-middle fop was anything but uncommon. Hence the popularity of Sothern's efforts. Not only did he have an excellent run in America but in Europe as well, making two or three return engagements necessary in London, Paris and Australia, where he appeared before such large audiences as to authorize a stay of from three to six months



E. L. DAVENPORT

at a single theatre. I know of none other who could boast of such a record. Frank Chanfau, having Sothern as an example, impersonated the side-whiskered fop in two productions, one known as "Sam" and one as "Joe," but he did not equal the Lord Dundreary success. Things finally came his way in the "Arkansas Traveller," however.

Dion Boucicault's "Octoroon," a beautiful Southern drama, was a notable play on both continents. The Yankee character, "Salem Scudder," being portrayed by James Delmon Grace, one of the best romantic actors of his day. Some will remember a scene in this interesting production where the villain, McCloskey, emerges from the cane-break with his clothing torn and spotted with blood. Do you recall the fearful cry, "Something has followed me through the cane all night," and the Indian, who is seeking to avenge the death of the boy he so dearly loved and who had been killed by McCloskey, met the murderer face to face? A rush was made for the cane, when, of a sudden, a piercing shriek is heard by the audience and the curtain falls, but only to rise upon a tableau. On a pedestal lies McCloskey cold in death; standing over him with knife in hand is the Indian. In olden times a murder scene was seldom witnessed by an audience, but was followed by a tableau similar to the one described.

Many will recall Rice's beautiful "Evangeline." Boston never could get enough of it, having an off and on run for several seasons. Rice changed his company from time to time, but there was one character that never could be changed—the lone fisherman. This part was a non-speaking one but was conspicuous in every scene. Among the many who I have seen in this musical comedy were Nat Goodwin; his wife, Eliza Weathersby; Sol. Smith Russell, Henry Dixey, Richard Golden, George S. Knight, and many others whom I cannot now remember.

Oh, the happy days of youth when the "Streets of New York," was first produced, with Chas. R. Thorne or Frank Mayo as Tom Badger, Louis Aldrich and Charles T. Parsloe as the Boot Black and News Boy; Puffy, the Pie Man; Mose, the Fireman, and the great snow scene when a little tin horse car was seen struggling across Union Square. Once beheld, never forgotten. Then,

there was Augustin Daly's great sensation "Under the Gas Light," introducing the great railroad scene, the approach of the Lightning Express when the villain, Byke, has tied Snorkey, the one-armed soldier-Messenger to the track, and the heroine, who is locked in the station, breaks the door down with an axe and loosens the cords, freeing Snorkey just as the train goes dashing by. The heroine was none other than Agnes Perry, later Mrs. Agnes Booth Schoeffel.

It might be of interest to mention an evolution of two funny stage characters of four decades ago, "Robert Macaire," and "Jacques Strop," in a comedy often presented as an after piece by leading stock and travelling companies. These characters were extremely funny and were supposed to be thieves of French extraction. It was never dreamed that in after years they would be found in burlesque, opera and minstrel shows, but such is the fact. Many will recall them in the New York Casino's success "Erminie." Francis Wilson and William Daboll represented these characters. In this day those makers of solid fun, McIntyre and Heath, are good illustrators of the once Robert Macaire and Jacques Strop evolutionized.

Blind Tom, a wonderful genius—how many will remember him? His fine piano playing and his imitations of men and things, particularly a speech delivered by the late Stephen A. Douglas at Lynchburg, Va., some years ago, amused his auditors intensely. He would sing "Tramp, Tramp, Tramp the Boys are Marching," and play on the piano "Yankee Doodle" and "The Fisher's Hornpipe," all at the same time. Tom was born blind. His parents were field hands of pure negro blood and it was generally thought that he was born idiotic. He showed a great fondness for sounds, and musical sounds exerted a controlling effect over him. When a boy four years of age he played whatever he had heard. Later he was coached by good pianists, who played for him and he afterward repeated the selection in public. In this way Tom learned to play thousands of pieces, and his repertoire included the works of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Bach, Mozart and all the best known composers as well as plantation songs and a number of original pieces descriptive of sounds he had heard. When he finished and was applauded, he would turn

toward the audience and applaud himself by clapping his hands. Few public performers ever played to more money than Blind Tom.

"Large trees from little acorns grows." Truly this could be said of two men who are now proprietors and managers of well known amusement enterprises, B. F. Keith and George H. Batcheller. In the beginning they were partners in the so-called Dime Museum enterprises, procuring an empty store and in a crude way exhibiting Australian sheep with heads upside down, or Hop-o-my Thumb, the smallest man in the world, and, for entertainment, a light opera like "Chimes of Normandy" with Henry Molten, a pleasing tenor, as the star, supported by a limited number of chorus singers. Mr. Keith's career is familiar to all. Mr. Batcheller is still hale and hearty at 84. His professional career has been a notable one. He was the star attraction for many seasons in the big Barnum show, appearing as the great American leaper—leaping from a platform some five feet above the ground, with a spring-board and regular runway, over a number of horses on to another platform made entirely of spring-boards and so over a second line of horses. The latter was called the "double leap" and was regarded as a great act. In 1857 he joined the Howe & Cushing Great American Circus on its trip to England. Here he leaped over nine horses and a pony and was heralded as the champion leaper of the world. At the Alhambra Palace, London, one performance was set aside for Queen Victoria and the royal family, the management receiving a check for two hundred pounds by the Queen's order for this special performance. Thus, Batcheller became the first American leaper who ever appeared before the Queen. Later he became the senior partner in the Batcheller & Doris Circus. In this show Denman Thompson acted in the capacity of "Candy Butcher."

Half a century ago there was one Daniel Pratt who styled himself "the great American traveller," a character well known to thousands in New England. He was one of the most popular entertainers in that part of the country. Although half-witted he was not always the fool that people thought him, but most of the time the fun he created was due to his efforts to carry out in

a serious manner what he was not capable of understanding. He would lecture in a perfectly serious way, dodging all sorts of missiles aimed at him, and whenever he gave a performance, or lecture—for it was neither one or the other but both—everyone attempted to have fun with him. He once lectured at Franklin Hall, Providence, to a densely packed house. When he made his appearance on the stage, so thick was the tobacco smoke that it was almost impossible to distinguish him, and he had spoken but a short time when the fun commenced in the shape of torpedoes, balls of wet paper, etc., which flew thick and fast around poor Daniel's head. In spite of all, he kept on speaking but the audience was so enthusiastic that he finally proposed a song to pacify them. This proposal had the desired effect, the whole audience joining in the chorus while Daniel sang, "Roll on, Silver Moon," then a great favorite. After this he read a poem, dedicated to him by a General of the army of the Potomac, which terminated with the following couplet:

"Then raise to his memory
A monument of brass
For none like him has spoken
Since the days of Balaam's ass."

Later in the performance Daniel was presented with a mammoth cane, the head being about the size of a foot-ball. He received the token, at the same time saying: "Gentlemen, this is the proudest day of my life," but so moved were his feelings that he could go no further, and when he commenced again to speak so drawing were his remarks that they pulled the audience to the platform, at which he raised the window and called "Police." Thus ended the strangest entertainment that Providence has ever had.

One who is long since forgotten was the bewitching Alice Oates, the opera-bouffe artist. Crowds gathered at the theatre whenever she appeared. Her leading support was none other than the well known comedian William H. Crane, and her repertoire in part was "The Grand Duchess," "The Pretty Perfumer," "Girofle Girofla," "Barber of Seville," and "Chimes

of Normandy." There were then many popular comic opera and burlesque combinations consisting of such well known artists as Lydia Thompson's English Blondes, Soldene, the English Opera Bouffe, Pauline Hall, and an old time favorite, Jennie Kimball, mother of Corrinne, who was known as "Little Corrinne, the Child Wonder."

A generation or more ago no one was better known than the emotional actress Kate Claxton, whose portrayal of the character of Louise the Blind Girl, in that celebrated drama, "The Two Orphans," contained all the pathos that so delights the ordinary theatre-goer. Miss Claxton's impersonation of the unfortunate blind girl who received such harsh treatment from her wicked abductors created such a deep impression on the public that the actress became the best advertised star in her line.

It was during the success of Kate Claxton, and while she was travelling with her "Two Orphans" company that a most singular fate seemed to rest upon her. Fires not only followed her at the playhouses, but at her hotel as well. Yet it would seem that a kind Providence watched over her, for her life was spared, though many others were not so fortunate. Several theatres in which her company played were visited by fire, and in some cases the players lost all their belonginigs and were compelled to cancel their engagements. The most terrible of all was the fire which broke out almost at the close of the play at the Conway Theatre, Brooklyn, on the evening of December 5, 1876, when the lives of two hundred and ninety-eight persons were sacrificed. "The Two Orphans" was being played and all had gone smoothly until the actors reached the scene which represented the home of the Frochards by the river. Jacques had just sent his crippled brother, Pierre, for his cutlass, and Mother Frochard, Louise, Jacques, and Pierre were on the stage. As Pierre started to leave, a forked flame was seen creeping along the left hand corner of the scenery. This was followed by the noise of shifting scenery and, a few seconds later, the audience observed confusion among the actors on the stage. Then the thrilling cry of "fire" came and every man, woman and child rushed for safety. In three minutes the stage was one solid mass of flames and the fire was spreading into the auditorium from which four hundred

people were trying to go down a narrow stairway. This proved to be the death trap, for the next day tiers upon tiers of bodies were found wedged on the stairs. Miss Claxton escaped, but was about to go back in search of her jewels when she was forcibly held by J. B. Studley, who enacted the role of Jacques. H. S. Murdock, "Pierre Frochard," perished together with Claude Burroughs who enacted the role of "Picard." The funeral of these two unfortunates was an impressive one and was held at the Little Church Around the Corner, the pall-bearers being Lawrence P. Barrett, J. H. Stoddart, F. B. Ward, H. F. Daly, James O'Neil, H. W. Montgomery, Lester Wallack, F. F. Mackay, Fred Robinson, W. E. Sinn, Ed. Lamb, H. B. Phillips, John Pamelle, W. C. Sheridan, H. J. Montague, and H. C. Jarrett. This tragedy sent a thrill of horror through the land that caused rusty bolts and padlocks to be opened at exits that had been closed since the day they were installed, and ushers who were in the habit of retiring when the people were seated were ordered to continue their service until the close of each performance.

Continental Agents in America in 1776-1777

By Alice Goddard Waldo, A. B.

PART I

I. The Problem of Arms and Ammunition

THE questions which confronted the Continental Congress in the early years of the American Revolution were almost overwhelming in their number and complexity, and in their vital importance to the success of the movement. Day after day, the life of the struggling States hung in the balance with some new problem—political, economic or military—demanding immediate solution. Of these problems, those concerning military and naval affairs were the most pressing; political relations with the nations of Europe, though necessary for ultimate success, might be deferred for a time; financial difficulties might be temporarily met by the issue of *fiat* money; but, under all circumstances, and in the face of all discouragements, an army must be kept in the field. The raising and organizing of this army, even in the early, enthusiastic years of the war, presented countless difficulties; but these were as nothing compared with the problem of feeding and clothing the troops; and this problem, in its turn, paled into insignificance before the most difficult, and at the same time the most vital question of all—that of obtaining arms and ammunition. Men there were in plenty, could they be induced by oratory and bounties to enlist; food was abundant, could it be transported to the camps; but arms, and, above all, ammunition, in quantities sufficient for the prosecution of a war, simply did not exist in the country, and could not immediately be produced there.

It is, of course, true that there were some military stores in

the colonies—stores which made possible the skirmishes of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill in the North, and of Moore's Creek in the South. Some of these were the old militia supplies, kept on hand from the earliest times for defense against the French and Indians; others had been quietly and deliberately acquired, in the months preceding and following the outbreak of hostilities, by colonies, towns, committees and individuals. The records of North Carolina for these months are full of permissions to export produce in return for arms and ammunition to be imported from the West Indies;[1] Boston at the same time had two purchasing agents in Amsterdam.[2] In December, 1774, the Connecticut legislature sent to the French West Indies a vessel belonging to Nathaniel Shaw, Jun., of New London, and she returned with 600 half-barrels of powder.[3] In the same month, the Committee of Safety of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, having received news of the Order in Council prohibiting the importation of gunpowder into the colonies, four hundred men assembled under the leadership of Major John Sullivan and Captain John Langdon, seized Fort William and Mary at New Castle, and obtained 100 barrels of gunpowder.[4] Some of this was afterwards used at the battle of Bunker Hill.[5]

But when in July, 1775, General Washington took command of the motley collection of armers and hunters known by the high-sounding title of the Continental Army, very few of even these meagre supplies scattered through the colonies were available. Some had already been used; some were too far away; most of the others were the property of colonies and towns which were in momentary fear of invasion, and had no intention of parting with their means of defense. From the moment of taking command of the army, Washington was burdened and harassed by

1. P. Force, *American Archives*, Series 4, III, 1090; IV, 302 (N. Car. Council of Safety).
2. J. F. Jameson, *St. Eustatius in the American Revolution.* (Am. Hist. Review, VIII, 683, at 687.)
3. F. M. Caulkins, History of New London, p. 508.
4. N. Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth, N. H.*, p. 248. (Portsmouth, 1825.)
5. B. Smith, *Gunpowder for Bunker Hill.* (Harper's Monthly, LXXIII, 236 (July, 1886). In this article the statement is made that the assault on Fort William and Mary was the first overt act of the Revolution. It is also said to have been the cause of the battle of Lexington, Gage having been stirred up by the news to make an effort to secure the Continental stores near Boston

the necessity of finding powder and shot. To this end he carried on a frequent and vigorous correspondence with the patriot governors of Rhode Island and Connecticut, with colonial legislatures and committees, and with merchants in different ports. To Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, he wrote: "No quantity (of powder) however small, is beneath notice; and, should any arrive, I beg it may be forwarded as soon as possible."[6] The siege of Boston dragged on through the winter of 1775 and 1776, and in the spring the bombardment of the city was postponed from day to day, simply because the Continental troops had not enough powder to make an attack.[7] As soon as a sufficient supply was procured, Dorchester Heights were fortified, Boston was cannonaded, and presently the British fleet set sail for Halifax—that port to which Americans still consign undesirable visitors.

It was while he was watching the British in Boston and almost despairing of obtaining ammunition enough to drive them out, that Washington hit upon the idea of capturing and making use of their own supplies. He commissioned half a dozen sailing vessels, manned then in some cases with soldiers under his command, and sent them out to prey upon the British supply ships.[8] These privateers, the first vessels engaged in the Continental service, were only moderately successful; the "Lee," however, under Capt. Manly, brought in a large ordinance vessel laden with arms, ammunition, and engineering tools much needed in the American Camp.[9] For the reception and disposal of the prizes, Washington appointed prize agents for the various

---

6. Washington to Cooke, August 4, 1775, J. Sparks, *Writings of George Washington*, III, 47 (12 vols. Boston, 1837.

March 17, 1776, John Langdon wrote from Portsmouth to inform Washington of the arrival of six thousand weight of powder from the West Indies; and Washington, on the 19th, "wrote to him to forward the Continental powder to Camp immediately." (Langdon to Washington, March 17, 1776, Force, Series 4, V, 399; Washington's memorandum, Ibid., 419.)

7. S. G. Fisher, *Struggle for American Independence*, I, Chap. XXXVIII. (2 vols. Philadelphia & London, 1908.)

8. Sparks, *Washington*, I, 159-160; III, 516-520; J. Marshall: *Life of George Washington*, II, 257-8 (5 vols. Philadelphia, 1804); C. O. Paullin, *The Navy* of the American Revolution, Chap. II. (Cleveland, 1906.)

9. Marshall, Washington, II, 258.

ports of Massachusetts and for Portsmouth in New Hampshire.[10] These men prosecuted the prize cases in the courts, sold the prizes and apportioned the proceeds, on which they received a commission; the commander-in-chief himself performed the duties of chief judge in admiralty.[11] It was also the business of the agents to see that military supplies taken from the prizes were reserved "for the use of the Continent," and forwarded to Washintgon on his order.

Meanwhile the commander was not left to cope alone with the problem of ammunition, though the weight of it rested most heavily upon him. The strongest minds of the Continental Congress were wrestling with the same question, and struggling to perform the mathematical miracle of obtaininig a positive solution for the sum of a series of minus quantities. There was not sufficient ammunition in the country; clearly, it must be imported; but how? Where was Congress to find vessels, and how, in going and coming, were they to be protected from the enemy's cruisers? When these questions were disposed of, a new set arose; whence could supplies be imported, and how could they be paid for? The difficulties were increased by the committee system of Congress, by which different parts of the same problem were referred to separate groups of men, so that their essential unity did not at once become apparent.

Three large standing committees of the Congress were most closely concerned in the business of providing supplies for the army and navy; these were the Secret Committee, the Committee of Secret Correspondence, and the Marine Committee. The first of these was appointed in the autumn of 1775,[12] and was empowered to contract for the importation of gunpowder, cannon and muskets. This committee and its successor, the Committee of Commerce, numbered among their members some of

10. Paullin, *Navy of Revolution*, 63-4. These agents were: For Beverley, William Bartlett; for Plymouth, William Watson; for Gloucester, Winthrop Sargent; for Lynn, Marblehead and Boston, Jonathan Glover; for Portsmouth, Joshua Wentworth. (Marine Committee to Prize Agents, Oct. 18, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 1114.)

11. B. T. Johnson, General Washington, p. 115. (New York —.)

12. Journals of the Continental Congress, Sept. 18, 1775. (Edited by W. C. Ford, Washington, 1905-1907.) The nine members first chosen were: Willing, Franklin, Livingston, Alsop, Deane, Dickinson, Langdon, McKean and Ward.

the strongest men in the Congress, and were extremely active until the surrender of Yorktown. They imported all sorts of military supplies—arms, ammunition and clothing—and exported produce of various kinds in exchange;[13] they kept a storehouse in Philadelphia,[14] from which they furnished powder, blankets, medicine, cloth and many other articles to Congressmen, militia and private citizens; they supplied canvas for tents for the army or sails for the navy; they procured cargoes of produce to be sold abroad and used in negotiations with foreign powers.[15] In many parts of their work they were in very close relations with the Committee of Secret Correspondence,[16] which became later the Committee for Foreign Affairs. This organization had agents in Europe and the West Indies who were both political and commercial and who reported to both committees.[17] Messengers and despatches sent by one body were carried in ships laden by the other; and a large part of the work of the foreign agents consisted in selling the cargoes and reloading the vessels with military and naval stores.[18] Long before the French alliance, Beaumarchais furnished quantities of arms and ammunition for the Continental army, shipping them under the firm name of Hortalez et *Cie* to Martinique and St. Eustatius;[19] and the business of getting them from the islands to a Continental port was shared by the two committees, and also by the Marine Committee.[20]

---

13. Journals, Nov. 8, 1775; Jan. 3, 1776, etc.

14. Probably the ware-house of Willing & Morris.

15. Journals, March 9, 1776; Feb. 19, 1777; May 3, 1776; Jan. 31, 1777; May 11, 1776; June 25, 1776; Oct. 22, 1776; June 3, 1776, etc.

16. Appointed Nov. 29, 1775. The original members were: Harrison, Franklin, Johnson, Dickinson, and Jay. (Journals, Nov. 29, 1775.)

17. Secret Committee to Thomas Morris, Oct. 25, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 1237; Committee of Foreign Affairs to Paris Commissioners, Dec. 21, 1776, Ibid., III, 1328; Committee of Secret Correspondence to Wm. Bingham, June 10, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 783.

18. Marine Committee to Bingham, Dec. 14, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1213; Same to Same, Oct. 4, 1776, Ibid., II, 864.

19. Letter of Beaumarchais to Committee of Secret Correspondence, Aug. 18, 1776, in T. Pitkin *Political and Civil History of the U. S. of America*, I, 523. (2 vols. New Haven, 1828); Silas Deane to Committee of Sec. Corr. Nov. 29, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 900-901; Fisher, American Independence, I, 573.

20. Committee of Secret Correspondence to Wm. Bingham, Oct. 1, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 522.

This Marine Committee was appointed in December, 1775,[21] and gradually took over from the old Naval Committee the direction of the infant navy.[22] The navy had been created in the autumn for the express purpose of intercepting a British transport fleet;[23] and its most conspicuous action under its "commander-in-chief," Esek Hopkins, was the expedition to New Providence in search of ammunition. The gunpowder which Hopkins had hoped to obtain in Nassau had been safely hidden before his arrival; but he brought back eighty-eight cannon, fifteen mortars, and a large quantity of shot and shell.[24] Besides taking control of the navy, the Marine Committee contracted for the building of Continental frigates in the various ports,[25] furnished ships for the use of the other committees;[26] and assumed the general management of the rapidly growing prize business of the Continent.

The members of these three committees were, on the whole, men of ability; Franklin, Hancock, Jay, R. H. Lee, Gadsden of South Carolina, Hopkins and Ward of Rhode Island, served from time to time in one or more of these bodies. But the most important member was the one who served simultaneously on all three, and who so completely managed their business that the share of his colleague was more than that of clerks and secretaries than of directors. This master of men and affairs was Robert Morris, so well known as the "financier of the Revolution" that his many valuable services in other fields have been somewhat overshadowed. His keen business instincts, his commercial training, and his wide experience as a shipping merchant, all combined to make him the best fitted of any man in the Congress for the direction of the business entrusted to these three committees. The character of this business was such, that it is

21. Journals, Dec. 14, 1775. There was one member from each colony, chosen by ballot, as follows: Bartlett, Hancock, Hopkins, Deane, Lewis, Crane, Morris, Read, Chase, R. H. Lee, Hewes, Gadsden and Houston.

22. For a careful discussion of the two committees, which for some time existed side by side, see Paullin, *Navy of Revolution,* Chaps. I and III.

23. W. R. Staples, *Rhode Island in the Continental Congress,* 40-43. (Providence, 1870); Paullin, Navy of the Revolution, 35-8.

24. Paullin, *Navy of the Revolution,* 57-60; Wm. Gordon, *History of the Independence of the U. S. of America,* II, 40-42 (3 vols. New York, 1801).

25. Paullin, *Navy of the Revolution,* 90-93.

26. Journals, May 18, 1776; Marine Committee to Capts. Robinson and Hallock, Oct. 18, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 1115.

hardly too much to say that in the early years of the war Morris united in himself the duties of a Secretary of State and a Secretary of the Navy, combined with many of those of a Commissary-General and a Quartermaster-General. Such a personal union brought about much more efficient and concerted action on the part of the three committees than would otherwise have been possible;[27] and in view of the confusion which prevailed even under those favorable circumstances, it is nothing short of appalling to think what would have been the condition of things had this bond not existed.

In undertakings looking to the acquisition of supplies, Morris was almost always the moving spirit; and his policy dictated the disposal of the goods obtained. Whatever might be the doubts and hesitations and cabals in the Congress, the cardinal doctrine of the man in whose hands lay the real direction of the business, was always to give Washington the first choice of supplies, no matter for what purpose they had been ordered.[28] Almost as keenly as the commander himself, he felt the importance of Washington's army, and the necessity of supplying it first; and from his purpose he never swerved.

II. The Continental Agents and Their Relation to the Problem,

Among the instruments used by Robert Morris and the three committees in the execution of their business, there came into being a group of men, known variously as Agents for Prizes, Agents for the Continental Navy, and Continental Agents. They were appointed for all the important ports by the Congress on

27. When, on Oct. 1, 1776, the Committee of Secret Correspondence received word that France would send arms and ammunition to the West Indies, to be obtained by inquiring for M. Hortalez, they decided not to communicate this information to Congress, because they say, they find, "by fatal experience, the congress consists of too many members to keep secrets;" and "because Mr. Morris belongs to all the committees that can properly be employed for receiving and importing the expected supplies." (T. Pitkin, *United States*, I, 521-2.)

28. Morris to Washington, Dec. 23, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 1374. "These imports were intended for the new levies, but circumstanced as you are, I think you should judge solely of the propriety of applying them to our present exigencies."

recommendation of the Marine Committee,[29] and superseded Washington's old agents, none of whom, curiously enough, was continued in his position. Their original duties were similar to those of their predecessors, and were as follows: first, to supply cruisers with necessaries; second, to keep a strict account of their transactions, submitting reports from time to time to the Marine Committee; third, to receive prizes and prosecute them in the admiralty courts of their respective colonies, sell the ships and cargoes at auction and apportion the proceeds.[30] They were given power to appoint one or more deputies;[31] and it was later provided, that in ports where no admiralty courts existed, the agents should have immediate jurisdiction over prizes.[32]

The men chosen for this work were almost all merchants of good financial, moral and social standing in their own communities, and had already made themselves prominent by local services in the Revolutionary cause. At least three[33] had been active in 1765 in opposition to the Stamp Act; nine[34] had served on local committees of correspondence or safety, John Bradford having been a member of the original committee, chosen in Boston Nov. 2, 1772; at least five[35] had been or were now members

---

29. The agents were appointed as follows: April 23, 1776—Capt. John Bradford for Massachusetts Bay (Boston), Daniel Tillinghast for Rhode Island (Providence), Nathaniel Shaw, Jun., for Connecticut (New London), Jacobus Vanzantz (Van Zandt) for New York, John Nixon and John Maxwell Nesbitt for Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), William Lux for Maryland (Baltimore), John Tazewell for Virginia (Williamsburg), Cornelius Harnett for Wilmington, Richard Ellis for Newbern, and Robert Smith for Edenton (all in North Carolina). (Journals, April 23, 1776.) June 25, 1776—John Langdon for New Hampshire (Portsmouth). (Journals, June 25, 1776.) Nov. 14, 1776, John Wereat for Georgia (Savannah). (Marine Committee to Wereat, Nov. 14, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 671.)

Nov. 17, 1776, Livinus Clarkson and John Dorsius for South Carolina (Charleston). (Marine Committee to Messrs. Clarkson and Dorsius, Nov. 17, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 739. Sept. 1, 1779, Okey Hoaglaudt for New Jersey. (Journals, Sept. 1, 1779.)

Most of the work in Baltimore was carried on by Samuel Purviance, Jun., and his brother Robert. Lux died in 1778, and it is possible that ill health caused him to give over his work as agent.

30. Marine Committee to Clarkson and Dorsius, Nov. 17, 1776, Force, Series 5, III, 739.

31. Journals, April 23, 1776.

32. Ibid., June 17, 1776.

33. Nixon; Purviance and Harnett. (See Appendix A.)

34. Bradford, Shaw, Van Zandt, Nixon, Nesbitt, Lux, Purviance, Harnett and Smith. (See Appendix A.)

35. Tillinghast, Nixon, Nesbitt, Harnett and Wereat. (See Appendix A.)

of provincial committees of councils of safety—Cornelius Harnett was President of the North Carolina Council, a position at that time equivalent to that of governor of the colony; six[36] were members of provincial congresses or conventions. Langdon, Van Zandt, Purviance, Nixon, Nesbitt and Tillinghast were, at the time of their appointment, actively engaged in the building of Continental frigates, ordered by the Marine Committee;[37] Langdon had already served as delegate from New Hampshire to the Continental Congress,[38] and Harnett was soon to serve North Carolina in a like capacity.[39] The average ability of those men was high, and found expression in many ways, but perhaps in none more important to the success of the Revolution than in the execution and development of their duties as Continental agents.

In the matter of prizes, Bradford's agency was by far the most important on the Continent. After the evacuation in the Spring of 1776, Boston was never again occupied by the king's troops, nor its harbor by the king's fleet; and it remained throughout the war the safest port for the Continental vessels. It is estimated that fully one-half of the Continental prizes came in here;[40] and of all the agents, Bradford, so far as can be ascertained, was the only one who appointed a deputy. After the departure of Washington for New York, General Artemus Ward was left in command; and Ward supervised the distribution of the prize supplies needed by the troops, and occasionally acted as arbiter between Bradford and Washington's old prize agents.[41] Bradford had obtained the agency through the friendship of Hancock, with whom he had served on the Boston Committee of Correspondence; and he does not appear to have been very tactful in his manner of assuming jurisdiction in his territory. Washington received many complaining letters from his old agents, and

36. Van Zandt, Nixon, Nesbitt, Tazewell, Harnett and Wereat. (See Appendix A.)

37. See Appendix A.

38. During this service he was a member of the Secret Committee.

39. See Appendix A.

40. Paullin, *Navy of Revolution*, 94.

41. Gen. Ward to New Hampshire Committee of Safety, Sept. 26, 1776, Force. Series 5, II, 559; Ward to Washington, May 27, 1776, Force, Series 4. VI, 602.

was obliged to refer one dispute to the Congress.[42] The general's appointees were much more inclined to recognize his authority than that of the Philadelphia body, and deeply resented Bradford's interference in their business.[43] It was not until October, 1776, that the accounts of the old agents were ordered closed by the Marine Committee, and Bradford was left master of the field.[44]

The military supplies that came into Bradford's care from captured British vessels were very considerable in quantity, and of a kind which it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the Americans to procure in any other way. The ships "George," "Lord Howe" and "Annabella" were brought into Boston in June, 1776, laden with all kinds of articles for the use of his Majesty's troops. The inventories[45] were transmitted to Washington, who, in July, sent to Bradford detailed lists of the articles which he wanted from the three vessels. These lists form an interesting commentary on the lack of equipment of the troops which were trying to hold New York against the British. From the "George," for instance, the following articles were required: "All the fuses, small-arms, and bayonets, shoulder-straps, gun-straps, leather bullet pouches, hair and canvas knapsacks, belts, flints, markees and soldiers' tents, common tent poles, tin canteens, camp kettles, blankets, watch coats, soldiers' clothing, stockings and black plumes."[46]

The other agents most actively engaged during this discourag-

---

42. Wentworth to Washington, July 2, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 1227; Harrison to Wentworth, Sept. 10, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 274; Glover to Washington, July 20, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 478; Washington to Hancock, Aug. 7, 1776, Ibid., 814-5; Journals, Sept. 14, 1776.

43. Bartlett writing to Washington June 11, 1776, says: "This day Captain Bradford applied, and informed me that he was appointed agent for this Colony, with power to depute whom he thought proper under him; therefore desired me not to act any more in the station which your Excellency was pleased to appoint me in. Your Excellency's orders with respect to this, or any other affair, will be gratefully received and punctually obeyed, by your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant, William Bartlett." (Force, Series 4, VI, 821.) And again, October 10: "Captain Bradford of Boston, who has superseded me in my agency says he has orders to settle with all the old agents. Beg your Excellency's orders with respect to it." (Force, Series 5, II, 983.)

44. Journal, Oct. 16, 1776; Marine Committee to Prize Agents, Oct. 18, 1776, Force Series 5, II, 1114.

45. Capt. Harding to Gov. Trumbull, June 27, 1776, Force, Series 4, VI, 1113.

46. J. Ward to Bradford, July 27, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 625.

ing summer in supplying Washington's army were, as was natural, those nearest the seat of war—Shaw of New London and Tillinghast of Providence. Large quantities of arms were coming into Rhode Island from two sources—direct importation, and capture of British vessels. Providence was at the time a fairly safe port, and the Secret Committee had several of its cargoes consigned to Thomas Greene, and to Clarke & Nightingale, prominent merchants in the town; while the Continental brig "Andrea Doria," which was cruising in the neighborhood, made some very fortunate captures in the months of June and July, which were received and disposed of by Tillinghast. From the methods employed in getting these goods to Washington's army, it is evident that, even in this critical summer, the ability of Robert Morris and the real desire on the part of Congress to supply the troops with necessaries could not prevent the use of a certain amount of red tape, which involved considerable delay in those days of slow communication. The forwarding of supplies was by no means automatic; news of their arrival had to be sent to Congress, either by the agents or by Washington himself;[47] and an order of Congress was necessary before they could be moved.[48] Instructions based on such an order were transmitted usually through the Marine Committee, and were given, sometimes to Washington, sometimes to the agents—often to both.[49] In any case it is plainly to be seen that several days would be consumed while messengers were passing between Providence, the Camp at New York, and the Congress at Philadelphia; and that meanwhile the supplies so urgently needed by the army were resting quietly in the Continental warehouses in Rhode Island. Aside from the delay involved in this system, however, things were done pretty promptly by all concerned in the business, and the agents, in particular, showed the effect of their mercantile training in the rapidity and accuracy with which they carried out their orders. The usual method of forwarding supplies from Providence to New York was by wagon to New Lon-

47. Journals, July 4, 1776.

48. Ibid., also July 6, 1776, and Aug. 30, 1776.

49. Ibid., Marine Committee to Tillinghast, Sept. 2, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 119.

don, and thence by row-galley up the Sound to the army; and flints imported by the Secret Committee, arms taken from British transports, and tents manufactured in Providence from British canvas, all went by this route.[50] The goods were all put into the hands of Tillinghast,[51] who engaged the wagons and directed them to Shaw at New London; the overland journey occupying from two to four days—varying doubtless with the condition of the roads. In New London the goods were transferred by Shaw from wagon to row-galleys belonging to the little Connecticut navy. One or two days were consumed in this trans-shipment, and from four to seven in the trip up the Sound.[52] The average time which elapsed between the shipping of supplies by Tillinghast and their receipt by Washington's Commissary of Artillery was ten days; and while there is nothing remarkable in this speed, it was a very fair rate of progress for fifty miles of land and a hundred miles of water travel. A continuous stream of supplies must have been received by Washington in this may; for in October Shaw writes to the commander, saying: "We are daily shipping goods up the Sound for the army."[53] Taking into consideration the desperate needs of the troops, it is evident that the importance of this work, peculiar to the three New England agents, can hardly be overestimated.

Of these three men, Nathaniel Shaw of New London stands out most distinctly, the type of a class that contained many of the best men of the Revolution. He was an enterprising and wealthy merchant, and one of the foremost men of his town, socially as well as financially. Like his father, he cast in his lot with the Revolution in its early days; and his name is now honored as that of one of the patron saints of New London.[54] Cour-

50. Greene to Washington, July 15, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 359; Tillinghast to Washington, July 15, 1776, Ibid., Same to Same, July 17, 1776, Ibid., 399; Same to Same, Sept. 26 and 27, 1776, Ibid., II, 559 and 576.

51. Gov. Cooke to Washington, July 16, 1776, Ibid., I, 378.

52. Shaw to Washington, July 18, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 359; Same to Same, Oct. 1, 1776, Ibid., II, 836; Endorsement of Ezekiel Cheever, July 25, 1776, Ibid., I, 359, and July 27, 1776, Ibid, 399.

53. Shaw to Washington, Oct. 1, 1776, Force, Series 5, II, 836.

54. F. M. Caulkins, *History of New London*, 507-12. For further biographical details, see Appendix A.

Shaw's warehouse and its contents were burned by Benedict Arnold, Shaw stating his loss as £12,000 sterling; but the house in which he entertained Washington, his personal friend, and later, on two occasions, La Fayette, still stands, one of the show places of the town. It is known as the "Shaw mansion," and is now the property of the New London Historical Society.

teous, dignified, energetic, with a touch of quiet humor, he was the trusted friend of Governor Trumbull, who found him a man always to be relied upon; and the tradition which ascribes to him a charming and lovable personality is supported by his own letters. In the course of his business in the summer of 1776, when many prizes were brought into the port of New London, he had some friendly correspondence with Washington, and once lightened the gloom of the American camp by the present of a turtle taken from a British ship captured by the "Andrea Doria." "As the turtle was intended for the support of our enemies," he writes to the general, "we thought best to send him to Head-Quarters, to be dealt with;" and he carefully addressed his letter, "Per Dr. Wolcott, with a turtle."[55]

Captain Shaw engaged in privateering on his own account—a pursuit which, profitable to many New England merchants in the early years of the war, proved disastrous to them in the long run.[56] He also imported powder from the West Indies, both for himself and for the Secret Committee, and the bulk of this powder was forwarded by him to General Washington for the army.[57] His services continued until the close of the war; but he died in the year before the final treaty, by the accidental discharge of his own fowling-piece.

By reason of their geographical position, other agents were not so directly instrumental in supplying the army, at least in the early years of the war. The only man outside of New England whose services in this field deserve particular notice is Samuel Purviance of Baltimore. Like his New England colleague, Purviance was a wealthy and prominent merchant, and served

---

55. Shaw to Washington, Aug. 1, 1776, Force, Series 5, I, 717.

Among the Shaw manuscripts, to which I have not been able to obtain access, there is a letter from General Washington, thanking Shaw for this gift.

56. Caulkins, *New London*, 511; Shaw to Trumbull, Force, Series 4, VI, 843 (June 13, 1776.)

57. In January, 1776, he wrote to Wm. Constant, his agent in Guadaloupe, requesting him to purchase powder "to the amount of all the interest you have of mine in your hands," adding, "make all the despatch you can; we shall want it very soon." In June, 1776, by order of the governor, he forwarded a quantity of powder to Washington; and July 31 he wrote to Robert Morris of the Secret Committee that he had received 13500 cwt. of powder from Port-au-Prince. (Caulkins, *New London*, 508-9.)

the cause of the Revolution from the beginning; unlike him, he was not American-born, having emigrated from County Donegal, Ireland, about 1754. As a Continental agent he was energetic and reliable; but his most important service was as chairman of the very active Baltimore Committee of Correspondence, in which capacity he served during its entire existence. The correspondence of this committee, the greater part of which came from the pen of its chairman, forms in itself an almost complete history of Baltimore during the Revolution, and has been so used by Purviance's nephew.[58] Of his uncle's work as Continental agent, the younger Purviance speaks as follows: "Some time before this (the commencement of the year 1777) Messrs. Samuel and Robert Purviance (brothers and business partners) had become the agents of congress, as well for obtaining all the supplies which might be required here, as in general for such financial operation, as the emergencies of congress might require in the south. This agency was continued during the whole period of the war; and the vast expenditures which were made, could the accounts of them all meet the public eye, would present the difficulties which were encountered; the patriotism which was manifested by the people, and the noble determination to uphold the country in her struggle, in a light that would give additional value to republican liberty."[59] Partisan testimony as this is, spirit of the forties, its essential truth is supported by many letters and papers which show Purviance's activities to have been varied and important. As in a later and greater war, Baltimore was the thoroughfare for troops on their way to the South, and Congress relied upon Purviance and his committee to supply those articles of food and equipment which were lacking. In the spring of 1776 we find the merchant making use of his own extensive personal credit to assist the southern army, writing to friends at Fredericktown and Yorktown to supply General Lee with money.[60] Again, at the very close of the war, it was Pur-

58. R. Purviance, *A Narrative of Events Which Occurred in Baltimore Town during the Revolutionary War.* (Baltimore, 1849). For a notice of this valuable little book, see Bibliography.

59. Purviance, *Narrative*, 65-6.

and characteristic, in a dignified way, of the boastful American

60. Purviance to Hancock, April 9, 1776, Force, Series 4, V, 826.

viance and the Baltimore Committee who made possible La Fayette's hurried march to Yorktown, supplying him with flour and many other necessaries as he passed through their city.[61]

61. Purviance, *Narrative*, 227-229.

(*To be Continued.*)

James Riker the Historian

BY WILLIAM S. B. PELLETREAU

BY the decease of James Riker, the cause of American History lost one of its brightest ornaments. He was emphatically one of those painstaking and thorough investigators whose labors were unwearying, and if his works were lost they could never be replaced.

His ancestry traces back to the earliest days of New Amsterdam. Abraham Rycken came to New Netherland in 1638, and a few years later settled in Newtown, Long Island, where he died in 1689 at the age of seventy.

His son Abraham Riker, (as the name was, and has ever since been spelled) also lived in Newtown, where he died August 20, 1746, in his ninety-first year. He was the father of Abraham Riker, the third, who died February 23, 1770, aged seventy-nine.

His son Jacobus Riker, died August 26, 1809, at the age of seventy-three. All these generations lived in Newtown, and their history is an inseparable part of its history.

Daniel Riker (son of Jacobus) was born in Newtown, March 7, 1771, and died in New York, September 16, 1850. He was the owner of a large tract of land in Harlem, on 125th street, between Fifth and Sixth avenues. The whole region was farm land, and the street only existed on the map of the commissioners made in 1809, who sagely stated that part of the city would not be built up "for some centuries to come."

At his residence in Harlem his son, James Riker, was born December 25, 1791. In later years he lived in, and was the owner of the house No. 148 Delancy street, where his children were born. He married December 29, 1814, Elizabeth, daughter of John and Mary (Crawford) Van Arsdale, a representative of a



JAMES RIKER

Dutch family as ancient as his own. He died at his father's residence on 125th street, April 4, 1852. His children were:

1. James Riker, the historian.
2. Colonel John Lafayette Riker, who was killed while bravely fighting at the battle of Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862. He was colonel of Anderson's Zouaves, the sixty-second New York regiment. His remains were brought to New York, and after lying in state in the City Hall, were deposited in Greenwood. He died at the early age of thirty-seven. He married Ann Eliza Elder. Their only living child is Annie Elizabeth, wife of Samuel Crump, and is now residing in Poughkeepsie, New York.
3. Daniel I. Riker, now living at St. Johnsland, Long Island.
4. Charles B. Riker, who died unmarried.
5. Mary Jane Riker, wife of John Van Arsdale.
6. Anna Katherine, wife of William W. Bodle.

James Riker was born at his father's residence, 148 Delancy street, New York, May 11, 1822. His early education was obtained at private schools, and he afterwards attended Cornelius Institute, where his instructor was Professor John J. Owen, the editor of many Latin and Greek text books well known to students. Indications of bronchial weakness made it necessary for him to relinquish a course of study, preparatory to entering the Christian ministry, and his attention was turned to the subject of local history and this he pursued without interruption until the close of his life; and by it he gained a lasting fame.

In 1848 he left the house in which he was born, which remained standing until recent years, when it was torn down to make way for the approach to the newly-built Manhattan bridge, and made his home in Harlem. From 1850 to 1858 he was engaged in teaching, as vice-principal of the 12th ward public school. From 1858 to 1863 he was in the office of the American Home Missionary Society, and for three years (1864 to 1867) he was in the United States Internal Revenue service.

Although brought up in the school of Democracy, he joined the Republican party at the time of its inception in 1856. His

abhorrence of slavery caused him to join with others of similar sentiments, in forming a Congregational Church at Harlem, which was founded distinctively upon Union and Anti-slavery principles. He was the first president of the Union League, formed at Harlem for Home Defence, on the occasion of the draft riot in 1863, in which the mob visited his house and threatened to burn it.

His first publication was a "Brief History of the Riker Family," 19 pages, octavo, printed in New York in 1851. His next work was "The Annals of Newtown, Long Island." This work which has given him a lasting fame, was a volume of 437 pages, published in New York in 1852. It occupied all of his leisure time for seven years, most of which was employed in deciphering ancient manuscripts and faded records, and poring over the inscriptions on moss grown tombstones, and personal interviews with aged people. Its value was immediately recognized, and it took the first rank as a local history being also pronounced as "The first successful and authoritative essay toward the development of the peculiarly perplexing, yet as peculiarly interesting lines of Dutch genealogy." Not only did it receive wide and flattering notice, but impressed with its unusual merits, Judge Savage, then President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, proposed Mr. Riker as a corresponding member of the Society, and he was elected November 11, 1852. In the meanwhile another locality, Harlem, quite unknown to written history, but which he found to be a rich and inviting field for the historian, attracted Mr. Riker's attention and he was urged by a legal friend, the late Isaac Adriance, to write its history.

The general reader may, perhaps, need to be informed that Harlem is that part of New York city which is bounded on the south by a diagonal line running about 75th street and the East river, to the Hudson river at about 130th street, and granted by Governor Richard Nicolls in 1667 to a number of men known as Proprietors, and confirmed by Governor Dongan in 1686. To the task of writing the history of this region he devoted all his energies and talent, and years were spent in collecting material for the great work of his life. This tract included the ancient town of Harlem whose records date back to 1662, which he

translated from the Dutch manuscripts, faded and worn with age. Not satisfied with this, he determined to make a new departure from the beaten track, and pushed his inquiries back to the Fatherland, if possible to learn something concerning the first settlers of Harlem prior to their emigration. Careful searches were made in Leyden and Amsterdam which were crowned with complete success. This correspondence began in 1865 and was kept up for thirteen years, during which time the proposed history of Harlem was assuming a form, far more complete, interesting and valuable than it could have otherwise been made. The first pages of the finished manuscript were placed in the printer's hands December 19, 1879, and the first bound copy of the completed work was delivered to one of the subscribers, Honorable Charles J. Winfield of Jersey City, June 15, 1881. The fact that a year and five months were consumed in passing the book through the press, shows the extreme care of the author to secure the highest degree of accuracy. The work increased his fame and will be made a lasting monument to his memory.

While engaged in this work, Mr. Riker was taken with a lingering illness, and was advised to leave the seaboard for an inland residence. He purchased a home in Waverly, Tioga county, New York, and removed to that place in 1869. The change resulted in a partial restoration of his health. Two of Mr. Riker's lesser efforts deserve notice. The first was an address upon the massacre of Saint Bartholemew, delivered by request before the congregation assembled in the Presbyterian Church in Waverly, on the evening of November 24, 1872, and printed in the local papers. The second was entitled "Evacuation Day, 1783" with recollections of John Van Arsdale. This address, a handsome brochure of fifty-six pages, was printed in New York in 1883. His last completed production forms the opening chapter of a Gazeteer of Tioga county, "The Indian History of Tioga County."

In 1884 he began an effort to establish a town library in Waverly, which was opened June 10, 1885, of which he was librarian.

Mr. Riker was a member of the Presbyterian Church for fifty-three years, and an Elder in the church from 1856 till the time of his death. He was a life member of the New York Historical

Society, and was honored by membership in various similar societies. At the time of his death, Mr. Riker was engaged in compiling a genealogy of the Houghland family.

After a life of usefulness, Mr. Riker passed away, July 3, 1889. His death was unexpected, though for a year his health had been visibly failing. His remains were laid to rest in a cemetery at Herkimer in Herkimer county, New York.

Mr. Riker married at Goshen, New York, May 11, 1853, Vashti Wood Horton, daughter of Jonathan Bodle, and widow of Vandine Horton. She was born June 11, 1821, and died July 20, 1864. The children of this marriage were: Mary Elizabeth who married Doctor Henry Bayard Whitehorne; Katherine Bodle, second wife of Doctor Henry Bayard Whitehorne and now living in Verona, New Jersey, and Maria Hunter, wife of Frederic Parkhurst, now living in Livingston, New Jersey.

Mr. Riker married, second, February 13, 1867, Anna Catherine Clute, a member of an ancient Dutch family, born in Schenectady, December 25, 1832, and died in New York in 1911. It was in accordance with her wishes that Mr. Riker was buried at Herkimer where her relatives resided, and she rests by his side. The latter days of Mr. Riker were a struggle against adverse financial circumstances. His works which brought him well merited fame, yielded small remuneration. His grave remained unmarked till the present year, when through the efforts of Rev. Ezra Sandford, of the North Baptist Church, New York, a plain tomb stone marks his last resting place.

The United States Senate in 1860-'61

By James W. Dixon, Bat. Captain U. S. Army.

A PAGE in the United States Senate in 1860-61, was not a great personage, nor is he now, but the page of that period had unusual opportunities of observing the great statesmen of that day, and pen-pictures of some of the public men who became historic during that critical epoch of America's history, may be worthy of perusal.

The oldest page was sixteen years of age, the others varying from that age to thirteen. Like all boys the pages were no respectors of persons, and while they were always respectful and courteous to the Senator's faces, they mimiced them behind their backs and were quick to detect any unusual traits or characteristics in the law-makers of the upper house of Congress. The pages, in common with all other persons, not officers or Senators, were banished from the senate chamber by the Sergeant-at-Arms, during executive sessions and the boys then convened in one of the committee rooms. All the interesting and important topics of those stirring times were freely discussed, not excepting constitutional questions, state rights, and other vital issues, and while some approved of secession, others opposed it. The prompt, vigorous and fearless manner in which the legislation of the nation was handled by these precocious lads might well have been imitated by the real senate, sometimes, to the advantage of the whole country. The pages were well posted in parliamentary law and usage, even to the understanding of the true significance of "the previous question," "questions of privilege" "unanimous consent" and other knotty points. These mock sessions were invariably conducted with strict regard to parliamentary usage and with great dignity. The presiding officer was seemingly capable of conducting a session of the *bona*

fide Senate, in so far as prompt and accurate rulings were concerned, and questions that would often have puzzled the Vice-President himself, were disposed of off hand and without cavil by his youthful imitator.

The pages were, with but one exception, widows' sons and the exceptional case was that of one other who was carried on the roll and was a page in every respect except that of compensation. The pay was $60 a month. The Senators treated the pages kindly. No menial work was required of them and many a pearl handled knife found its way into their pockets, on written orders, from friendly Senators.

Captain Isaac Bassett was door-keeper of the Senate in 1860, '61. He was the officer who controlled the pages and kept all records in which they were interested or that pertained to them. He died in 1896 and had continuously filled the same position up to the time of his decease. He was respected and beloved by all who knew him. For forty-five years he had filled the same post. He it was who prevented much confusion and perplexity by setting back the hands of the Senate clock on the approach of noon, on the last day of expiring sessions, when the public business could not be concluded before the beginning of a new Congress. He also kept the Senate snuff-box filled. It held about a pound of the best snuff and was fixed to the wall on the left of the presiding officer. Many visitors, interested in bills and claims, who sampled this snuff before the opening of a session, have been known to "sneeze for their rights" during a whole winter.

James Buchanan was President of the United States at this time, serving the last months of his administration. He argued that the Constitution had given to Congress "no power to coerce into submission any State which is attempting to withdraw or has actually withdrawn from the Confederacy (Union)."

South Carolina formerly seceded on December 20, 1860. President Buchanan said he had no power to treat with South Carolina's commissioners and refused to order the withdrawal of the troops from Charleston Harbor. The Cabinet now broke up. Secretary of the Treasury, Cobb, had already resigned and Secretary of the Interior Department, Thompson, deserted his post without the formality of resigning. General Lewis Cass,

Secretary of State, resigned because President Buchanan would not send reinforcements to Charleston Harbor, while Secretary of War, Floyd, who had been doing some treacherous work in sending ordinance, arms and ammunition to the Southern arsenals, to be used against the Government he had sworn to defend, resigned because the President would not withdraw the small force already there. All this, and more, the pages knew and freely discussed, perhaps as intelligently as some of the older statesmen.

Vice President John C. Breckenridge of Lexington, Kentucky, presided over the Senate in a manner both capable and dignified. He was a remarkably handsome man, with aquiline nose, fine eyes, and straight, luxuriant jet black hair. He was later a general officer in the Confederate Army and still later Secretary of War of the so-called Southern Confederacy. He died in 1875.

William P. Fesenden was a senator from Maine in 1860-61. He had iron gray hair and a pleasant, kindly face. Later he was vice-president and again Senator. He died July 4, 1891.

John P. Hale of Dover, was Senator Fesenden's colleague. Hale by nature as well as by name, he was ruddy of face, closely shaven and withal a forcible and eloquent speaker. He subsequently served as minister to Spain and died in 1873.

Charles Summer of Massachusetts, prided himself on his personal appearance. The pages thought him vain. He wore side whiskers. For months a few years previously, he lay at death's door as a result of the fierce and cowardly attack made upon him with a heavy cane, in the hands of Preston Brooks, the fire-eating South Carolinian, in a committee room of the Senate. To the surprise of many he was principally instrumental in having a law enacted in 1868 removing from the names of all battles of the Civil War from the regimental colors of the Regular Army.

Henry Wilson, Charles Summer's colleague, was as pronounced in his views as the "Great Abolitionist." He was a strict teetotaler, but nevertheless of ruddy complexion. As everyone knows he was a self-made man, having been a shoemaker by trade, and was elected Vice-President with General Grant in his second term. He was born February 16, 1812, and

died in the room of the Vice-President in the Capitol, November 22, 1875.

James F. Simmons and Henry B. Anthony were the Senators from Rhode Island. Mr. Anthony was a genial, fresh complexioned bachelor of much culture and refinement. He was a proprietor of a newspaper in Providence, but seldom spoke in the Senate. He served continuously for twenty-five years.

James Dixon and La Fayette S. Foster were Connecticut's Senators, the first from Hartford, and the last from Norwich. Senator Dixon was one of the most learned and eloquent men, and one of the best debaters in the Senate, and "There were giants in those days." What is said of him is herein quoted from Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography: "He was remarkable for the assiduity with which he followed the public business and for the eloquence that he brought to the discussions of grave public questions as they arose, before, during and after the Civil War. Among his most notable speeches was one delivered June 25, 1862, on the Constitutional status created by the so-called acts of Secession, a speech that commanded the expressed admiration of President Lincoln, embodying what he held to be the true theory of the war in the light of the constitution and of the public law. In 1863 at the height of the Civil War he was re-elected by the largest majority ever known in the Connecticut Legislature. He served two terms in the Senate and retired to private life in 1869." He died March 23, 1873. Senator Foster was president *pro tem* of the Senate after President Lincoln's assassination, when Vice-President Andrew Johnson became President, before which time Senator Foster was in his accustomed seat in the Senate.

Senator William H. Seward of Auburn, New York, became Secretary of State in Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet. He was previously often heard in important public affairs in the Senate. His fame, like that of many of the others, is historic, and when the page who chronicles these reminiscences was five years older and rode up Pennsylvania avenue in the review of the famous Sixth Corps, Army of the Potomac, on the 7th of June, 1865, Secretary Seward sat at a window of the old State Department to view the troops, his head still swathed in bandages made necessary by

the assault of the assassin, who attacking him on the night of President Lincoln's assassination.

The following year his counsels prevented the United States troops from crossing into Mexico to drive out the followers of the Austrian Arch-duke, Maximilian, for which purpose two divisions of cavalry, and infantry enough to form three army corps had been sent to Texas. The massing of this large body of troops there, in itself, accomplished the purpose without bloodshed.

Preston King was Mr. Seward's colleague in the Senate in 1860-'61. He was the fattest man in that body. His home was in Ogdensburg, New York. Some years later he committed suicide immediately after entering upon his duties as Collector of the Port of New York, by throwing himself from a ferry boat in the East River, after attaching bags of shot to his body. It was said that he was haunted by the memory of the hanging of Mrs. Surratt, he having been a member of the Commission that tried her.

Wilson Bigler and Simon Cameron were the senators from Pennsylvania. Senator Cameron was for a time Secretary of War under President Lincoln.

Willard Saulsbury and J. A. Bayard were the senators from Delaware. It is distinctly remembered that Senator Saulsbury was anything but a teetotaler. Senator Bayard was a statesman among statesmen and became Secretary of State in 1885.

Senator Reverdy Johnson, the great lawyer, was from Maryland and was regarded as a very learned and eloquent man. Anthony Kennedy was his colleague.

Juda P. Benjamin and John Slidell were Louisana's senators. Both were sesessionists, the first named becoming Secretary of State of the so-called southern Confederacy and the last as its commissioner to France, who was captured at sea by Commodore Wilkes and released by the United States Government. He died in France in 1871. Mr. Benjamin became distinguished at the Bar in London after the War, and died there.

James M. Mason and N. M. T. Hunter were the Senators from Virginia. The first was a Confederate States Commissioner to France with John Slidell and was captured with him. Senator

Hunter became a senator of the so-called Confederate States and was treasurer of the State of Virginia.

Thomas Bragg and T. L. Clymer were North Carolina's Senators. Mr. Bragg became attorney general of the so-called Confederate states and died in 1872. Senator Clymer was a general officer in the Confederate Army.

James Clement, Jr., and J. A. Hammond were the Senators from "the hot bed of secession," South Carolina. The first was a Colonel and aide-de-camp to Jefferson Davis after the outbreak of the war.

A. G. Brown and Jefferson Davis were Mississippi's Senators. Mr. Davis was tall, spare of frame and wore colored glasses. He prided himself on his knowledge of military affairs being a graduate of West Point and having been Secretary of War. He died in 1890.

Lyman Trumbull and Stephen A. Douglass were Senators from Illinois. Both were great men. Mr. Trumbull had a benign countenance and resembled the poet Oliver Wendell Holmes. Stephen A. Douglass, yclept, the "Little Giant" was one of the most eloquent Senators and when he spoke the galleries were always crowded. About this time he married the widow of Assistant Adjutant General Seth Williams. She was considered the most beautiful woman in Washington.

G. E. Pugh was a Senator from Ohio, and T. W. Powell was a senator from Kentucky.

A. O. P. Nicholson and Andrew Johnson (one of the few Union men of the South) were Senators from Tennessee. The latter, as everyone knows, succeeded Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States and later escaped impeachment by one vote.

Indiana's senators were J. D. Bright and G. N. Fitch. Senator Bright died in 1874.

Senator Trusten Polk was from Missouri, Senator W. K. Sebastean, from Alabama. Senator D. L. Yulee, from Florida. He always wore a yellow vest and when his name was called, the pages knew the roll was ended. Senator Robert Toombs was a conspicuous figure in the senate. He was from Georgia and was forceful and eloquent.

Senator Kingsley S. Bingham and Zachariah Chandler were senators from Michigan. Senator Chandler made many speeches. He was Secretary of the Interior under President Grant in 1875.

General Sam. Houston had been a Senator and visited the chamber often in 1860-'61. Louis T. Wigfall was a senator from Texas. Gen. Houston was an object of great interest to the pages, as well as to the public at large. He had been the President of the Republic of Texas; had lived with the Indians as one of themselves and was a Chief; had fought duels with pistols and bowie knives and was a hero. He certainly had one Yankee characteristic, that of whittling, for he passed much of his time during the sessions in making little bobbins for winding silk which he presented to his lady friends, and all about his desk were whittlings.

Senator Wigfall was a fire-eater, and well does the page remember his sulphurous utterances and scathing epithets which threatened to bring about personal encounters on the floor of the Senate during the smouldering of the fire that burst out into the flames of secession during that critical period of the Country's history. Senator Wigfall died in Baltimore in 1874.

James W. Grimes and James Harlan were Iowa's senators. "Old Grimes is dead, that good old man," and Harlan too.

James H. Doolittle was a Senator from Wisconsin. He was an eloquent man and a forcible speaker.

Milton S. Latham and William M. Guinn were Senators from California. Senator Guinn died in New York in 1885.

Henry M. Rice and M. Wilkinson represented Minnesota in the Senate.

Joseph Lane was a Senator from Oregon.

Many of these were great men in every sense of the word. Wealth was not then, as it has since become, a factor in the Senate and men were supposed to have brains who sat in the upper house of Congress.

In 1860-'61 a private soldier was rarely seen in Washington previous to the outbreak of the Civil War. The regular Army was small. The line of the Army consisted of only six regiments of cavalry, four of artillery and ten of infantry. Brevet Lieutenant-General Winfield Scott was General-in-Chief. His gigan-

tic figure was daily seen in the streets of the Capital, driving in his coupe to and from his abode at Wormley's Clubhouse on I street between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets. Early in 1861 General Scott was retired from active service, at his own request and President Lincoln went in person to his quarters to grant his application for retirement. The General was about 73 years of age at this time and was suffering from dropsy. Major-General George B. McClellan succeeded him as General-in-Chief of the armies of the United States. It may not be generally known that the gray uniform of the Cadets at the Military Academy at West Point was adopted because of an incident connected with Scott's battery at the time of the battle of Lundy's Lane during the war of 1812. General Scott, then a captain of artillery, commanding a light battery, made a requisition for overcoats for his men. Reply from the Quartermaster's department stated that no blue overcoats were on hand but that gray ones could be had if desired. The coats were accepted and a little later the Government adopted the gray uniform for the corps of cadets and gray it has since remained.

The old Senate chamber was occupied as such during the winter of 1860-'61. On the completion of the right wing of the Capitol it was, and still is, the meeting place of the Supreme Court of the United States. Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase was a conspicuous figure in Washington at this time. He it was who later devised the expedient of the issue of greenbacks.

During all sessions the United States flag waved over each house of Congress, and a glance down Pennsylvania Avenue informed all when either house adjourned.

An interesting personage in Washington that winter was Mrs. Kate Greenough, a lady of culture and refinement, who lived in a neat brick house near Seventeenth Street. Before her house at all hours of the day and night paced a sentinel for she was a spy, and was under constant surveillance by the Federal Government. She had two daughters, Gertrude and Rose who were said to be beautiful girls. Mrs. Greenough went to New York city as a fugitive and in boarding a steamer fell overboard and sank at once, her dress being weighted down by large sums of

gold which she had sewed in the hem and linings. The oldest daughter, Gertrude, became a nun.

Washington in those early days was in an unfinished state. The streets were mudholes in winter and dusty in summer. Pennsylvania avenue, that beautiful broad thoroughfare, was paved with cobble stones of unequal size and was full of holes and ruts. The maxim: "Extremes meet," was here strikingly verified for alleyways and hovels adjoined pretentious mansions and pigs ran at large in the streets.

If the personnel of Congress especially of the Senate, had improved as has the city, Americans would be proud of their representatives instead of ashamed of the acts of some contemporaneous statesmen.

The Little Wars of the Republic

By John R. Meader

PART XVI

The Burr Conspiracy

IN American history no chapter presents more genuinely romantic elements than those that tell the story of the rise and fall of Aaron Burr. Born in Newark, N. J.—the son of an eminent Presbyterian clergyman and one of the early presidents of what is now Princeton University—he first distinguished himself as a soldier and afterwards as a politician. Admitted to the bar in 1782, his adroitness and perseverence soon obtained for him a lucrative practice, while his success in politics was even more rapid and brilliant. As the victory of the Republicans in New York, in the presidential canvass of 1800 was largely due to his efforts, the friends of Jefferson brought him forward as the logical candidate for the vice-presidency, and it was at this time that he first displayed the moral obliquity that afterwards led to his ruin. An equal number of votes having been cast for Jefferson and Burr in the Electoral College, the duty of the election of a president devolved upon the House of Representatives, where the members of the Federal Party, taking advantage of the peculiar turn in affairs, supported Burr. As a result, no less than thirty-six ballots were cast before a sufficient number of votes could be obtained for Jefferson, and the fact that Burr had permitted himself to be used in this manner by his political opponents, for the purpose of defeating the candidate whom he had supported so earnestly, excluded him from further connections with the Republican party and destroyed his

influence so thoroughly that when, four years later, he was nominated for governor of New York by the Federalists, many of the most prominent men in the party declined to support him and he was badly defeated.

While it is doubtless true that much that was said against Burr had no foundation in fact, but owed its origin to the statements of his political enemies, history so clearly displays him as a man of loose principles that there is probably good foundation for some of the odium that has always attached to his name. The killing of Hamilton, as the result of causes which grew out of the State election of 1804, put an end to what little influence Burr had been able to preserve, for the feeling against him in New York became so strong that his presence in the city could scarcely be tolerated. In New Jersey this sentiment was still stronger, and, the once idolized politician found these conditions so intolerable that he was glad to seek forgetfulness in flight. At about this time, we find him writing to Joseph Allston, his son-in-law:

"In New York I am to be disfranchised, and in New Jersey to be hanged. Having substantial objections to both, I shall not for the present hazard either, but shall seek another country."

It was early in May, 1805, that he left Philadelphia for the West. On the 20th of that month he was in Lexington, Ky., and by June 25th, he had reached New Orleans. Between that date and the 29th of November, when he arrived in Washington, he visited many Western and Southern cities, and considerable interest was felt, especially in official circles, as to the probable cause of such long journeys, many of which took him through parts of the country that were practically uninhabited and in which there were no roads at all. From January, 1806, to the following August, his time was chiefly spent in Washington and Philadelphia, but, in August, he started toward the West again.

During this time there was little change in the public sentiment against him, and the Federal officials felt so certain that he was trying to conceal some sinister motive that government spies were put upon his track, but without result. To all appearances his one-time friends had deserted him. Only his son-in-law and his beautiful daughter, the ill-fated Theodosia, appeared

to retain confidence in his integrity, for it was during the period of his deepest obloquy that she wrote to him:

"I witness your extraordinary fortitude with new wonder at every new misfortune. Often, after reflecting upon this subject you appear to me so superior, so elevated above all other men; I contemplate you with such a strange mixture of humility, admiration, reverence, love, and pride, that very little superstition would be necessary to make me worship you as a superior being; such enthusiasm does your character excite in me. When I afterwards revert to myself, how insignificant do my best qualities appear. My vanity would be greater, if I had not been placed so near you; and yet my pride is our relationship. I had rather not live than not to be the daughter of such a man."

As one writer has said, "never had the worthiest and most virtuous of fathers so touching a tribute of love and reverence from a child, as this from the beautiful and gifted Theodosia, to a parent whose very name was regarded by men as the synonym of dishonor and pollution. His love for her, too, was constant and unbounded—a mutual, fervant, enthusiastic love, between the two, that almost passes belief, and which no description could adequately characterize."

It gives us an interesting and important side-light upon the personality of Aaron Burr to read the letters written by his daughter. He was a man who was regarded by the great majority of his fellows as little less than a fiend in human form—we know that, at the best, he ill-deserved the respect and reverence that she felt for him—yet time has so mellowed the attitude of the critic that history is beginning to regard him with a more kindly spirit. He made his mistakes—he deliberately committed acts that a noble soul could never have even contemplated—yet it is an open question whether he was actually guilty of all the sins with which he was charged. If not, he was one of the most sadly unfortunate men of whom civilization has any record.

One of the most serious questions for history to answer is embodied in Burr's position in his alleged conspiracy. Was he a traitor to his country, as he had been a traitor to his political party, or was his scheme one of conquest and dominion, and

his mistake that of having selected the wrong men to aid him in carrying out his plans?

If the case of the nation against Burr stood solely upon the evidence of General Wilkinson, we might be well justified in the belief that Burr was the innocent victim of circumstances beyond his control. As a considerable part of the evidence going to show that Burr had developed a treasonable plot against the United States depended on the affidavit of this man, several writers have already taken this position. As Hammond has said:

"From the character of the vain, vaporing and unprincipled Wilkinson . . . no dependence can safely be placed upon his statements, unless supported by strong circumstances, or other evidence; and I believe that it will not at this day be doubted, that, if Burr plotted treason, Wilkinson, in the first instance, agreed to be his accomplice; that, as their operations progressed, he began seriously to doubt of success, and then communicated his knowledge of the affair to the government, in order to save himself, and perhaps obtain a reward.

"That Burr himself was deceived by Wilkinson, there can be no doubt. . . . But, there was other evidence against Burr, which has never been explained. . . . If his object was merely an attack upon Mexico, why did he not openly avow it, when charged and indicted for treason against his country? . . . Again, unless Colonel William Eaton, the man who had then recently so gallantly distinguished himself on the Barbary coasts, has perjured himself, Burr did form a treasonable plot against his country. Colonel Eaton, on the 26th of January, deposed in open court . . . that Burr called upon him, and, in the first instance, represented that he was employed by the government to raise a military force to attack the Spanish Provinces in North America, and invited Eaton to take a command in the expedition; that Eaton, being a restless, enterprising man, readily acceded to the proposal; that Burr made frequent calls upon him, and, in his subsequent interviews, complained of the inefficiency and timidity of the government, and, eventually fully developed his project, which was to separate the western

States from the Union, and establish himself as sovereign of the country."

It was much the same story that General Wilkinson imparted to President Jefferson in his report on the Burr conspiracy. Wilkinson at that time was in charge of the United States troops stationed at New Orleans, and he stated that Burr had called upon him with a proposal to aid him in the establishment of a new empire. To cover the real purpose of the expedition, it was to be alleged that it was purposed to form a large agricultural settlement on the banks of the Washita, in Louisiana, as it was believed that this would adequately explain the extensive preparations which would be necessary—the purchase of provisions, the construction of boats, and the engagement of a large company of men.

Burr's associate and financial backer in this gigantic project was Harman Blennerhassett, an Irish patriot—the friend and classmate of Emmett. A man of great wealth, he had been able to save a large amount of his property, and, upon his arrival in this country, he purchased a beautiful island in the Ohio River, near the borders of Virginia, Kentucky, and Ohio. Here he built a princely mansion, where he entertained with unbounded hospitality, in which he was materially aided by his wife, a woman of rare beauty, many accomplishments and unimpeachable character. Her one fault seems to have been her uncontrolable ambition, and it is believed that it was to this quality that Burr appealed that he might secure the active co-operation of her husband.

That Blennerhassett would have consented to engage in a plot against the United States, is doubted. That the project of redeeming Mexico from tyranny would have appealed to him as a worthy project is equally certain, and it is safe to assume that Burr, realizing these facts, was not slow in taking advantage of them. If Wilkinson's statements are to be relied upon, it was Burr's plan to make this island in the Ohio the place of rendezvous for his expedition, as it would be possible to arm men there and send them down the river without fear of detection.

Up to this time, Burr had such complete confidence in Wilkinson that he sent a personal representative to inform him as to

the full plans of operation. As Wilkinson testified, this man assured him that Burr was levying an armed body of seven thousand men, and that he planned to start the first five hundred or one thousand men on November 15. If these details were carried out successfully, he would meet Wilkinson at Natchez between the 5th and the 15th of December. Besides revolutionizing the territory wherever the people were ready to join them, it was proposed to make some seizures on the way—possibly at Baton Rouge, but more probably at New Orleans, at which point they would embark for Vera Cruz, and so march to Mexico.

In answer to the General's questions as to whether they intended to violate private property by seizing the several millions of dollars in the bank at New Orleans, the messenger informed him, that they meant to borrow it, to return it later; "that they expected naval protection from Great Britain; that the captains and officers of the American navy were so disgusted with the government that they were ready to join the expedition; that similar disgusts prevailed throughout the western country, where the people were zealous in favor of the enterprise, and that pilot-boat built schooners had been contracted for along the southern coast for their service." In the cipher letter which the messenger delivered to Wilkinson, Burr declared that the agents of the people of the country had assured him that he had no reason to fear resistance if he would protect them in their religion and not subject them to a foreign power. He also hazarded the opinion that three weeks would be sufficient for the adjustment of all such details.

Whatever General Wilkinson's original attitude toward this plot may have been, there can be no doubt as to his position soon after the receipt of this letter and his interview with Burr's confidential messenger. His first step was to transmit the information he had received to President Jefferson, after which he prepared to meet the enterprise with all the force at his command. To supplement his efforts, President Jefferson issued a proclamation warning all citizens against joining the expedition, and orders were issued to all troops along the Ohio and the Mississippi to stop the boats and capture the conspirators.

As everything was ripe for the development of the plot, and as

the chief conspirators were ignorant of Wilkinson's duplicity, an attempt was made to carry out the plans agreed upon. Accordingly, about the middle of December, ten boats, heavily loaded with stores, were captured on the Muskingum, and a few days later, four more were stopped at Marietta. Blennerhasset, accompanied by about forty men, left the island on the night of December 10, and, after several narrow escapes from arrest, arrived at the Falls on the 16th, where they joined a company commanded by David Floyd. Ten days later the combined force met Burr at the mouth of the Cumberland, and the journey towards New Orleans was continued. On the 29th of December, they passed Fort Massac; on the 4th of January, they were at Fort Pickering. As they approached New Orleans, however, they began to realize the uselessness of further effort, and, about the middle of January, Burr, with a solitary companion, landed and struck out through the country towards Florida. On the 1st of March, he was found wandering alone in the Tombigbee country, near the State line, Lieutenant Edmund P. Gaines, at the head of a file of mounted soldiers, having been sent to search for him.

"I presume, sir, that I have the honor of addressing Colonel Burr?" said the Lieutenant, as he dismounted.

"I am a traveller," Burr replied, "and am in a strange land. I do not recognize your right to ask such a question."

"I arrest you," Gaines responded, "at the instance of the United States."

"By what authority do you arrest me—a stranger—on the highway—on my own private business?" Burr persisted.

"I am an officer of the United States army," Gaines answered, "and hold in my hand the proclamation of the President, as well as that of the Governor of the Mississippi territory, directing your arrest."

"But, you are a young man!" said Burr, "You are, perhaps, not aware of the responsibility of thus arresting a traveler!"

"I am perfectly aware of my duties, and shall endeavor to perform them."

It was the final word, so far as Lieutenant Gaines was concerned. Burr stormed and argued in vain. Though firm in man-

ner and imperious in his tone, the young officer had made up his mind that he had found the object of his search, and nothing could shake his resolution to arrest him. Except for the warning that he would be shot if he attempted to escape, Burr was treated with all the respect due one who had been Vice-President of the Republic, but he was immediately conveyed to Fort Stoddart, where he was retained until removed to Richmond for trial on the charge of high treason.

Great as Burr's vicissitudes had been—unprepossessing as he appeared in the disguise that he had assumed to conceal his flight, the rough garb of a boatman—his power of fascination was as strong as ever, and the utmost care had to be taken to prevent him from winning the attachment of his guards, and so effecting his escape. The possibility of such a contingency was discovered at Fort Stoddart, with the result that, before starting with him for Richmond, Captain Perkins took each member of his squad aside and pledged him on his honor to hold no communication with the prisoner while on the road, or in any way permit him to escape alive.

The trial of Burr was one of the most memorable judicial events in the history of the United States. "Upon the bench," said Devens, "sat the venerated Marshall, calm, dignified, learned. For the prosecution, there appeared District Attorney Hay and the renowned William Wirt. For the defendant, Luther Martin, Edmund Randolph, John Wickham, Benjamin Betts and rivaling all the rest, Burr himself. On the jury were such men as John Randolph and Littleton W. Tazewell. Among the spectators were Commodore Truxton, Generals Eaton and Jackson, Washington Irving, Winfield Scott, William B. Giles, and John Taylor. Burr was, of course, the central figure in this master scene. After a trial lasting for weeks in midsummer, during which the legal exertions and forensic talent and power displayed on both sides were indeed prodigious, the jury returned a verdict, 'that Aaron Burr is not proved to be guilty under the indictment, by any evidence submitted to us; we, therefore, find him not guilty.'"

Thus, Burr was released without being required to call a witness in his defence, and, consequently, the cases against the other alleged conspirators were dropped.

The Naming of America

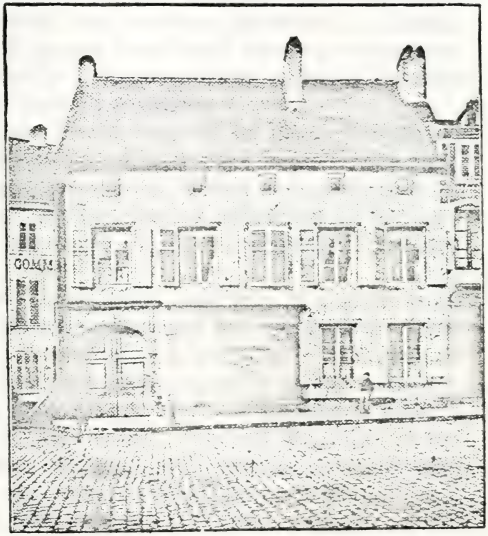
BY HENRY LUDIN

IN THE ancient city of Saint Dié, for three days, beginning July 15, the naming of America was celebrated by the French and Americans, and the praises of old geographers who selected that name for the New World were rehearsed. Early in the morning of the 15th, a special train brought the United States Ambassador, Hon. Robert Bacon and M. Lebrun, the French Minister of the Colonies, who had been selected to represent the Government in the absence of the minister of foreign relations. The distinguished guests were met at the railway station by the band from the artillery school at Vincennes, and the patriotic airs of both nations—"The Star Spangled Banner" as well as "The Marsallaise"—were rendered.

The official party went to the Hotel de Ville, where there was a reception. Ambassador Bacon was welcomed by M. Leberlin, President of the General Council. Mr. Bacon said that he was glad to visit the charming town whose name is now so well known in America and which his compatriots in the future would delight to visit. The Mayor then presented to Ambassador Bacon paintings of Mathias Ringmann, Martin Waldseemuller and Vautrin Lud and Mr. Bacon promised that they would be placed in New York with the portraits of French heroes to whom America owes so much.

After an inspection of the various salons of the Hotel de Ville a bronze tablet was unveiled at the house, which stands on the site of the one where America was named. The ceremony was under the auspices of the Société Philomatique. The tablet bears this inscription:

"Here was printed and published on April 25, 1507, under the reign of Réné II., the "Cosmographiæ Introductio," where-



THE HOUSE IN WHICH AMERICA WAS NAMED

in the new continent received the name of America, by the members of the Vosgian Gymnasium, Vautrin Lud, Nicolas Lud, Jean Basin, Mathias Ringmann and Martin Waldseemueller."

The members of the Vosgian Gymnasium, who jointly were the authors of the "Cosmographiæ Introductio," presented the two newly-discovered continents with a name in the following words:

"But now parts [of the world] have been more extensively explored and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus Vespucius (as will appear from what follows); wherefore I do not see what is rightly to hinder us from calling it Amerige or America, i. e., the land of Americus."

Even though the New World received its name through an error in fact and Americus Vespucius got the credit for the work Columbus had done seventeen years before the publication of the academicians' book, to these obscure schoolmen of the little town of Saint Dié is the credit due for the naming of the new hemisphere.

The "Cosmographiæ Introductio" was part of a great work designed by Martin Waldseemüller and his companions of the Vosgian Gymnasium. It was to be a revision of the work of Ptolemy, amended so as to include the results of recent discovery. Associated with Waldseemüller were Mathias Ringmann, Vautrin and Nicholas Lud and Jean Basin. The last was vicar of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Saint Dié, a man of great scholarship, as fragments of his contemporaries' writings attest.

It has been pretty well established by the members of the Société Philomatique of France, which had in charge the celebration recently held in Saint Dié, that Jean Basin was the man who wrote that portion of the "Introductio" which includes the passage naming the lands discovered in the New World. Jean Basin's house on the Rue des Jointures in Saint Dié still stands. Also the house in which the book was printed has survived the weathering of 400 years and during the recent celebration it was marked with an appropriate tablet.

Saint Die was disappointed by the fact that Ambassador Bacon and his secretary were the only prominent Americans present. Among the rich uniforms worn the only one adorned by

decorations was that of M. Lebrun. The Parliamentarians wore no insignia out of deference to Ambassador Bacon. Henry Vignaud, representing the New York St. Dié Society, received marked attention from Minister Lebrun, who called attention to Mr. Vignaud's world-wide reputation as a historian and a diplomat.

The accompanying illustration shows the old house in which the printing press was installed, in 1506, on which this justly celebrated book was printed. It was upon this ancient structure that the memorial tablet was placed. Both the house and the press were the property of Duke Réné II., of Lorraine, and Vautrin Lud, one of the five members of the Vosgian Gymnasium, was his secretary.

History of the Mormon Church

By Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church

CHAPTER LVIII

Repeal of the Nauvoo Charters—The Temple Capstone—Mob Violence and House Burning—The Patience of Saints

"IT IS thought by some that our enemies would be satisfied with my destruction; but I tell you that as soon as they have shed my blood, they will thirst for the blood of every man in whose heart dwells a single spark of the spirit of the fulness of the Gospel. The opposition of these men is moved by the spirit of the adversary of all righteousness. It is not only to destroy me, but every man and woman who dares believe the doctrines that God hath inspired me to teach in this generation."[1]

These were the words of President Smith to the Nauvoo Legion on the eighteenth of June, 1844. The action of the old citizens of Hancock and the surrounding counties subsequent to the murder of the Prophet, prove how truly he had spoken: for no sooner did they discover that the work which Joseph Smith had begun gave promise of surviving him, than they renewed hostilities, and sought by every means they could devise to harass and destroy those who devoted their energies to the work the Prophet had founded.

As early as July 1st, 1844, Thomas H. Owen, Esq., of the staff of General Minor R. Demming, Illinois militia, wrote Elder Willard Richards that undoubtedly the mobocrats of Warsaw and Green Plains were making strong exertions to raise forces sufficient to mob and drive the people of Nauvoo from their homes. He advised that a steady watch be kept upon their movements;

1. Journal History of Joseph Smith, *Mill. Star*, Vol. 24, p. 203.

"for it seems," said he, "that the cold-hearted murder of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith in Carthage jail has not satisfied the blood-thirsty dispositions of those demons, but they desire to prosecute their wretched purposes still further." As a member of General Demmings' staff Mr. Owen had opposed calling out a large force to be stationed at Carthage lest they should be influenced to join with the mob in making war upon the "Mormons."[2]

On the 22nd of July Governor Ford in his letter to Elder W. W. Phelps, reviewing the situation growing out of the murder of the Smith Brothers, declared the "naked truth" to be "that most well informed persons condemn in the most unqualified manner *the mode* in which the Smiths were put to death; but nine out of every ten of such accompany the expression of their disapprobation by a manifestation of their pleasure, *that they are dead.* The disapproval is most usually cold and without feeling. It is a disapproval which appears to be called for, on their part, by decency, by a respect for the law and a horror of mobs, but does not flow from the heart."[3] And to the shame of Illinois, History, in the light of subsequent events, must affirm the correctness of Governor's Ford's statement of the case.

It has already been said, on the authority of Governor Ford, that when the military movement against the Saints in Hancock county under the guise of "a wolf hunt," was projected, the anti-Mormon papers, "in aid of the movement," commenced anew the most awful accounts of thefts and robberies and impending Mormon outrages.[4] This afforded thieves and blacklegs generally an opportunity of having their crimes charged upon the "Mormons," and accordingly they established themselves in the vicinity of Nauvoo, though principally on the Iowa side of the river; and all the thefts and acts of violence committed by those renegades and others along the river were charged up to the account of the citizens of Nauvoo, and too gladly believed by the people in the surrounding counties.

2. Owens' letter is given *in extenso* in Church Historian's Compilation of Data, *Mill. Star,* XXV, pp. 39, 40.
3. The Governor's letter is published *in extenso* in Church Historian's Collection of Data, *Mill. Star,* Vol. XXV, pp. 103; 105; 119-121.
4. See *Ante.* Ch. LII and foot note 26 that chapter.

Not only were charges of theft and robbery made against the Saints, but they were also accused of hiding from justice any and all criminals who came into their midst; that Nauvoo, in short, was a rendezvous for outlaws, counterfeiters and desperate men generally. These charges led the city council to make a thorough investigation; and, on the 13th of January, 1845, to pass a series of resolutions stating that the charges of theft for the most part were fabrications of their enemies bent on ruining the reputation of the city, and challenged those who made the charges to sustain with proof a single case where the citizens of Nauvoo had screened criminals from justice.[5]

The city council also extended an invitation to all who had reasons to believe that their stolen property was concealed in Nauvoo to come and make diligent search for it, and pledged them the asisstance of the city administration to hunt out crime and put away everything that could give rise to even a suspicion of concealing criminals. The mayor was authorized to increase the force of police if necessary to five hundred; and the people were called upon to redouble their diligence in preventing criminals from coming among them, and all such persons as soon as discovered were to be given up to the officers of the law.

The next day the action of the city council was submitted to the citizens of Nauvoo in mass meeting assembled, and they

5. The Proceedings of the City Council are published in the *Times* and *Seasons* Vol. VI, pp. 773 *et seq.* The day before the City Council's action—Sunday—at a meeting in the Seventies' Hall, Brigham Young proposed the selection of a few men to go into the adjoining counties, "to forestall our enemies in their designs to prevent the trial of the murderers of Bros. Joseph and Hyrum Smith in the spring. They intend to charge the thefts which have been committed around here upon the Mormons. . . . His advice would be for the saints to look out for thieves, he would like to catch such men. If they want a method to detect them give them a ball of lead, it would show who were the thieves, Mormons or Anti-Mormons," John Taylor in favoring Pres. Young's suggestion, said; "The Anti-Mormons wish to publish the thefts and charge them to the Mormons, and thus raise an excitement to bring ruin and desolation upon this people." All the above from Taylor's Journal *Ms.*, entry date of 12th of January, 1845. Twenty-four men were selected from among the Seventies to go into surrounding counties to disabuse the minds of the people. In the afternoon of the same day a meeting was held with the High Priests for the same purpose—i. e., choosing men from among the High Priests to go into surrounding counties to set forth true conditions at Nauvoo. John Taylor said: "Our object is to select men to clear up the misrepresentations of our enemies. Some men go out under the cloak of Mormonism and steal when they have a chance, and lay it up to the Mormons. Some would intimate that these are the 'mysteries of the Kingdom,' there are not any mysteries of this kind." Brigham Young said: "A natural born thief or liar will never enter the celestial kingdom, they may try till doomsday." Forty-seven High Priests were chosen for the mission, the names are also given, "Taylor's Journal," entry for Jan. 12th, 1845.

approved of the course taken.[6] Fifty delegates were chosen and sent into the surrounding counties to disabuse the public mind relative to the false accusations made against the Saints, and to ask their co-operation in ridding the country of the counterfeiters and thieves which infested it. But all these efforts were fruitless. The falsehoods of their enemies outweighed the truths of the Saints, a cruel prejudice hardened the hearts of the people of Illinois against the appeals of the citizens of Nauvoo, and made them deaf or indifferent to all entreaties for justice.

Twice during the summer of 1845, Governor Ford himself went to Nauvoo to investigate these charges against her people; and when he came to deal with the "Mormon troubles" in his message to the legislature that fall, after speaking of the charges made, he said:

"It was a fact also, that some larcenies and robberies had been committed, and that Mormons had been convicted of the crimes; and that other larcenies had been committed by persons unknown but suspected to be Mormons. Justice, however, requires me to say that I have investigated the charge of promiscuous stealing, and find it to be greatly exaggerated. I could not ascertain that there were a greater proportion of thieves in that community than in any other of the same number of inhabitants, and perhaps if the city of Nauvoo were compared with St. Louis, or any other western city, the proportion would not be so great."[7]

The prejudice, not to say bitterness, of Governor Ford against the Saints would rob his statement of any suspected exaggeration favorable to them.

The deputy sheriff of Hancock county, Joseph A. Kelting, a Mormon, however, be it admitted, exonerated the Mormon people from any participation in the thefts perpetrated in the surrounding country. He testified that stolen property was brought through the country *via.* Nauvoo, passed over the river to the Iowa side and taken into the interior, where it was concealed. He also stated that there were some five or six persons in Nauvoo

6. Ibid, p. 774, for action of public meeting.

7. Governor Ford's message is published in full in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* for Jan. 1st, 1845. It is a special message dealing exclusively with "The Disturbances in Hancock County." Much of this message, nearly all of it in fact, is incorporated in Ford's History of Illinois, Ch. X.

who were assisting in this nefarious business, "But," said he, "they are not Mormons, nor are they fellowshipped by them."[8]

Notwithstanding all this, misrepresentation so far succeeded in prejudicing the minds of the public and the leading men in the State, that in January, 1845, the city charter of Nauvoo and the charter authorizing the organization of the Legion were both repealed, and thus the protecting aegis of a city government was snatched away from her citizens, when most they needed it, and left them exposed to the fury of their enemies.

Of this act on the part of the State legislature, the State Attorney, Josiah Lamborn, in a letter to Brigham Young, dated at Springfield, Ill., Jan., 1845,[9] said:

"I have always considered that your enemies have been prompted by political and religious prejudices, and by a desire for plunder and blood, more than the common good. By the repeal of your charter, and by refusing all amendments and modifications, our legislature has given a kind of sanction to the barbarous manner in which you have been treated. Your two representatives[10] exerted themselves to the extent of their ability in your behalf, but the tide of popular passion and frenzy was too strong to be resisted. It is truly a melancholy spectacle to witness the law-makers of a sovereign State condescending to pander to the vices, ignorance and malevolence of a class of people who are at all times ready for riot, murder and rebellion."

Senator Jacob C. Davis was one among those who had been indicted for the murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, and of him the attorney-general said:

"Your senator, Jacob C. Daavis, has done much to poison the minds of members against anything in your favor. He walks at large in defiance of law an indicted murderer. If a Mormon was in his position, the Senate would afford no protection, but

8. *Times* and *Seasons*, January 15, 1845. Report in full.

9. The original letter is on file at the Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Box VII, No. 100.

10. These were Almon W. Babbit, a member of the Mormon Church and a lawyer; and Jacob B. Backenstos. The latter was a "new comer" into Hancock county; "Imported," it is said, by Judge Stephen A. Douglas from Sangamon Co. to take the office of circuit court clerk, which he had held for some time previous to his election to the legislature (Hist. Hancock Co., Gregg, p. 336). Their speeches against repeal, Babbit two and Backenstos one, were very able. See notes 1 to 4, inclusive, end of chapter.

he would be dragged forth to jail or the gallows, or be shot down by a cowardly and brutal mob."

Two propositions were before the legislature respecting the Nauvoo charters: one for absolute repeal of the charters; the other for the repeal of the supposedly mischievous features. Governor Ford in his special message on Hancock county affairs had recommended the latter action.[11] This view of the matter was also upheld in an able speech in the lower house of the legislature by Mr. Ross, of Fulton county,[12] a non-Mormon, and was also favored by a few others, but to no purpose; absolute repeal of all the chartered rights of Nauvoo was demanded by the anti-Mormon party in the legislature; and upon the question of absolute repeal coming to a vote in the lower house, on the 21st of January, 1845, the repeal act was passed by a vote of 76 to 36; and subsequently it passed the senate by a large majority.[13]

The repeal of the Nauvoo charters was inimical to the interests of the city, and disintegration of society and a reign of lawlessness must have ensued but for the fact that peace and order was maintained by virtue of the law abiding habits of her citizens, the Latter-day Saints; and the further fact that the Church organization operated in lieu of the city government, which led the editor of the *Neighbor* in commenting upon the subject at the close of the annual conference of the Church held in April to say:

"One thing further: having no charter with municipal authority to protect the rights of an innocent people, a city of at least twenty thousand people, presented the glorious sight of being protected by the counsel of God; and watched over by the trust worthiness of bishops and deacons."[14]

11. "I see very strong indications on the part of both Houses, to make an entire repeal of all these charters. I do not seen how, ten or twelve thousand people, can well do in a city without some chartered privileges. I would advise, that all the obnoxious parts of these charters should be repealed; and an ample provision made against any future abuses of power, thus leaving all the really useful parts of their city charters; and placing them upon grounds of some equality with other citizens. This is republican and cannot be denied without injustice." Ford's Message to the Illinois Legislature, 1845, closing paragraph.

12. The Speech is given *in extenso* in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* of Feb. 19, 1845—see note 4 end of chapter.

13. "History of Hancock County," Gregg, p. 336.

14. The *Nauvoo Neighbor,* April 16, 1845.

Of course the action of the legislature in repealing the Nauvoo charter stirred some feelings of resentment among the citizens of Nauvoo; that was inevitable; and some of that resentment was voiced in the editorial utterances of the *Nauvoo Neighbor.*

"The state of Illinois granted the city of Nauvoo a charter of perpetual succession, and that body had no more right to repeal it than the United States would have to abrogate and make void the constitution of the state. . . . If the legislature granted a charter of perpetual succession and they had no such power they were a class of knaves in high places: if they had the power, then the legislature that repealed the charter of 'perpetual succession' were a set of licensed robbers, plundering on innocent people with impunity. Each body is welcome to the honor or disgrace, hang upon which horn of the dilemma they please. The act of repealing the Nauvoo charter was an assumption of might not a prerogative of right."

Unfortunately the editorial did not stop at this point, but went on to say that until the blood of Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been atoned by the execution of their murderers, no Latter-day Saint should give himself up to the law, under the presumption that he would be murdered as the Brothers Smith had been. Nor should civil process "come into Nauvoo," until the wrongs endured by the Saints both in Missouri and Illinois had been redressed.

This editorial brought forth very severe criticism by the press of Illinois; especially on the part of the *State Register,* published at Springfield. That paper declared that the editorial in question advocated "resistance to law;" and undoubtedly it did. But while that is true it is also true that the Church promptly repudiated responsibility for that editorial in the following number of the *Neighbor.* Under a black display caption, "A VOICE FROM VAUVOO," "a general council of the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," said:

"And, whereas, it is reported that certain individuals are trying to raise an excitement on the editorials of the *Nauvoo Neighbor,* we, therefore, in behalf of the Church we represent,

do hereby publish to all men, that as a people and council, we have no knowledge of the *Neighbor* until we read it as do others, and therefore cannot be responsible for it. . . . We do not wish to be brought in collision with our neighbors, and we are determined to abide by the law."[17]

Over the *non-de-plume* of "Americus," the editor of the *Neighbor* commented upon the structures of the *State Register* as follows:

"The editor of that paper thinks the *Neighbor* advocates resistance to laws. I have not so considered it. But we are surrounded by those who not only advocate that doctrine, but are practicing it all the time: and if we have dipped our pen in their bloody inkstand, we will call for a pen wiper immediately. . . . *It is not the sentiment of the citizens of Nauvoo to resist the law.*"[18]

In the meantime the Twelve Apostles, sustained by the Saints, put forth every exertion to carry out the designs of their martyred Prophet respecting Nauvoo. Work on the Nauvoo House was hurried on, and the walls were growing rapidly under the constant labor of the masons. Work, too, was vigorously prosecuted on the Temple. At the time of President Smith's death that edifice was but one story high, yet on the twenty-fourth of May, 1845, eleven months after his martyrdom, about six o'clock in the morning, the cap-stone was laid amid the general rejoicing and shouts of "Hosanna" from the assembled thousands of the saints.[19] As President Brigham Young finished laying the cap-stone he stood upon it and said:

17. Nauvoo Neighbor impression of May 8th, 1845.

18. Ibid., Anti-Mormon writers ever since those days have made much of the Neighbor Editorial (See Linn's "Story of the Mormons," p. 333), but none make mention of the repudiation of the Editorials by the Church officials, and the practical retraction on the part of the Editor himself.

19. The reason why the cap stone of the temple was laid so early in the morning was because the Twelve were kept in an enforced semi-seclusion to avoid the officers who sought to serve writs upon them for trumped up charges against the law, some of the alleged offenses extending back to the *Expositor* case before the death of President Joseph and Hyrum Smith; and some extending back to "Kirtland Bank" affairs (Taylor's Journal Ms. entry of April 13th, 1845. Writs were out for about twenty of the brethren on this Kirtland debt, Pres. Young among the number). Taylor's Journal account of the laying of the cap stone of the Temple is interesting: "On the morning of Saturday, May 24th, 1845, we repaired to the Temple with great secrecy, for the purpose of laying the stone. There were but few that knew about it, [but] the band playing on the walls, and the people hearing it, hurried up. About six o'clock A. M., the brethren being assembled, we proceeded to lay the stone; at quarter past six the stone was laid; after which Bro. Young prayed, his voice being

"The last stone is laid upon the temple, and I pray the Almighty in the name of Jesus to defend us in this place, and sustain us until the temple is finished and we have all got our endowments."

The whole congregation then following the motion of President Young shouted as loud as possible: Hosanna! Hosanna! Hosanna! to God and the Lamb! Amen! Amen! and Amen!

"So let it be, thou Almighty God," Solemnly concluded President Young.[20]

Thus the world began to understand that Mormonism was not born to die with its first Prophet. And it began to be whispered that the Prophet Joseph dead was even more potent than when living. His testimony had been sealed with his blood, and it gave to his life and his labors an additional sanctity in the eyes of his followers, as well as making his testimony more binding upon the world.

Seeing then the continued prosperity of Nauvoo and her citizens, the people in the vicinity of that city and in the surrounding counties again commenced hostilities, if, indeed, it may be said that they had ever ceased from them. Early in September 1845, mobbing the scattered families of the Saints began in earnest. A meeting was held by anti-Mormons near what was called the "Morley Settlement,"[21] to devise means of getting rid of the Mormons. During the meeting guns were fired at the house where it was held, and the assault charged upon the Saints, though it was done by some of their own party—that they might have an excuse for their meditated acts of violence upon the people of Nauvoo. Such was the general belief at the time; and Governor Ford in his "History of Illinois," speaking of this circumstance, says:

---

heard distinctly, by the congregation below; and the congregation shouted Hossanna, Hossanna, Hossanna to God and the Lamb. Amen, Amen and Amen! Bro. Kay sung a song, composed for the occasion by W. W. Phelps, called the Capstone. Although there were several officers watching for us to take us, yet we escaped without their knowledge; when the singing commenced we left unnoticed, and they had not an opportunity of seeing us." (Taylor's Journal; entry of May 24th, 1845.)

20. Wm. Clayton Journal, May 24, 1845. Also *Times* and *Seasons* June 1st, 1845.

21. The Morley settlement was situated in Lima township, Adams Co., just over the south line of Hancock county, and about 25 miles due south of Nauvoo. It is a neighborhood where quite a number of saints resided in 1839 to 1846. Most of these, however, located northeast of Lima, in the extreme south end of Hancock County, in what is now Walker Township, on and around a townsite which they had surveyed and named Yelrome. Historical Record, Jensen—index.

"In the fall of 1845, the anti-Mormons of Lima and Green Plains, held a meeting to devise means for the expulsion of the Mormons from their neighborhood. They appointed some persons of their own number to fire a few shots at the house where they were assembled; but to do it in such a way as to hurt none who attended the meeting. The meeting was held, the house was fired at, but so as to hurt no one; and the anti-Mormons suddenly breaking up their meeting, rode all over the country spreading the dire alarm, that the Mormons had commenced the work of massacre and death."[22]

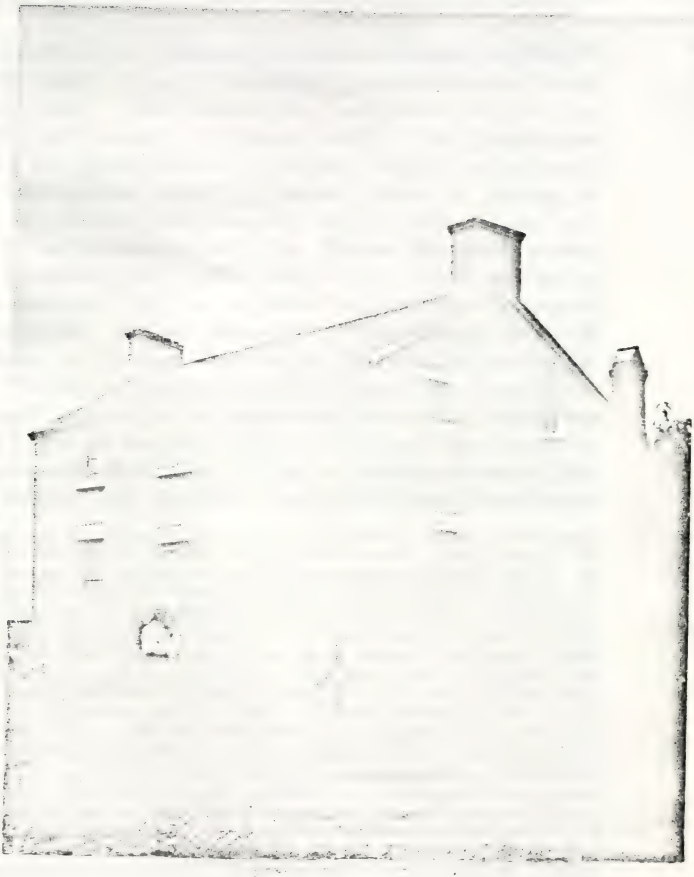
The attack was made upon the Morley Settlement, and on the eleventh of the month twenty-nine houses were burned down, while their occupants were driven into the bushes where men, women and children laid drenched with rain through the night, anxiously awaiting the breaking of day.

Speaking of this outrage, the editor of the *Quincy Whig*, Mr. Bartlett, said:

"Seriously, these outrages should be put a stop to at once; if the Mormons have been guilty of crime why punish them, but do not visit their sins upon defenseless women and children. This is as bad as the savages. . . . It is feared that this rising against the Mormons is not confined to the Morley Settlement, but that there is an understanding among the 'anties'[23] in the northern part of this (Adams) and Hancock counties to make a general sweep, burning and destroying the property of the Mormons wherever it can be found. If this is the case, there will be employment for the executive of the State, and that soon. . . . Still later news from above [referring to Hancock county] was received late on Monday night. The outrages were still continued. The flouring mill, carding machine, etc., of Norman Buel, a Mormon, one mile and half west of Lima is now a heap of ashes. Colonel Levi Williams, of Green Plains has ordered out his brigade, it is said, to aid the anti-Mormons. The anti-Mormons from Schuyler [county] and the adjoining counties, are flocking in and great distress of life and property may be ex-

22. Ford's Hist. of Ill., p. 406. The Historian of Hancock County, Gregg, p. 341, says: "It is proper to state that the Mormons and their friends have charged the firing on the schoolhouse of Green Plains to have been a sham previously arranged by the mobbers to create a sympathy in their favor. This has been denied; whether true or not, we do not know." It will be observed that Gregg makes no mention of the fact that Ford in his History of Ill., also makes the charge that members of the mob fired upon their own meeting.

23. Meaning "Anti-Mormons."



The Home of John Taylor, Nauvoo, Ill.

Copyright By Todd and Whitney

pected. Heaven only knows where these proceedings will end. It is time the strong arm of power was extended to quell them."[24]

In the midst of the exciting scenes which followed, the sheriff of Hancock county, Mr. J. B. Backenstos, proved himself a friend to law and order. This was the Mr. Backenstos who had represented Hancock county in the lower branch of the Illinois legislature, and who had defended the people of Nauvoo so fearlessly. He had been elected sheriff to succeed Minor R. Deming in August. Mr. Deming unfortunately, on the 24th of June, had engaged in an altercation with Dr. Samuel Marshall, county clerk of Hancock county. The cause of the trouble was never clearly ascertained, but it is supposed to have been "in regard to some mistake in official business."[25] In the struggle that took place between the two men, Deming shot Marshall, killing him instantly. The case at Deming's request, was at once brought before a grand jury, and an indictment was found, but Deming was admitted to bail in the sum of $5,000.[26] Though the quarrel of these two county officials had nothing to do with affairs at Nauvoo, yet because one—Deming—was pro-Mormon in sentiment,

24. This was the last utterance of Mr. S. M. Bartlett, Editor of the Quincy Whig, on this side of the question. By the time the next Week's issue of his paper was due he had attended an anti-Mormon meeting and went over to the other side—to the side of mobocracy; all of which led Mr. Josiah B. Conyers, M. D., (a non-Mormon) to say in his "Brief History of the Hancock County Mob", 1846, that in the above comment on the outrageous acts of the mob, the editor in the Quincy Whig had spoken like himself: "The remarks Mr. Bartlett here makes in connection with the account given of the house burnings, were such as truly comported with the dignity and candor of a respectable editor of the press. He here spoke himself, and spoke in behalf of humanity and the law. He here spoke out bodly, that violence was resorted to, and that helpless women and children were thrown out into a storm; 'and,' said he, seriously, 'these outrages should be put a stop to at once; that it was as bad as the savages'; and called on the strong arm of power to quell them. We repeat, again, that S. M. Bartlett here spoke himself, uninfluenced by the demagogues of the day. He spoke as a philanthropist and patriot; and had he been left to himself, in all probability, he would never have appealed to any other power than the strong arm of law; and our beloved country would have been saved from the deep and damnable disgrace of banishing from our land, by mob violence, innocent women and children. But here this unfortunate editor took leave of his senses on this subject—never more to return. He fell into the hands of professed friends, to become their organ of mob violence; * * * In our opinion Mr. Bartlett will ever have just cause to regret, to the latest day of his existence, that he stooped from the proud and high toned dignity, put forth in the above article, to become the organ of a foul and an unprincipled mob." (Hancock County Mob, pp. 5, 6).

25. See Gregg, Hist. Hancock County, p. 339.

26. Deming was never brought to trial. "He was stricken with congestive fever no doubt brought on or aggravated by excitement, and he died on the tenth of September and was buried at Quincy." (Hist. of Hancock Co., p. 339).

and Dr. Marshall anti-Mormon, the case is usually mentioned in connection with Mormon history. Mr. Deming immediately resigned his office as Sheriff; and in the special election held in August, Mr. Backenstos was elected to fill the unexpired term by a vote of 2,334 as against 750 votes cast for John Scott an anti-Mormon.

Mr. Backenstos did all in his power to arrest the spread of violence and called upon all law-abiding citizens to act as a *posse comitatus,* but announced it as his opinion that the citizens of Nauvoo had better take no part in suppressing the mob-violence, since that might lead to a civil war. At the same time he told the people of Hancock county that "The Mormon community had acted with more than ordinary forbearance, remaining perfectly quiet, and offering no resistance when their dwellings, their buildings, stacks of grain, etc., were set on fire in their presence.[27] They had forborne until forbearance was no longer a vir-

As a matter of fact the brethren at Morley settlement, after the first few cases of burning, acted under instructions from the Twelve. In his journal under date of September 11th,—the burnings began on the 10th—Elder John Taylor, after noting the arrival of the news of the burnings, says:

"We (the Twelve)held a council and thought it advisable, as we were going west in the spring, to keep all things as quiet as possible and not resent anything. Thinking by these pacific measures that they would be likely not to molest us; and to show the surrounding country that we were orderly disposed people and desirous of keeping the peace. It was also counseled that

27. It would almost seem past belief that this statement could be true; and yet it is confirmed by the evidence of anti-mormon witnesses. Mr. Gregg, both in his "Prophet of Palmyra" and in his "History of Hancock County." 1880, confirms it. In the second work mentioned above (p. 374), speaking of the manner in which the burnings were carried on in the Morley settlement, he says: "From a very respectable old gentlemen (now deceased), who was a witness of some of the house burning operations in the fall of 1845, we have the following statement received from him verbally, during the last year (1880). He says that for such lawless and outrageous acts, they were done in such a quiet and orderly manner as to be astonishing. He resided not far from some of the houses that were burned; and hearing what was going on he mounted his horse and rode to where the work was in progress. * * * The manner was to go to a house and warn the inmates out, that they were going to burn it. Usually there would be no show of resistance; but all hands, burners and all, would proceed to take out the goods and place them out of danger. When the goods were all securely removed, the torch would be applied and the house consumed. Then on to another."
tue."

the brethren from the surrounding settlements should come into Nauvoo with their grain. After the trouble we had had to finish the Temple to get our endowments, we thought it of more importance than to squabble with the mob about property, seeing that the houses were not of much importance and no lives lost!"

It should be remembered that this was said when the first few cases of house burning was reported. Later the matter took on a more serious aspect, and under date of September 13th Elder Taylor makes this entry in his journal:

"A number of the brethren were rendered houseless and homeless by a few reckless desperadoes in consequence of their adherence to the gospel. What rendered it more trying for them was that they had it in their power to destroy their persecutors, and yet in consequence of our counsel endured it patiently, and looked tamely on to see their houses and property destroyed for the gospel and the kingdom of heaven's sake; they are good and faithful men or they would not have done it."[28]

The sheriff's appeal to citizens outside of Nauvoo for a *posse* to suppress mob violence was all in vain, none responded; and as the house burning continued, he perforce, had to call upon the citizens of Nauvoo to suppress it. From these he formed a *posse comitatus* and by vigorous measures dispersed the rioters, and soon had the situation well in hand.[29] The course of the

28. Taylor's Journal Ms., 1845, p. 123.

29. His efforts had so far succeeded that in a Proclamation issued on the 20th of September he said: "Since firing upon the mob at Bear Creek on the 16th instant, [they were in the act of burning houses, two were killed and others were wounded] there has been no burning of any houses, barns, grain stacks, nor anything else, that has come to my knowledge. The mobbers, rioters, and other outlaws, have principally fled without the limits of this county. Peace and quiet, law and order have been restored in Hancock county.

"Therefore, I, Jacob Backenstos, Sheriff of Hancock county, hereby proclaim the county of Hancock in peace; that the rioters have dispersed and gone to their homes, or fled this county and state. Let all good citizens who were expelled by the mobbers, from their homes, and those who fled from the county for security against mob violence, return to their homes, they shall be protected. I have an armed force stationed in the Court-house at Carthage for the protection of the officers of the county, who are compelled by law to reside at the county seat, and for the protection of all persons having business at, or who may desire to visit Carthage and the surrounding country. I have a number of small scouting parties reconnoitering the county to keep peace and protect the settlements, and make arrests of those that are known to be guilty of riot, in whose hands writs have been placed. I desire that the citizens will aid them in ferreting them out, that they may be arrested and brought to justice."

And on the 25th of the same month he said in another Proclamation: "There seems to be a continuance of peace throughout Hancock county. There has been

anti-Mormons at Carthage had been such that Chauncy Robinson, postmaster and county recorder was compelled to flee from the place with his family; so did Captain Rose, treasurer and assessor of the county. The Sheriff's home was surrounded, admittance for the purpose of searching it demanded, and Mrs. Backenstos informed that her husband must leave the county "under the penalty of consequences which ment death," says Mr. Backenstos.[30] In consequence of these conditions prevailing the Sheriff took possesion of the court house at Carthage and stationed a company of his *posse* there, promising protection to all classes of its citizens, and the force remained at Carthage until the Sheriff was relieved by a *posse* under military officers appointed by the Governor.[31]

On visiting Warsaw on the 16th of September friends warned Sheriff Backenstos of plotters against his life in that place and advised him to conceal himself from them. Deeming this incompatible with his duties as a public officer, Mr. Backenstos left Warsaw accompanied in his horse and buggy by a friend into the open prairie, whence he continued alone towards Nauvoo. Some distance further on he saw eastward of him on the Carthage road a body of about twenty mounted men, also a buggy and wagon, evidently enroute for Warsaw. A detachment of four men left the

---

no burning of houses or other property since a party of my *posse* pursued the mob and fired upon them. In my last proclamation I stated that the mobbers had fled the country; as yet they have not returned; they are brawling about the adjoining counties, State of Missouri, and Iowa Territory, circulating all kinds of falsehoods and misrepresentations, for the purpose of getting aid, in order to recommence burning and mobbing, etc. As yet they have not been able to raise any considerable force to march into Hancock under arms, against the constitution and the law."

30. Proclamation II.

31. Naturally the success of the Sheriff gave great satisfaction to the citizens of Nauvoo; and the editor of the *Neighbor* heartily congratulated him in the following editorial utterance: "We feel it our duty to say that Sheriff Backenstos is entitled to the highest encomium of every American patriot, for the prompt and energetic measures, and his unceasing vigilance, which so successfully put to flight the blood-thirsty, pestilential, and property wasting mob of Hancock county, and vicinity." Even the *State Register*, so strongly anti-Mormon, published at Springfield, said: "Sheriff Backenstos deserves great credit for his exertion in quelling the mob of Hancock County." (quoted by the *Neighbor* Oct. 1st, 1845). Still this victory of an officer honestly seeking to bring peace to the community was not to be used in visiting retaliation in kind upon the rioters. There offenses were merely to be laid open to the law. In the same editorial in which the course of Mr. Backenstos was praised, the editor of the *Neighbor* said: "Let every sufferer and every honest man be ready with precepts when one of the rioters or burners is recognized, to take him and hand him over to the law, that he may receive his reward. *But let no man attempt to settle his own claims. Magnify the law.*" *The Neighbor, Sept.* 24, 1845.

main body with the intention it would appear, of intercepting him; and when he whipped up his horse to avoid them, they then pursued him, the chase continuing for two miles. At this point Sheriff Backenstos overtook three men with teams enroute for Nauvoo whom he summoned as a *posse* to aid him in resisting his pursuers. The Sheriff himself took a position in the road pistol in hand and shouted to the approaching horsemen to halt. Instead of doing so one of the horsemen raised his gun either to intimidate or shoot the sheriff, when one of the newly drafted *posse* fired upon and killed him.[32] The fallen man, who died before his party could reach Warsaw with him, was Frank A. Worrell who was in charge of the guard of Carthage Greys at the prison when Joseph and Hyrum Smith were murdered.

Subsequently Sheriff Backenstos and Orin P. Rockwell were indicted and subsequently placed on trial for the "murder" of Worrell, the sheriff at Peoria and Rockwell at Galena, having taken a change of venue to those places; both were acquitted.[33]

While Backenstos was rapidly bringing the affairs of Hancock county into order, he of necessity was doing it by a Mormon *posse comitatus*, since no other citizens would respond to his call for aid, although most earnestly appealed to by the sheriff.

32. Gregg in his "History of Hancock County" gives a different version of this incident, claiming that the purpose of the horsemen who followed the Sheriff was merely to get information about the burnings and riots; and that neither Worrell nor any of his associates had made any demonstration of violence (see History of Hancock County, p. 340). Gregg also claims that the whole Worrell party numbered but nine; that they were enroute for Warsaw "to ascertain the facts as to the disturbances at Green Plains," South of Warsaw in Walker township; and that the two horse wagon contained the arms of the party. (Ibid. pp. 340-341). The character of Worrell, however, as a bitter anti-Mormon, the part he took in the murder of the Smith Brothers, the fact that after he and his party failed to intercept the Sheriff they gave chase to him for two miles, will scarcely stand against Sheriff Backenstos' account of the affair given publicly in his Proclamation No. II, which appeared in the Nauvoo Neighbor of 17th of September, the day following the killing of Worrell. Sheriff Backenstos issued five official proclamations in all between the 10th of September and the 25th of the same month. They are published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* in the impressions of that paper of the 10th, 17th and 24th of September respectively, and the 1st of October. They constitute important historical documents for the period they cover. They are also published in Mill. Star, Vol. VI, No. 12.

33. Gregg says concerning the killing of Worrell: "Who was the actually guilty party may never be known" (Hist. of Hancock Co., p. 341). There certainly was no occasion for keeping the matter secret, since the killing was altogether justifiable, under the circumstances, and it became a matter of common knowledge both in Nauvoo and Utah that it was Orin Porter Rockwell—acting under orders of Sheriff Backenstos—who saved that officer's life. (See Historical Record—Jensen, pp. 814-5).

It was held by the anti-Mormon part of the community that the sheriff was carrying affairs with a very high hand, which called for executive interference. Accordingly Governor Ford sent a detachment of four hundred militia into Hancock county under command of Gen. John J. Hardin, who was accompanied by J. A. McDougal, Attorney General of the state, and also by Judge Stephen A. Douglas and Major W. B. Warren as advisors.[34] When Sheriff Backenstos first received the news of the Governor's action to supercede him in the control of affairs in Hancock county by General Hardin's military *posse,* he gave it no credence, and in his 5th Proclamation declared the alleged action of Governor Ford to be "a forgery or fraud," so sure was he of the Governor's support in his procedure to suppress the riots in Hancock county. The Governor's action in superceding the sheriff, however, (in which act also he superceded the civil by the military authority) was a reality; that part of the sheriff's *posse* stationed at Carthage was dismissed and sent to their homes, and thereafter but little is heard of Mr. Backenstos[35] in the affairs of Hancock county, as civil government was now abdicated in that county until after the expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo.

NOTE 1. BABBITT'S SPEECH AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE NAUVOO CHARTER: Mr. Babbitt's first speech was a plea for justice for the Mormon leaders and people, in the course of which he said:

"Did the Mormons ever resist the execution of the law? If in some instances they resorted to unjustifiable subterfuges[36] to keep out of the hands of their prosecutors, it was but to escape a certain and summary death, with which they had been publicly threatened. What had they to expect from men who openly

34. See Hist. of Hancock County, Gregg, pp. 341-2.

35. After his activity in the suppression of mob violence, which threw him into the attitude of defending and protecting the Latter-day Saints, residence for Sheriff Backenstos in Hancock county was of course out of the question. He therefore sought other scenes of activity; according to Gregg he obtained an appointment through congressman Hodge to an office in the lead mines, and later was made a Captain in the forces sent against Mexico. (History of Hancock County, p. 336).

36. This doubtless had reference to the use of the *habeas corpus* powers of the city of Nauvoo, by invoking those powers in cases other than those arising under city ordinances; and also to the assumed right of a prisoner personally to determine, if not what justice he will consent to appear before, at least determine that he will *not* appear before the one issuing the writ, because by doing so his life would be put in jeopardy.

avowed their nefarious designs and even said they had their bullets run for twelve months for the express purpose of shooting Mormons, if they did not leave their possession and their homes, and take refuges with the Indians in the recesses of the Rocky Mountains, or in the wilds of the West?

"I say would any man be expected to go to Carthage under such circumstances, when he had nothing to expect but an unrelenting persecution and a violent death? Among men who acknowledge no law, would not obey the commands of the Executive of our State, and said in derision of his power, "We have no governor, he is a Mormon governor?"

In concluding he said:

"Other cities had transcended their chartered rights as well as Nauvoo, even in the city of Springfield a public lecturer has been fined by the common council for daring to lecture upon science without a license; has this been done in the city, and under the authorities of ill-fated Nauvoo, the cry would have gone out, and unmerited censure heaped upon the Mormons. Be just then, regard the principles of equal rights, and deal out to the citizens of every portion of our State even handed justice, forget not your duties in the madness of prejudice. If the privileges of the Nauvoo charter are too extensive, if it grants power exceptionable, repeal those provisions, and leave them in possession of their just rights." *Nauvoo Neighbor* Jan. 29, 1845).

Note 2. Babbitt's Second Speech: In his second speech Mr. Babbitt grew bolder in the defense of his constituents, concerning the destruction of the *Expositor* press he said:

"The destruction of a press in Nauvoo was sounded as the token of alarm to awaken the people to a sense of apparent danger from Mormon violence. Sir, I do not wish to palliate the offence, but is that the only press that has been destroyed? The very first one to my knowledge was a Mormon press in the state of Missouri; they were first sufferers then, and why was it not trumpeted to the ends of the earth—made the subject of public investigation, and visited by the work of legislative condemnation? Presses have been destroyed in our own state, and passed unnoticed by the public. Mr. Speaker, why are these invidious distinctions made? Disguise it as we may, make such imputations as we please, charge it upon this or upon that, it is but the base and unhallowed spirit of religious intolerance, and the workings of unsatisfied political ambition. The press in Nauvoo was established for political purposes by the Whigs, who

even made propositions to divide our representation upon this floor, which being refused them, they commenced a tirade of abuse, made their press obnoxious, and detrimental to the best interests of that people, who by their city authorities declared it a public nuisance and ordered it to be abated, which was done. If contrary to law, an action of trespass might have been sustained and a remedey found in courts of law—but instead of that a hue and cry commenced—a mob was raised—violence threatened—warnings sent out—and the surrounding country excited by rumors and false reports, which fanned by the constant breeze of prejudice resulted in the difficulties and disgraceful scenes which occurred in Hancock county.

"Mr. Speaker, why this continued opposition? Why are we brought up here to be the object of vindictive legislation, when the very cause of all complaint is removed? It was Joseph Smith the prophet of the Mormon people who was alleged to be the sole cause of all difficulties. He is no more—they have wreaked their vengeance upon his head—they have murdered him. And must it now be, as in olden times, because the fathers have eaten grapes the children's teeth are set on edge?"

Note 3. Of the Rise and Prosperity of Nauvoo: Of Nauvoo and her people Mr. Babbitt said:

"Perhaps he [Mr. Logan of Sangamon county][37] does not know that Nauvoo is on the Mississippi river—that a large and respectable city has sprung up in four years containing about 12,000 inhabitants—that farms have been improved and made productive—that manufactories have been commenced—a rich and growing trade encouraged, and wealth increased by the rapid development of the national resources of our country. Perhaps he does not know that the Mormon citizens of our state are engaged in the common associations of life—that they like other men—are honest and industrious in their pursuit after happiness and wealth. Yet sir, his ignorance of the fact, makes it no less true. For increase of population and advancement in wealth, the Mormon city of Nauvoo is without a parallel in the annals of our country. It has become the object of universal notice and admiration. It has excited the curiosity of the civilized world." *Nauvoo Neighbor,* March 5th, 1845.

37. This passage in Mr. Babbitt's remarks is preceded by the following characterization of Mr. Logan's speech: "He [Logan] assails their [the Mormons'] Church, he abused their Prophet, he falsified their doctrines, charged them with every crime, and endeavored to blacken with infamy and disgrace the character of innocent persons, on account of their religion. Notwithstanding his loud protestation against the spirit of prejudice and intolerance, they were most manifest in his speech."

NOTE 4. BACKENSTOS' CHARGES AGAINST THE ANTI-MORMONS OF ILLINOIS: Mr. Backenstos in his speech against the repeal of the Nauvoo charters boldly arraigned the anti-Mormons of Illinois in such manner as to create against him a very bitter feeling. So little has been said upon that side of the subject, however, that it is proper to give the statement that was made upon the floor of the lower house of the Illinois Legislature.

"*Mr. Speaker,* inasmuch as the gentlemen on the other side of the question have been charging all manner of crimes against the Mormons, they have [been] indiscriminately impeached indicted, and found guilty of every possible crime known to our laws—such have been the declarations of gentlemen upon this floor. All the disturbances in Hancock have been packed upon the Mormons. This is not only untrue and unjust, but it is also calculated to mislead the public mind; one general impeachment has been made against the Mormons. Now sir, I have drawn up an impeachment with specifications against these self-styled 'law-abiding anti-Mormons.' I do not design to say anything which is not susceptible of the clearest proof; in the first place, I will state that the enemies of the citizens of Nauvoo formed a conspiracy to provoke them into an outbreak." (Here Mr. Backenstos made sundry charges of crimes and misdemeanor against the anti-Mormons as follows):

"I charge them of having called public meetings and loudly and strongly threaten the extermination of the Mormon population, and of all those who would not join in their wicked schemes.

"I charge them with having reported that their property was stolen by Mormons, when there was not the slightest evidence to that effect.

"I charge them with having torn down the dwelling of a peaceable citizen, because he would not join them in their crusade against the Mormons, and [of having] driven him and his family from their homes.

"I charge them with having driven from the county seat of Hancock, peaceable and quiet citizens, some of whom were amongst the first settlers of that county, charged with no other crime, and guilty of no other offense, than that they were Mormons.

"I charge them with having threatened and resisted the sheriff and his deputy, when acting under and by authority of law.

"I charge them with openly resisting a constable when in the lawful discharge of his official duty, by assembling an armed force, and at the point of the bayonet preventing the arrest of a man charged with crime.

"I charge them with having posted upon the doors of the

dwellings of peaceable and unoffending families at the hour of midnight, written notices warning them to leave their home in a given time, threatening them with vengeance and destruction if they did not comply; filling even the hearts of men with consternation and dismay, and distracting defenceless women and children.

"I charge them with having made base and false representations to his Excellency Gov. Ford, through some of their safety committees, and of endeavoring to inflame the public mind with the free circulation of falsehoods.

"I charge them with having sent emissaries to the state of Missouri, to procure aid to carry out their base and wicked designs.

"I charge them with having undertaken to revoke a contract through one of their kind committees, between one of the first settlers and a peaceable quiet Mormon.

"I charge them with having assembled with dirks, pistols, bowie-knives, and clubs, to intimidate and resist the county commissioners court of Hancock, when in due exercise of their public functions.

"I charge them with having called out the militia of the neighboring counties in the name of the Governor and commander in chief without his authority or consent.

"I charge them with having leveled their canon and fired their muskets into steam boats, when on their way up the great Mississippi river, compelling them to land at the town of Warsaw, there to be detained to undergo a search.

"I charge them with having hanged our Governor in "effigy" because he would not join them in their oppressions of the Mormons, and

"I charge them with having committed murder without a parallel for its atrocity and cowardice in the annals of American history.[38]

"Mr. Speaker, these are crimes and misdemeanors, which I charge upon the Anti-Mormons in and about Hancock county; and sir, these charges are substantially true, and I defy any one to controvert them; they are susceptible of proof and cannot be denied; those outrages which I have enumerated have been committed by that portion of the Anti-Mormon party, which we might well denominate as 'the mob portion;' there are many who style themselves anti-Mormons, yet at the same time they look upon this mob action with alarm and indignation. Then, sir, if you are in search of crimes and criminals in Hancock county, you need not go amongst the Mormons, for you will find them as thick as hail amongst that very class of citizens who

38. The murder of the Smith Brothers.

style themselves anti-Mormons, who are asking this legislature to repeal the Nauvoo city charters in order more successfully to oppress that people and drive them from our state. Do the citizens in the surrounding counties of Hancock ask or petition for the repeal of the Mormon charters, as some are pleased to term them? Does your table groan under the petitions which have come up from the people praying for unconditional repeal of the city charter of Nauvoo? No; not a single petition has made its appearance. No voice has been heard demanding this hasty action. It would be regarded as an act of oppression unprecedented in this country and without a parallel in the history of legislation, to repeal a city charter, against the known and expressed will and wishes of the people who reside under the operation of the chartered privileges. If the charter is repealed it will be regarded, and I fear too truely, the legitimate offspring of religious persecutions." *Nauvoo Neighbor* of March 12, 1845.

NOTE 5. SPEECH OF MR. ROSS, OF FULTON COUNTY—NON-MORMON AGAINST THE REPEAL OF THE NAUVOO CHARTERS: The value of the speech of Mr. Ross as an historical document seems to have been over looked both by Mormon and fair-minded non-Mormon writers, as nowhere is it referred to by either class, and of course the anti-Mormon writers would find nothing in his utterances that would give them or their cause aid or comfort. Mr. Ross' speech was against absolute repeal of the Nauvoo charters and in favor of either so amending the existing charter as to take away its alleged mischievous features, or enacting for the city a modifical charter which would reserve for the city the necessary powers for a normal city government.

(a) *Personal attitude of Mr. Ross towards the Mormons and Their Faith*: "With the Mormons, as a people, I am no way connected, I have nothing to expect from them in a political point of view, they constitute no part of my constituency. And as for their religion, I hold it in utter disregard, and think it one of the shallowest devices, which for centuries past has been imposed upon the intelligence of christendom."

(b) *Would do Justice in Order not to Aid Mormonism by Presecution*: "Another reason Mr. Speaker, why I am opposed to the unconditional repeal, but in favor of the amendments to the bill granting them a modified charter, is, that I believe Mormonism is a shallow device, and the history of all ages goes to prove that persecution will ever increase religious fanaticism. Some men may say, and honestly think, the passage of this bill will not be persecution; but sir, it will go before the world under no other color. It will be received by all Christendom as an act of religious intolerance. Sympathy will be

aroused, and by its willing influence bring thousands to their standard."

(c) *Too Much Credence Should Not be Given to Charges Against the Mormon Leaders*: "A tirade of abuse has been heaped upon the Mormon leaders. It is easy to make attacks and prefer charges against any man or set of men who occupy a considerable station in the community. But sir, it is no part of my nature to endeavor to traduce and blacken the character of any individual, neither is it just or generous to make distinctions or give preferences upon the grounds urged against that people; we should recollect they are a part and portion of our common state; just as much entitled to the privileges of our institutions, and the protection of our laws as any other. Too much credit should not be given to the stories and reports so rife in this community. They originated in excitement, and have teemed upon our public journals; many of them are without foundation in truth, and not worthy even a serious consideration, and should not for one moment be entertained by this House to influence their action upon the subject matter of this debate."

(d) *Reasons for Opposing Absolute Repeal*: "I will give some of the reasons why I am of the opinion the bill should not pass, repealing unconditionally the charter of Nauvoo. One of which is, by so doing we shall take part in and prejudice the judicial proceedings now pending in Hancock county [i. e. the trial of the accused murderers of the Smith Brothers] Cases have been brought into existence by the difficulties there, men have been arrested, and stand charged with crime of murder, who look with more anxiety, and depend more upon the action of the House than they do upon legal proceedings, or the justice of their cause. *By repealing that charter, we throw the mantle of public sanction over their acts of violence, screen them from the just punishment of their crimes, and give our legislative endorsement to murder of the deepest and darkest hue.*

"And upon what information are we called to act in this matter? Is it from vague rumors or reports which have circulated throughout the length and breadth of our State? Do not gentlemen know that they originated in excitement, and were borne out upon the wings of scandal against that people? Prejudice kindled and enlivened the coals of calumny, passion fanned them to a flame, and the Mormons have been the victims of the devouring elements.

"Is it from information from the Executive, who was forced to visit the scenes, to maintain inviolate public peace and who is conversant with the facts, and knows full well the history of the Hancock difficulties? What does all information go to prove? He tells us the Mormons were not the sole offenders, but that

there was an attempt made to drive and exterminate them from the State.

"The gentlemen from Macon [Mr. Benedict] has been pleased to say, that the Governor's message, in relation to 'military encampments' and 'wolf hunts' are all an 'idle tale,' but I think sir, this House will bear me out when I say it is an able, impartial document, and worthy of our confidence and respectful consideration. Does he recommend the unconditional repeal of their charter? No sir, but of its modification."

(e) *On the Destruction of the Nauvoo Expositor*: "We are told that the citizens of Nauvoo destroyed a press, and in this country where freedom of speech and liberty of the press are held sacred, it is not strange that our feelings of indignation should be aroused at such a gross outrage upon the rights of any people. That, however, was not the only press that has been destroyed in our state. Two were destroyed in the city of Alton,[39] and the owner put to death for promulgating his doctrines of political economy, and did any proposition come up here for the repeal of their city charter in consequence of that act? An attack has been made here in this town of Springfield upon a printing office on account of political differences, and yet the legislature did not vent their spleen upon its act of incorporation.

"They seek and single out one city to punish the crimes for which others go free. Excitements will sometimes arise, and the rage of heated passions rise above all law; but this to my mind is no reason why laws should be abolished."

(f) *A Plea for Justice*: "Mr. Speaker, so far as my constituents are concerned, they do not wish me to act the cringing slave to any religious denomination for political or any other purposes, but are willing to extend equal rights and privileges to all. They ask nothing for themselves but what is just and right, and will grant to others all that is reasonable. I do hope, sir, we may be candid, and act with deliberation upon this matter. Remove preconceived prejudices from our minds and deal out evenhanded justice to all." (*Nauvoo Neighbor,* for Feb. 19, 1844).

39. Mr. Ross here refers to the destruction of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy's presses at Alton in 1837; and, by the way, there were three presses destroyed, by the mob throwing them into the Mississippi (See Ford's History of Illinois, chapter VIII) As a side light upon the spirit of the people of Illinois in those days with reference to mob proceedings, the statement of Governor Ford in regard to the settlement of this Lovejoy affair is interesting. He says: "After the violence of feeling had somewhat subsided, both parties were indicted for their crimes arising out of these transactions [the destruction of the presses, and the killing of Mr. Lovejoy, and one of the opposite party]; and were all acquitted; *making it a matter of record that in fact the abolitionists had not provoked an assault; that there had been no mob; and that no one had been killed or wounded.*" (Ford's Hist. Ill., p. 245).

Historic Views and Reviews

Lincoln Cabin Dedicated

THE Lincoln Memorial at Hodgenville, Ky., was dedicated on November 9. The fine granite building, completed, provided out of contributions of loyal Americans and endowed by them, occupies the site of the cabin in which Lincoln was born near the center of the Lincoln farm.

Cut into one wall of the memorial hall are these words:

Here, over the log cabin where Abraham Lincoln was born, destined to preserve the Union and free the slaves, a grateful people have dedicated this memorial to humanity, peace, and brotherhood among these states.

Within is the rude cabin of logs, the same that the newly wedded Lincoln and Nancy Hanks built when they took possession of the farm that to-day became a national park.

Robert J. Collier, chairman of the executive committee of the Lincoln Farm Association, formally notified Governor Willson that the memorial costing $122,000, had been erected and paid for and that a fund of some $50,000 had been completed and invested in safe securties, the income to provide the necessary maintenance fund. Governor Willson accepted the trust in the name of the commonwealth.

President Taft received the memorial in the name of the nation and in the presence of Union and Confederate veterans, the chief justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the governors of several states, senators, congressmen, and men prominent in literature and in public life.

The First Skyscraper

There died the other day a man whom the big American cities should long remember and do honor to—Bradford Lee Gilbert, the "father of the skyscraper." Just twenty-three years ago, in the face of much opposition, and with many a sneering comment thrown in his direction, Gilbert began the era of tall buildings with the Tower Building on lower Broadway. Eleven years later, when high commercial structures were beginning to be common in downtown New York, and many claimants were rising, Gilbert was given full credit and a tablet was placed on the Tower Building, reading:

This tablet, placed in 1899 by the Society of Architectural Iron Manufacturers of New York, commemorates the erection during 1888-9 in this, the Tower Building, of the earliest example of the skeleton construction in which the entire weight of the walls and floors is borne and transmitted to the foundation by a framework of metallic posts and beams, originated and designed by Bradford Lee Gilbert, architect.



A Mosby Reunion

"Mosby's men," who won fame during the civil war through their raids on the Federal outposts and lines of communication, held a reunion at Manassas, Va., on October 14. The town was in gala attire to welcome them. The old veterans, of whom barely a hundred survive, held their morning meeting in the town hall and an informal meeting was afterward held at which the aged rough riders fought over again in story the days of their strenuous service in the country immediately around the town where they gathered so peaceably to-day. Songs were sung and impromptu speeches were made by the old comrades. An address was made by George C. Round, a resident of Manassas, who during the war was an officer in the Union cavalry. An old

fashioned dinner was served the veterans by the Daughters of the Confederacy.

The members of this famous body of Southern cavalry are rapidly passing away, but they express their determination to hold their reunions as long as a single one is left. It is not generally known that this battalion of cavalry was the last body of Confederate troops in Virginia to lay down the sword. It was not until three weeks after Lee had surrendered and the Southern cause became worse than hopeless that Col. Mosby disbanded the troopers who had followed his fortunes. The next reunion will be held next September at Groveton, the battle ground of the second battle of Bull Run.



The Perry Memorial

Final details for the construction of the memorial at Put-in-Bay to commemorate Perry's victory and the selection of an architect to design the monument, have been announced by Perry memorial commission. The memorial will consist of a lofty monument with a museum for historical relics at its base, standing in a reservation of fourteen acres, to be erected at a cost of $600,000. The program of competition for the selection of an architect conforms to the principles of the American institute of architects, and has interested architects throughout the world. Competitors will have the fullest scope for their artistic imaginations. The prize of the competition will be the appointment as architect to design and superintend the construction of the memorial. There also will be three prizes for the authors of the designs placed next to the winner.

Adams Letter Sold

A characteristic letter of John Adams, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and President of the United States, was

sold recently at Freeman's in Philadelphia. It is dated Quincy, May 30, 1814, and reads in part as follows:

Alas! The Massachusetts Triumvirite is broken. Judge Paine is no more! An old German doctor, Turner, when I was a little boy, asked me the age of my father. When I told him as well as I knew, "Alas!" said the old gentleman, "your father's age is so near my own that when one dies of old age the other may quake for fear." If death were terrible to Gerry or to me, the death of Paine might make us "quake for fear." . . .

Did you ever know a Man of Nation or Alliance that could bear success, victory, and prosperity? Victory has destroyed Napoleon. Victory is in danger of destroying the Allies. If not, and the Bourbons are restored, what is their prospect? The Stuarts were restored. For how long a time! And how many Plots? How many Sidneys, Russells, Staffords were beheaded? I know by experience that the Swell is as dangerous as the Storm.

We must learn to know ourselves, to esteem ourselves, to respect ourselves, to confide in ourselves under Heaven alone. We must hold Europe at arms length, do them justice, treat them with civility, and set their envy, jealousy, malice, retaliation, and revenge at defiance. "The Lakes, the Lakes, the Lakes!" Shocking indeed that we have not the command of the Lakes! But I could convince you that it is still more shocking that we have not the command of the Ocean.



Some Letters to Penn

A series of letters written by James Logan, William Penn's agent in America, were sold at auction in Philadelphia in November. Logan was a native of Lurgan, County Armagh, Ireland. He was brought up in the Quaker religion. On the landing of William III. in Ireland Logan's parents fled and settled in Bristol, England. William Penn persuaded young Logan to accompany him to Pennsylvania as his secretary. Logan died in 1751, at Stenton, his home, near Germantown, which is now a part of Philadelphia. He bequeathed his fine library of classical authors to that city.

All of the letters are addressed to the Proprietor of Pennsylvania. One, dated Philadelphia, May 20, 1733, relates to the visit there of Lord Baltimore. Logan expresses the opinion that Lord Baltimore's view in coming to Philadelphia, and in spending so much time in it, was in the hope of "making himself an interest amongst the people in opposition to thee and the Government, which, if true, as 'tis probable, shows his Honour in the plainest colours."

In another letter, dated Stenton, Aug. 16, 1733, he says about some Indians:

> Allumapis and his company, four or five men with some women, young lads, etc., came hither two hours since and have now a Dutchman's wagon at our gate to receive the goods. . . . He desires to have the goods delivered to him here, but, complaining that divers of those he received last year, as ye guns, kettles, hatchets, hats, etc., did not prove good, he is willing to see them all in town before they are sent hither.
>
> As they seem not to be in the best of humours, it may be convenient to treat them kindly, and leave them no manner of room to complain. He says we have got all his land, that it is good land, and he ought to have good goods for it. . . . He says also there is another man, over Susquehannah, who has an interest in the land, and he must have a part of the pay. They have no interpreter but Pesqueetoman, whom we too well know; yet he seems well enough inclined to interpret faithfully the contrary of which is a very great crime with them.

On Feb. 28, 1734, he writes with regard to an address from two Deputies from Donegal Township:

> What they say, in relation to ye Indians, is too much, tho' 'tis very true that, when I first encouraged their settlement where they are in 1719 and 20, we were under some apprehensions, and divers of them for some years after received considerable loss by some of ye 5 Nations, insomuch that ye Assembly made good some of their losses.
>
> On their complaint that some of their tracts are so exceeding mean (which it must be owned is too true) that they are scarce worth holding. I have told these 2 men that, if the whole Township would agree to pay for all the land they claim or hold in ye tract at ye price set, I doubted not but the Proprietors would

leave it to themselves to rate each tract higher or lower according to its worth, provided they made up the sum, but this they own is impracticable, to them at least.



The Cullom Reminiscences

It is not very often that a public man who writes a book of reminiscences is as frank and candid as Senator Cullom of Illinois in his recently published "Fifty Years of Public Service." He sets down his opinion of the famous men he knew, from Buchanan's day to Taft's, without fear or favor. And Cullom, who has been in the public service all his life, knew more people worth knowing than anybody else who has undertaken the writing of a similar book—not excluding John Sherman and George Frisbie Hoar.

What he has to say will not change materially the estimates that the man in the street has made of public men, but it will add to the fund of information that person has about them. Perhaps in the case of McKinley, and even in that of Lincoln, Mr. Cullom's frank statements may modify a little the popular impression. The political side of Lincoln's character has ever been sufficiently insisted upon. He did not spend all his time pardoning sleeping sentries and signing emancipation proclamations; he was an exceedingly shrewd politician and unexcelled in the matter of looking out for his fences. Cullom, himself a canny politician, and also from the first a strong Lincoln man, dwells on this feature of his many-sided character with an admiring relish that is good to see. For a man can be a good man and still be a good politician; a fact sometimes overlooked.

Aside from Lincoln, none of the statesmen he knew seems to be a hero to Mr. Cullom. He himself missed the Presidency by not much of a margin, and to him Presidents are merely men like himself. His book is vigorous and informing and far above the average of such works. In writing it he displays irritating evidences of haste or carelessness, manifested in the misspelling of

the names of men he knew well, and in such absurd blunders as, for instance, the statement that Warner Miller came to the Senate as Platt's succesor "on March 4, 1881," that being the day when Platt himself took his seat. But such mistakes are part and parcel of the free and easy way in which the book is written, a way which constitutes its charm and value.



A Jackson Sentiment

Andrew Jackson said:

"If you would preserve your reputation, or that of the state over which you preside, you must take a straightforward, determined course, regardless of the applause or censure of the populace, and of the forebodings of that dastardly and designing crew, who, at a time like this, may be expected to clamor continually in your ears."

These words appear on the title page of Prof. John Spencer Bassett's "Life of Andrew Jackson," and were selected after years of research as the best indication of the character of "Old Hickory" to be found in all his utterances.



Yennycott Folks

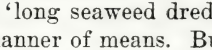
William S. Pelletreau writes of "Yennycott Folks," a new work by Mrs. Metta Horton Cook:

"This little book written by a lady whose name shows her descent from time of the oldest Long Island families, is an entertaining historical romance of the earliest days of Southhold, L. I. It is one of the unfortunate things connected with New York history, that the records of Southold in its beginning are lost for ever, and the history of its settlement and the events of

the first few years are a perfect blank. Who were the members of the little colony who first landed there, and exactly when they came are facts unknown.

"Yeanocock was the Indian name of the small district now embraced in the village of Southold, the first mention we find of it is in the Records of Southampton, 'Oct. 22, 1644. A home lot is granted to Mr. Johnes which was formerly granted to John Budd of Yeanock.' This shows two things. First, that John Budd was one of the earliest settlers in Southold, and removed to Southampton, where he remained a few years and, second, that Yeanocock was the name of a locality.

"The book is a very interesting effort to reproduce the early life, manners and customs of the earliest settlers. That a few anachronisms should creep in, is not at all strange. We hardly believe that the Puritan boy of 1640 would say 'you bet,' and 'creek thatch' was not 'long seaweed dredged from the bottom of the creek,' by any manner of means. But this is a book written, not for critics, but for boys and girls, as well as for children of a larger growth, among them we count ourselves. It shows on the part of the author, talent and ability in description, as well as a fund of imagination, and when we read the last page we said 'I wish it were longer.' "



Indian Captive Found

B. Baker, a Comanche county farmer, believes he has found William Love Brown, who at the age of twelve was captured by the Comanche Indians in 1842. Mrs. Carrie Jayne McFarland, of Port Lavaca, Texas, a sister, wrote to Indian agents in Oklahoma asking them to look for such a man. A few days before an old man had come to Baker's farm with a hay camp, where he tended stock and did odd jobs. The man could neither read nor write and said he believed he was about eighty years old. He said he was captured from his parents near Austin, Texas, when a boy. He escaped from the Comanches by riding off with the

chief's horse. He remembers a sister, older than he, and a brother, but he does not remember whether he was older or younger. He does not know his own name, but called himself Vaughn, after a relative he remembers. The story is said to tally with what was written by Mrs. McFarland.



Rare Dickens Item

An exceedingly rare Charles Dickens item was sold at Merwin Clayton's, in November. It was a small-sized pamphlet of thirty-six pages, exclusive of the front wrapper, which contained the title "Lizzie Leigh: A Domestic Tale, from 'Household Words.' By Charles Dickens." It was printed in this city in 1850 by Dewitt & Davenport.

This is thought to be the only copy in existence, and the pamphlet is so rare that it seems to have been hitherto unknown. Although Dickens's name appears on the title page as author of the story, he did not write it. Instead, it was written by Mrs. Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell, the well-known English novelist, author of "The Life of Charlotte Bronte" and of the story "Mary Barton," which made her famous.

When, early in 1850, Dickens was projecting "Household Words," he invited Mrs. Gaskell's co-operation, in the most flattering terms. The first number of the new journal, published March 30, 1850, contained the beginning of the story "Lizzie Leigh," which was concluded on April 13. Among her early contributions to "Household Words" were the charming pictures of society in a little country town, which were republished in June, 1853, under the title of "Cranford."

Although Mrs. Gaskell was the author of "Lizzie Leigh," it is said that Dickens edited it, adding here and there certain passages, "a practice which he, in his editorial capacity, frequently followed." The work, therefore, seems to come honestly under the term Dickensiana. It is believed that this pamphlet is not only the first publication of the story in book form, but the only

one in which the story appears by itself. Mrs. Gaskell's minor writings and the shorter of her stories were published in London under the titles of the longer of the tales. In this form "Lizzie Leigh," appeared there in 1855 five years later than the New York pamphlet. Six cents was the price asked for the latter.

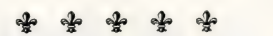


Oil Library and Museum

Ground was broken at Titusville, Pa., in October for a building or group of buildings which will be known as the Drake Memorial Museum and Reference Library, and which will house documents, newspaper clippings, relics and mementos of the oil industry all over the world. The museum will be built by voluntary contributions, with Edwin C. Bell of Titusville as the trustee. The museum is named after Edwin L. Drake, a pioneer oil man. Last August was the fifty-second anniversary of the petroleum industry, for it was upon that date that Drake drilled the first oil well on Watson's flats, southeast of Titusville.

Mr. Bell has been collecting literature of the oil industry for more than fifty years. He has preserved clippings, magazine articles, books and personal information, carefully written. Now he has a houseful of this material which will eventually go into the new museum.

A site was given by R. D. Fletcher, a merchant of Titusville. The ground is on the south bank of Oil Creek, near Mr. Bell's house, within three-fourths of a mile of the post office. Near by in Woodlawn Cemetery reposes the body of Colonel Drake, over whose head Henry H. Rogers twelve years ago erected a memorial monument.



A Relic of Daniel Boone

Standing six score years exposed to the elements, but still as perfect as the day its pioneer engraver carved his name on it, a granite stone bearing the marks of Daniel Boone has just been

discovered on the farm of W. L. Martin, near Millersburg, Mo. The stone bears this inscription:—

D. Boone, 1790.

Mrs. John Van Brunt, chairman of the Santa Fe Trail Committee, of the Kansas City Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, who made the recent motor trip across Missouri's central route highway, and to whom much credit should go for her work in interesting Missourians in the new State highway, has the portion of the stone bearing Boone's writing in her possession. She is retaining it until arrangements now pending can be completed for the purchase of twenty acres of ground where the stone was found. There a monument of Boone will be erected and a tavern built, so that tourists may stop and, after being refreshed, enjoy a rest under the shade of the forest trees near by.

The place where the stone was found is an interesting part of Missouri. Millersburg is on the old Boone's Lick road, about midway between Columbia and Fulton. In 1804 two sons of Daniel Boone, Daniel Morgan Boone and Nathan Boone, made salt at a famous salt lick in the wilderness of Central Missouri. Down the river to St. Louis they floated the salt in hollow logs. In two years the traffic in salt made a settlement at Boone's Lick and soon afterward Old Franklin, twelve miles away, was founded. The necessity for a highway between Old Franklin and St. Louis resulted in Boone's Lick road. It extended 150 miles west from St. Louis to Old Franklin.



An Old New York Print.

An interesting picture of early New York days has been on exhibition in the window of a print shop near Broadway, a large engraving of the popular Croton Hotel as it appeared in 1844. The hotel stood for many years at Broadway and Liberty Street. The buildings standing on that corner, directly opposite the deal-

er's shop, have just been torn down to make way for the new home of the Guaranty Trust Company.

The Croton Hotel, in the engraving, seems a comfortable four-story building of the type familiar to lower Broadway half a century ago or more. It was the successor of Congress Hall, which was kept for many years by Mrs. P. Sherman. In 1863 the Mutual Life Insurance Company purchased the corner and erected its first building in New York, and this structure has just been razed. The insurance company occupied the site for twenty years, until, in 1883, it built its new home in Nassau Street, a block to the east. The Guaranty Trust Company paid more than $2,000,000 for the corner.



The Oldest Inhabited House

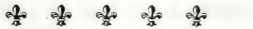
In a land of longer civilization a house two hundred and fifty years old seems almost modern. For citizens of the United States, however, whose homes of greater age than that were tepees and caves, it is a far handclasp to that Hollander who built the homestead which has been a landmark for many years in the quaint town of Bloomfield, N. J. Here, not very far from the elm shaded village green, stands that ancient house, probably the oldest inhabited dwelling in the United States.

The builder of this old home, Thomas Cadmus, came from Holland to the banks of the Passaic River in 1634. His grant of six thousand acres extended from that stream to Eagle Rock, and in the midst of his large estate he built, in 1657, of the native brown stone, the house which for two centuries and a half has been gathering to itself experiences of early isolation, historic associations and failing condition. Cities, towns and villages have in the course of time been built upon the wide acres, until now the old house stands in the centre of a well built up neighborhood, and is known as Washington's headuarters.

The grandson of the grantee built in 1763 an addition, which was connected with the original house by a covered passageway.

The slave quarters were two or three hundred yards to the north.

The American Army was encamped in 1779 and 1780 at Morristown, from which place General Washington made frequent reconnoitering expeditions to Great Notch, Eagle Rock, Bloomfield and Newark. On such occasions he frequently slept at the Cadmus homestead, and on June 21, both he and the Marquis de Lafayette spent the night there, their host also being an officer of the patriot army.



How Mount Vernon Was Named

Few Americans are informed as to how Mount Vernon, the home of Washington, received its name.

The unfortunate Duke of Monmouth had a secretary named Vernon, a prudent, sensible man of business, who, after the Duke's death, found favor in influential quarters, and under William III, became a Secretary of State. He left a son, Edward, born in 1684, who, greatly against his father's wishes, entered the navy, and, serving with distinction, rose to the rank of admiral. In 1722 he was elected to the House of Commons, and having in July, 1739, declared there that Porto Bello might be reduced with six sail of the line, he was sent with a squadron to fulfill his prediction. On returning home successful he received the thanks of both houses and the freedom of the city of London. From that time, however, his star declined. An expedition to Carthagena, made two years later, signally failed.

It was in the land force at Carthagena that Lawrence Washington, George's eldest brother by fourteen years, had served, and apparently he esteemed Vernon, as he gave his name to his home on the Potomac, and procured a midshipman's appointment for George. His mother's interposition ultimately prevented the boy's availing himself of this appointment. Vernon's popularity was so great that his unlucky expedition does not seem to have affected it, as he was actually elected to Parliament

for three places on his return. Probably his known hostility to the Government had much to do with this. In 1745 he was detailed to watch the North Sea, in view of a movement of the pretender's adherents. The next year a serious squabble arose between him and the Government, resulting in his producing two pamphlets that so exasperated the authorities that by the King's express command he was struck off the list of admirals. He died in 1757.

It was Vernon who brought into use the custom of mixing water with the ration of rum, which got the name of grog from his habit of wearing a grogram waistcoat, and hence his nickname of "Old Grog." To summarize, the man who invented grog is buried in Westminster Abbey, commemorated by Smollett, and gave a name to Washington's home.



Important Longfellow letters.

One of the finest and most interesting series of letters of Henry W. Longfellow ever offered at auction were sold at Anderson's on October 25. Arthur Swann, who catalogued them, is of the opinion that they form as important a collection as the one in the Chamberlain sale, which was bought by Charles E. Goodspeed of Boston for $5,000. It was said at the time that Goodspeed acted as agent for members of the Longfellow family.

The present series consists chiefly of the letters which Longfellow addressed to his friend, Ferdinand Freilligrath, the celebrated German lyric and patriotic poet. Longfellow's friendship with Freiligrath dated from 1842, when the two poets lived in neighboring places on the Rhine. It is said that, although they never met again, their friendship lasted all their lives.

Some of these letters are apparently unpublished. Others are only quoted in part in the "Life of Longfellow," by his brother, Samuel. There are also presentation copies of his works by Longfellow to Freiligrath, who it will be remembered, translated into German some of Longfellow's best-known poems.

In a letter, dated Cambridge, Jan. 6, 1843, Longfellow mentions having met Dickens, Tennyson, (whose name he spells "Tennison,") Cruikshank, Campbell, Rogers, Landor, and other celebrities in London. He says:

I passed a very agreeable fortnight with Dickens. His wife is a most kind, amiable person, and his four children beautiful in the extreme. In a word his whole household is a delightful one. At his table he brings together artists and authors. . . . We had very pleasant dinners, drank Schloss-Johannisberger and cold punch, (the same article that got Mr. Pickwick into the Pound,) and led a life like the monks of old.

One of the most interesting letters is dated Cambridge, Nov. 26, 1843, in which he speaks of Fanny Appleton, who was the original of Mary Ashburton in "Hyperion." He says:

I am very sorry that Mr. Muzzy should have been the first to announce to you my engagement, as I hoped and wished to do so with my own hand, but all Summer long I have been deprived entirely of the use of my eyes with an affection of the nerves. But nevertheless, eyes or no eyes, engaged I was and married I am—I could see clearly enough for that—married to the very Mary Ashburton, whose name was Fanny Appleton, and is Fannie Longfellow. We were married on the 25th of July last, and have been married ever since.

I yesterday planted an avenue of linden trees, which already begin to be ten or twelve feet high. I have also planted some acorns, and, as the oak grows for a thousand years, you may imagine a whole line of little Longfellows, like the shadowy monarch in Macbeth, walking under the branches, through countless generations, "till the crack of doom," and blessing the man who planted them, (meaning the oaks.)

The correspondence ends with two letters of sympathy to Mrs. Freiligrath on the death of her husband. In one Longfellow says: "I recall those bright days at St. Goar, and all the sweetness and nobleness of his character. Dear, gentle, noble Freiligrath, I loved him as a brother." In the other letter Longfellow says:

He leaves behind him only sweet and tender memories. He was so good, so noble in all things. . . . I think of your grief on entering the familiar rooms, and not finding him, as Tennyson says:

He is not there but far away,
The noise of life begins again.

It is a great comfort to have such sweet and tranquil thoughts of his last hours, and that the end was painless.

Then with no thrall of fiery pain,
No slow gradations of decay,
Death broke at once the vital chain,
And freed his soul the nearest way.



The School Historians

The Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York offered three prizes of bronze medals, with $50 additional for the first and $25 for the second, to the scholars of the two upper grades of the high schools and the preparatory departments of normal schools and colleges of the State of New York, for the three best essays on "The Assistance from France in Our Revolution—Its Basis, Effect, and Result."

The contest has just been decided and the awards have been made as follows: First prize, George A. Neubauer, Buffalo Central High School, Buffalo; second prize Winifred Fisher, Schenectady High School, Schenectady; third prize, Marjorie Hunt, Girls' High School, Borough of Brooklyn.



Long Ago in New York City.

A contributor to The Evening Post writes:

In a loose bundle of papers preserved among the remnants of the Common Council Records at the City Hall are two private petitions containing interesting information between the simple lines of the personal requests preferred. One is offered in 1683, in Dongan's time, by a wife acting as business manager of home

affairs during the absence of her husband on trading voyages along the coast. A new city ordinance restricting all carting to "appointed carmen" promises difficulties to the petitioner because her mill would need "a constant attendance to carry wheate and other corne to ye mill and not possible to have said attendance from any carman. Therefore this petitioner craves from your worships that she may have liberty to keep a cart and horse to cart theire own goods with and to imploy her black servant therewith who is a Christian being Baptised and instructed in the Christian Religion and to continue in service about five years. All wch will be for a greate accommodation of the inhabtants and ease of the petitioner who hath always been ready to beare all charges and duties required.

"New York City,

"March 21st, 1683-4."

Action was prompt. The Council's endorsement bears the date March 22, and is definite, though loose in grammatical form: "None are restrained to carte theire own goods, but the carte must be driven by a white man." So the good woman's difficulty was only partially solved.

The other paper bears the date September 3, 1719. The petitioner is one Harmanus Burger, a "poor aged & Lame man who has nothing to depend on or sustain him but the labour of a negro man slave Harry."

What crime Harry had committed does not appear, but he is under sentence of death, and his master prays the city fathers to consider his needs and to reimburse him for the loss to be inflicted by Harry's execution. Albertus Bosch and Nicholas Mathisse endorse the petition with their statement that they consider the slave worth £60 "if he was to be bought."

"Read and considered" is the comment of the Common Council.



Schley Memorial Collection

The National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington has recently received a large and valuable collection of memorials of the late Rear-Admiral Winfield Scott Schley

of the United States Navy. This collection has been deposited by Mrs. Scheley, widow of the admiral, and comprises a group of more than one hundred articles, consisting of swords, medals, trophies, silver-plate, uniforms, and personal mementoes of the late admiral, pertaining to his naval career as well as to his Masonic and similar affiliations.

The collection contains several gold medals which were presented to Admiral Schley during the course of his long service in the navy, and especially in connection with the Spanish war. Among them is a gold medal from the Humane Society of Massachusetts, presented as a token of esteem for his faithful service when in command of the United States expedition to Cape Sabine, which in 1884 rescued Lieut. (now General) Greely and the other six survivors of the Greely Artic expedition. There is also a handsome gold watch which his native State, Maryland, presented to him in commemoration of the same event. Another medal, studded with diamonds, was presented to the admiral by the State of Maryland at the close of the Spanish war in recognition of his services in the battle of Santiago de Cuba, July 3, 1898, when the Spanish fleet was destroyed.

Several handsome swords are included in the collection, gifts in commemoration of the same achievement, one from the State of Maryland and another, finished in gold, with a gem-encrusted scabbard and hilt, presented by the Knights Templar. Probably of most interest is the service sword worn by Admiral Schley through his entire naval service of forty-one years. Two of the admiral's naval uniforms, one dress and one service, are in the group of mementoes.

The commodore's flag, a blue pennant bearing the single white star, which flew on the Brooklyn, Admiral Schley's flagship, during the battle of Santiago, is an object of particular interest. Several loving cups and silver services are included in the display. In addition to the objects already mentioned, there are a number of gold ornaments which were presented to the admiral by various fraternal organizations.

The collection is installed in the Hall of History in the old Museum building.

Wrote of Hamilton's Plans.

An interesting letter by William Irvine, Brigadier General in the Revolution, with regard to Alexander Hamilton's plans for the United States Treasury, was sold recently by Stan. V. Henkels in Philadelphia. Gen. Irvine was also a member of the "Old Congress," as it is called. The letter is dated New York, Feb. 4, 1790. It reads:

"I hope, and entertain very little doubt now, that the Constitution of Pennsylvania will be a pretty good one. I am not so sanguine respecting the schemes proposed in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, but probably that may be so altered as to answer the purposes better than I now expect.

"Notwithstanding the high repute that gentleman is in and the probability of a majority to support his plans in the National Legislature, yet it is so complex and there is such a wonderful diversity of opinion out of doors, that I presume that body will be pretty cautious how they adopt a matter of such unbounded magnitude, and which in its consequences must determine the fate of the Nation. I believe the printers here are very squeamish about publishing anything opposed in the slightest degree to the report.

"A person, under the signature of 'Honestus,' has ventured to advance a few observations, and the printer, as you will see, has pushed it among advertisements in the background, as if rather ashamed of it. An assumption of the State debts is too barefaced to be treated with so much moderation as 'Honestus,' at least for the present, passes it by. And yet I fear it will be the favorite object with too many.

"Sundry States know not what to do with their debts. Individuals, or members of Congress or others that do, wish a consolidation of the Government, as well as the debt, and consider that one will tend to facilitate the other. Thus great exertions will be made to accomplish this point.

"In bringing about the Revolution every man looked in a straight line and pressed forward to gain the object. Now all is speculation and finesse, not only in money matters but in politics."

In the same collection is a letter written from Wilmington, Nov. 16, 1807, by John Dickinson, member of the Continental Congress and author of the celebrated "Letters of a Farmer." The letter is addressed to Caesar A. Rodney, and reads, the capitals being Dickinson's, as follows:

"The infatuated policy of Britain has placed her in such a position that she seems to think her safety depends on Hostility against the World. Perhaps it does. If she is to fall in the Contest she will go down with a tremendous Crash and dreadful ruin to many others. What, in this Crisis of Difficulties, can we wish for? Her Destruction? Then the Domination of France will be established for Ages to come. Her Triumph? Then her insolence will be madly outrageous."



New York's First Mayor.

Charles H. Strong, President of the City Club, happened recently to be in Riverside, a suburb of Providence, where the neglected grave of Thomas Willett, the first Mayor of New York, was pointed out to him. It is marked only by small weathered bits of slate, upon which the inscriptions grow more illegible with every passing season. There is no fence about the plot, but the grave is on a fine knoll at the head of Bullock's Cove, and there is a view of tide water near at hand. On the headstone the chance passer-by finds this inscription:

1674. Here lyes ye body of wor. Thomas Willett, Esq., who died August 4 in 64th yr. of his age.

But on the foot-piece there is this further record of the man:

Who was the first Mayor of New York and twice did sustain ye place.

Feeling it a pity that this spot should be overlooked, and that the City Club might fittingly interest itself in the matter of its preservation, Mr. Strong brought about the appointment of a committee to see the Mayor about it. Of this ex-Surrogate Ransom was made Chairman, but before the committee had met Mr. Strong learned that the question was not a new one, and that Mayor Gaynor months ago had appointed Alexander H. Spen-

cer a committee of one to find some picture of Willett, or at least to consider the best way to establish some memorial for the Colonial official.



To Save Historical Records.

The certificate of incorporation of the Modern Historic Records Association has been approved in the Supreme Court by Justice Bischoff. The objects of the association as stated in the certificate on file are:

The promotion of the use of modern inventions for the preservation of historical records; the employment of photographs as the most durable means of preserving records and documents; the employment of the phonograph for the preservation of the words of contemporary celebrities; the use of moving picture machines for obtaining records of important current events.

The directors are Alexander Konta, Herbert L. Bridgman, George A. Plimpton, Dr. George F. Kunz, Charles R. Lamb, John G. Agar and Joseph Rowan.



American Political Ideals.

A new edition of three remarkable addresses delivered by Dr. John Fiske thirty years ago have now been issued by the Houghton, Mifflin Company, under the title, "American Political Ideals," an introduction to the work having been added by John Spencer Clark. The philosophy of Evolution is the basis of the lectures, which presents all political society as steadily moving to a Parliament of Man in the Federation of the World. Hence the purpose of the lectures was to set forth the philosophic basis of the Peace Movement; and to present the Anglo-Amer-

ican peoples as the practical protagonists of this movement among the nations.

Mr. Clark in his introduction gives some very interesting extracts from Dr. Fiske's letters, in which he recounts his experiences as a lecturer in London. As bearing upon the theme of the lectures, Mr. Clark gives the substance of a conversation with Dr. Fiske in June, 1901, with reference to an address Dr. Fiske was to deliver at the King Alfred Celebration at Winchester in September following. Dr. Fiske's untimely death left this lecture unprepared. It was to be a continuation of the Peace argument of the present lectures, applied to present international politics. Mr. Clark gives Dr. Fiske's views as expressed in this conversation on three points he intended to cover in his Alfred address, which are of particular interest at the present time: Goethe, and his remarkable predictions in regard to the Suez and Panama canals; the Philippine policy of the United States; and Tariffs as obstacles to the peaceful federation of nations. Dr. Fiske's views on the last two points will certainly attract attention.

The volume also contains the last of Dr. Fiske's addresses, "The Story of a New England Town," which was delivered at the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Middletown, Conn.



Historic Mines to be Reopened

The Hibernia mines, near Rockaway, N. J., which have been closed for some time, will be reopened and worked before the end of the year. These mines supply a good quality of iron ore, though the percentage of iron is small in comparison with the great Western deposits. The reopening of the mines will furnish labor to several hundred men. It will be necessary to pump out the shafts which have become flooded during the period of idleness. Work toward this end will be started in a few days.

The Hibernia iron mines are among the oldest in America.

During the revolutionary war they were among the most valuable assets of the Continental Congress. There the cannon ball and cannon used by Washington's army were made, some of them still being preserved at West Point. The mines were connected with West Point by a road, known as the Cannon Ball Road, which is still in existence, and is in some parts a much traveled thoroughfare.